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H. Gravelot in. et delin. J.P. Le Bas sculp.

THEMISTOCLES Asking Protection of ADEMETUS

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THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,

MEDES AND PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

By Mr. ROLLIN,

Late Principal of the University of Paris, now Professor of Eloquence in the Royal College, and Member of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

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BRITISH MUSEUM
15 APR 64

CONTENTS to Vol. III.

BOOK VII.

CHAPTER I.

Sect. I. *Artaxerxes ruins the faction of Artabanus, and that of Hyſtaſpes his elder brother* Page 1

II. *Themiſtocles flies to Artaxerxes* - 3

III. *Cimon begins to make a figure in Athens. His firſt atchievements and double victory over the Perſians, near the river Eurymedon. Death of Themiſtocles* - - - 8

IV. *The Egyptians riſe againſt Perſia, ſupported by the Athenians* - - 19

V. *Inarus is delivered up to the king's mother contrary to the articles of the treaty. The affliction of Megabyſus, who revolts* - - 22

VI. *Artaxerxes ſends Eſdras and afterwards Nehemiah to Jeruſalem* - - 24

VII. *Character of Pericles. The methods employed by him to gain the affection of the people* - 28

VIII. *An earthquake in Sparta. Inſurrection of the Helots. Seeds of diviſion ariſe between the Athenians and Spartans. Cimon is ſent into baniſhment* 36

IX. *Cimon is recalled. He re-eſtabliſhes peace between the two cities. He gains ſeveral victories, which reduce Artaxerxes to the neceſſity of concluding a treaty highly honourable to the Greeks. Cimon's death* 39

X. *Thucydides is oppoſed to Pericles. The envy raiſed againſt the latter. He clears himſelf, and prevails to have Thucydides baniſhed.* - 42

XI. *Pericles changes his conduct with regard to the people. His prodigious authority. His diſintereſtedneſs* 48

Sect. XII. *Jealouſy and conteſts ariſe between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. A treaty of peace is concluded for thirty years* - Page 53

XIII. *New ſubjects of contention between the two nations, occaſioned by the Athenians laying ſiege to Samos; by their ſuccouring the people of Corcyra, and beſieging Potidæa. An open rupture enſues* 57

XIV. *Troubles excited againſt Pericles. He determines the Athenians to engage in war againſt the Lacedæmonians* - - 66

CHAP. II. *Tranſactions of the Greeks in Sicily and Italy* 72

Sect. I, *The Carthaginians are defeated in Sicily. Theron, tyrant of Agrigentum. Reign of Gelon in Syracuſe, and his two brothers. Liberty is reſtored* 73

II. *Of ſome famous perſons and citizens in Græcia Major. Pythagoras, Charondas, Zaleucus, Milo, the Athleta: Croton, Sybaris, and Thurium* 88

CHAP. III. *The war of Peloponneſus* - 99

Sect. I. *The ſiege of Platææ by the Thebans. Alternate ravages of Attica and Peloponneſus. Honours paid to the Athenians who fell in the firſt campaign* ibid.

II. *The plague makes dreadful havock in Attica. Pericles is diveſted of the command. The Lacedæmonians addreſs the Perſians for aid. Potidæa is taken by the Athenians. Pericles is reſtored to his employment. His death, and that of Anaxagoras* 109

III. *The Lacedæmonians beſiege Platææ. Mytylene is taken by the Athenians. Platææ ſurrendered. The plague breaks out again in Athens* - 121

IV. *The Athenians poſſeſs themſelves of Pylus, and are afterwards beſieged in it. The Spartans are ſhut up in the little iſland of Sphacteria. Cleon makes himſelf maſter of it. Artaxerxes dies* 139

BOOK VIII.

CHAPTER I.

Sect. I *The very ſhort reigns of Xerxes* II. *and Sogdianus. They are ſucceeded by Darius Nothus. He puts*



puts a ſtop to the inſurrection of Egypt, and that of Media. He beſtows on Cyrus, his youngeſt ſon, the ſupreme command of all Aſia Minor Page 147

Sect. II. *The Athenians make themſelves maſters of the iſland of Cythera. Expeditions of Braſidas into Thrace. He takes Amphipolis. Thucydides the hiſtorian is baniſhed. A battle is fought near Delium, where the Athenians are defeated* 154

III. *A twelve-month's truce is agreed upon between the two ſtates. Cleon and Braſidas die. A treaty of peace for fifty years concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians* - - 157

IV. *Alcibiades begins to appear. His character. He oppoſes Nicias in every thing, and breaks the treaty he had concluded. The baniſhment of Hyperbolus puts an end to the Oſtraciſm* - 164

V. *Alcibiades engages the Athenians in the war of Sicily* - - - 173

VI. *Account of the ſeveral people who inhabited Sicily* - - - 177

VII. *The people of Egeſta implore aid of the Athenians. Nicias oppoſes, but to no purpoſe, the war of Sicily. Alcibiades carries that point againſt him. They both are appointed generals with Lamachus* - 178

VIII. *The Athenians prepare to ſet ſail. Siniſter omens. The ſtatues of Mercury are mutilated. Alcibiades is accuſed, and inſiſts upon his being tried but his requeſt is not granted. Triumphant departure of the fleet* - - 186

IX. *Syracuſe is alarmed. The Athenian fleet arrives in Sicily* - - - 189

X. *Alcibiades is recalled. He flies, and is ſentenced to die as an outlaw. He retires to Sparta. Flexibility of his genius and diſpoſition* - 193

XI. *Deſcription of Syracuſe* - 197

XII. *Nicias, after ſome engagements, beſieges Syracuſe. Lamachus is killed in a battle. The city is reduced to the greateſt extremities* - - 200

XIII. *The Syracuſans reſolve to capitulate, but Gylippus's arrival changes the face of affairs. Nicias*

is forced by his colleagues to engage in a ſea-fight, and is overcome. His land-forces are alſo defeated Page 210

Sect XIV. *The conſternation with which the Athenians are ſeiſed. They again hazard a ſea fight, and are defeated. They reſolve to retire by land, Being cloſe purſued by the Syracuſans, they ſurrender. Nicias and Demoſthenes are ſentenced to die, and executed. The effect which the news of the defeat of the army produces in Athens* - 227

CHAPTER II.

Sect. I. *Conſequences of the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily. Revolt of the allies. Alcibiades grows into great power with Tiſſaphernes* - 243

II. *The return of Alcibiades to Athens negociated upon condition of eſtabliſhing the ariſtocratical, in the room of the democratical government. Tiſſaphernes concludes a new treaty with the Lacedæmonians* 249

III. *The whole authority of the Athenian government having being veſted in four hundred perſons, they abuſe it tyranically, and are depoſed. Alcibiades is recalled. After various accidents, and ſeveral conſiderable victories, he returns in triumph to Athens, and is appointed generaliſſimo. He cauſes the great myſteries to be celebrated, and departs with the fleet* 252

IV. *The Lacedæmonians appoint Lyſander admiral. He becomes very powerful with young Cyrus, who commanded in Aſia. He beats the Athenian fleet near Epheſus in the abſence of Alcibiades, who is deprived of the command. Ten generals are choſen in his ſtead. Callicratidas ſucceeds Lyſander* - 265

V. *Callicratidas is defeated by the Athenians near the Arginuſæ. The Athenians paſs ſentence of death upon ſeveral of their generals, for not having brought off the bodies of thoſe who had been ſlain in the battle. Socrates alone has the courage to oppoſe ſo unjuſt a ſentence* 273 *Lyſander commands the Lacedæmonian fleet. Cyrus is recalled to court by his father. Lyſander's celebrated victory over the Athenians at Ægoſpotamos* 282

Sect.

Sect. VII. *Athens, beſieged by Lyſander, capitulates, and ſurrenders. Lyſander changes the form of government, and eſtabliſhes thirty commanders in it. He ſends Gylippus before him to Sparta with all the gold and ſilver taken from the enemy. Decree of Sparta upon the uſe to be made of it. The Peloponneſian war ends in this manner. Death of Darius Nothus* Page 289

BOOK IX.

CHAPTER I.

Sect. I. *Coronation of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Cyrus attempts to aſſaſſinate his brother, and is ſent into Aſia Minor. Cruel revenge of Statira, wife of Artaxerxes, upon the authors and accomplices in the murther of her brother. Death of Alcibiades. His character* 295

II. *The Thirty exerciſe the moſt horrid cruelties at Athens. They put Theramenes, one of their colleagues, to death. Socrates takes his defence upon himſelf. Thraſybulus attacks the tyrants, makes himſelf maſter of Athens, and reſtores its liberty* - 304

III. *Lyſander abuſes his power in an extraordinary manner. He is recalled to Sparta upon the complaint of Pharnabaſus* - - - 311

CHAP. II *Young Cyrus, with the aid of the Grecian troops endeavours to dethrone his brother Artaxerxes. He is killed in battle. Famous retreat of the ten thouſand* - - - 315

Sect. I. *Cyrus raiſes troops ſecretly againſt his brother Artaxerxes. Thirteen thouſand Greeks join him. He ſets out for Sardis, and arrives in Babylonia after a march of ſix months* - 316

II. *The battle of Cunaxa. The Greeks are victorious on their ſide, Artaxerxes on his. Cyrus is killed* 323

III. *Eulogy of Cyrus* - - 331

IV. *The king is for compelling the Greeks to deliver up their arms. They reſolve to die rather than ſurrender themſelves. A treaty is made with them. Tiſſaphernes takes upon him to conduct them back to their own country.*

try. He treacherously seises Clearchus and four other generals, who are all put to death - Page 334
Sect. V. Retreat of the ten thousand Greeks from the province of Babylon to Trebisond - - 343
VI. The Greeks, after having undergone excessive fatigues, and surmounted many dangers, arrive upon the sea-coast opposite to Byzantium, They pass the strait, and engage in the service of Seuthes prince of Thrace. Xenophon afterwards repasses the sea advances to Pergamus, and joins Thimbron, general of the Lacedæmonians, who marches against Tissaphernes and Pharnabasus - - 351
VII. Consequences of Cyrus's death in the court of Artaxerxes. Cruelty and jealousy of Paysatis. Statira poisoned - - - 359

CHAPTER III.

Sect. I. The Grecian cities of Ionia implore aid of the Lacedæmonians against Artaxerxes. Rare prudence of a lady continued in her husband's government after his death. Agesilaus elected king of Sparta. His character - - - 362
II Agesilaus sets out for Asia. Lysander falls out with him, and returns to Sparta. His ambitious designs to alter the succession to the throne - 373
III. Expedition of Agesilaus in Asia. Disgrace and death of Tissaphernes. Sparta gives Agesilaus the command of its armies by sea and land. He deputes Pisander to command the fleet. Interview of Agesilaus and Pharnabasus - - 380
IV. League against the Lacedæmonians. Agesilaus recalled by the Ephori to defend his country, obeys directly. Lysander's death. Victory of the Lacedæmonians near Nemæa. Their fleet beaten by Conon at Cnidus. Battle gained by the Lacedæmnians at Coronæa - - - 388
V. Agesilaus returns victorious to Sparta. He always retains his simplicity and ancient manners. Conon rebulds the walls of Athens. A peace, shameful to the Greeks, concluded by Antalcides the Lacedæmonian 399

Sect.

Sect. VI. *War of Artaxerxes againſt Evagoras king of Salamin. Eulogy and character of that prince. Tiribaſus falſly accuſed. His accuſer puniſhed* Page 407
VII. *The expedition of Artaxerxes againſt the Caduſians. Hiſtory of Datames the Carian* - 419
CHAP. IV. *Hiſtory of Socrates abridged* - 429
Sect. I. *Birth of Socrates. He applies at firſt to ſculpture; then to the ſtudy of the ſciences: His wonderful progreſs in them. His taſte for moral philoſophy: His manner of living, and ſufferings from the ill humour of his wife* - - 430
II. *Of the dæmon, or familiar ſpirit of Socrates* 436
III. *Socrates declared the wiſeſt of mankind by the oracle of Delphos* - - 439
IV. *Socrates devotes himſelf entirely to the inſtruction of the youth of Athens. Affection of his diſciples for him. The admirable principles with which he inſpires them either for government or religion* 441
V. *Socrates applies himſelf to diſcredit the ſophiſts in the opinion of the young Athenians. What is to be underſtood of the ironical character aſcribed to him* 450
VI. *Socrates is accuſed of holden bad opinions in regard to the Gods, and of corrupting the Athenian youth. He defends himſelf without art or fear. He is condemned to die* - - 453
VII. *Socrates refuſes to eſcape out of priſon. He paſſes the laſt day of his life in diſcourſing with his friends upon the immortality of the ſoul. He drinks the poiſon. Puniſhment of his accuſers. Honours paid to his memory* - - - 468
VIII. *Reflections upon the ſentence paſſed upon Socrates by the Athenians, and upon Socrates himſelf* 481

BOOK X.

CHAP. I *Of political government* - - 489

ARTICLE I.

Of the government of Sparta - - 490

Sect.

CONTENTS.

Sect. I *Abridged idea of the Spartan Government. Entire ſubmiſſion to the laws in a manner the ſoul of it* Page 491
II. *Love of poverty inſtituted at Sparta* 495
III. *Laws eſtabliſhed by Minos in Crete the model of thoſe of Sparta* - - 499

ARTICLE II.

Of the government of Athens - - 508
Sect. I *Foundation of the government of Athens according to Solon's plan* - - 509
II. *Of the inhabitants of Athens* - 512
1. *Of the citizens* - - ibid.
2. *Of the ſtrangers* - - 513
3. *Of the ſervants* - - 514
III. *Of the council or ſenate of Five Hundred* 516
IV. *Of the Areopagus* - - 518
V. *Of the Magiſtrates* - - 521
VI. *Of the Aſſemblies of the people* - - 522
VII. *Of Trials* - - 524
VIII. *Of the Amphictyons* - - 526
IX. *Of the revenues of Athens* - 529
X. *Of the education of the youth* - 530
1. *Dancing. Muſick* - - 531
2. *Of the other exerciſes of the body* - 534
3. *Of the exerciſes of the mind* - 535
CHAP. II. *Of war* - - - 537
Sect. I. *People of Greece in all times very warlike, eſpecially the Lacedæmonians and Athenians* ibid.
II. *Origin and cauſe of the valour and military virtue by which the Lacedæmonians and Athenians always diſtinguiſhed themſelves* - - 538
III. *Different kind of troops of which the armies of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians were compoſed* 542
IV. *Of maritime affairs, fleets, and naval forces* 546
V. *Peculiar character of the Athenians* - 553
VI. *Common character of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians* - - - 559

PROVINCIAL MUSEUM 15 64 APR

THE

BOOK THE SEVENTH.

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

CHAP. I.

THIS chapter includes the hiſtory of the Perſians and Greeks, from the beginning of Artaxerxes's reign, to the Peloponneſian war, which began in the 42d year of that king's reign. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

SECT. I. ARTAXERXES *ruins the faction of* ARTABANUS, *and that of* HYSTASPES *his elder brother.*

THE Greek hiſtorians give this prince the ſurname of Longimanus. Strabo (*a*) ſays, it was becauſe his hands were ſo long, that when he ſtood upright he could touch his knees with them; but according to (*b*) Plutarch, it was becauſe his right hand was longer than his left. Had it not been for this blemiſh, he would have been the moſt graceful man of his age. He was ſtill more remarkable for his goodneſs and generoſity. He reigned about forty-nine years. A. M. 3531. Ant. J. C. 473.

(*c*) Although Artaxerxes, by the death of Artabanus, was delivered from a dangerous competitor, there ſtill were two obſtacles in his way, before he could eſtabliſh himſelf in the quiet poſſeſſion of his throne; one of which was, his brother Hyſtaſpes, governor of

(*a*) Lib. xv. p. 735. (*b*) In Artax. p. 1011. (*c*) Cteſ. c. xxx.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. Bactriana; and the other, the faction of Artabanus. He began by the latter.

Artabanus had left ſeven ſons, and a great number of partiſans, who ſoon aſſembled to revenge his death. Theſe, and the adherents of Artaxerxes, fought a bloody battle, in which a great number of Perſian nobles loſt their lives. Artaxerxes having at laſt entirely defeated his enemies, put to death all who had engaged in this conſpiracy. He took an exemplary vengeance of thoſe who were concerned in his father's murther, and particularly of Mithridates the eunuch, who had betrayed him, and who was executed in the following manner. (*d*) He was laid on his back in a kind of horſe-trough, and ſtrongly faſtened to the four corners of it. Every part of him, except his head, his hands, and feet, which came out at holes made for that purpoſe, was covered with another trough. In this horrid ſituation victuals were given him from time to time; and in caſe of his refuſal to eat it, they were forced down his throat: Honey mixed with milk was given him to drink, and all his face was ſmeared with it, which by that means attracted a numberleſs multitude of flies, eſpecially as he was perpetually expoſed to the ſcorching rays of the ſun. The worms which bred in his excrements preyed upon his bowels. The criminal lived fifteen or twenty days in inexpreſſible torments.

(*e*) Artaxerxes, having cruſhed the faction of Artabanus, was powerful enough to ſend an army into Bactriana, which had declared in favour of his brother, but he was not ſucceſsful on this occaſion. The two armies engaging, Hyſtaſpes ſtood his ground ſo well, that, if he did not gain the victory, he at leaſt ſuſtained no loſs; ſo that both armies ſeparated with equal ſucceſs; and each retired to prepare for a ſecond battle. Artaxerxes having raiſed a greater army than his brother (not to mention that the whole empire declared in his favour) defeated him in a ſecond engagement,

(*d*) Plut. in Artax. p. 1019. (*e*) Cteſ. c. xxxi.

BRITISH MUSEUM 15 64 APR

ment, and entirely ruined his party. By this victory he ſecured to himſelf the quiet poſſeſſion of the empire. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

(*f*) To maintain himſelf in the throne, he removed all ſuch governors of cities and provinces from their employments, as he ſuſpected to hold a correſpondence with either of the factions he had overcome, and ſubſtituted others on whom he could rely. He afterwards applied himſelf to reforming the abuſes and diſorders which had crept into the government. By his wiſe conduct and zeal for the publick good, he ſoon acquired great reputation and authority, with the love of his ſubjects, the ſtrongeſt ſupport of ſovereign power.

SECT. II. THEMISTOCLES *flies to* ARTAXERXES.

ACCORDING to Thucydides, Themiſtocles fled to this prince in the beginning of his reign; but other authors, as Strabo, Plutarch, Diodorus, fix this incident under Xerxes his predeceſſor. Dr. Prideaux is of the latter opinion; he likewiſe thinks, that the Artaxerxes in queſtion, is the ſame with him who is called Ahaſuerus in ſcripture, and who married Eſther: But we ſuppoſe with the learned Archbiſhop Uſher, that it was Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes who eſpouſed this illuſtrious Jeweſs. I have already declared more than once, that I would not engage in controverſies of this kind; and therefore, with regard to this flight of Themiſtocles into Perſia, and the hiſtory of Eſther, I ſhall follow the opinion of the learned Uſher, my uſual guide on theſe occaſions. A. M. 3531.

(*g*) We have ſeen that Themiſtocles had fled to Admetus, king of the Moloſſi, and had met with a gracious reception from him; but the Athenians and Lacedæmonians would not ſuffer him to live in peace, and required that prince to deliver him up; threatning, in caſe of refuſal, to carry their arms into his country. Admetus, who was unwilling to draw ſuch formidable enemies upon himſelf, and much more to

(*f*) Diod. l. xi. p. 54. (*g*) Thucyd. l. i. p. 90, 91. Plut. in Themiſt. p. 125, 127. Diod. l. xi. p. 42, 44. Corn. Nep. in Themiſt. c. viii. x.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. deliver up the man who had fled to him for refuge, informed him of the great danger to which he was expoſed, and favoured his flight. Themiſtocles went as far by land as Pydna, a city of Macedonia, and there embarked on board a merchant ſhip which was ſailing to Ionia. None of the paſſengers knew him. A ſtorm having carried this veſſel near the iſland of Naxos, then beſieged by the Athenians; the imminent danger to which Themiſtocles was expoſed, obliged him to diſcover himſelf to the pilot and maſter of the ſhip; after which, by intreaties and menaces, he forced them to ſail towards Aſia.

(*g*) Themiſtocles might on this occaſion call to mind the advice which his father had given him when an infant, *viz.* to lay very little ſtreſs on the favour of the common people. They were then walking together in the harbour. His father pointing to ſome rotten gallies that lay neglected on the ſtrand, *Behold there*, ſays he, *ſon*, (pointing to them) *thus do the people treat their governors, when they can do them no further ſervice.*

He was now arrived in Cumæ, a city of Ætolia in Aſia Minor. The king of Perſia had ſet a price upon his head, and promiſed two hundred * talents to any man who ſhould deliver him up. The whole coaſt was covered with people who were watching for him. He fled to Ægæ, a little city of Æolia, where no one knew him except Nicogenes, at whoſe houſe he lodged. He was the moſt wealthy man in that country, and very intimate with all the lords of the Perſian court. Themiſtocles was concealed ſome days in his houſe, till Nicogenes ſent him under a ſtrong guard to Suſa, in one of thoſe covered chariots in which the Perſians, who were extremely jealous, uſe to carry their wives; thoſe who carried him telling every body, that they were carrying a young Greek lady to a courtier of great diſtinction.

Being come to the Perſian court, he waited upon the captain of the guards, and told him, that he was a Grecian by birth, and begged the king would admit him

(*g*) Plut. in Themiſt. p. 112.

* *Two hundred thouſand crowns, or about* 45000*l. ſterling.*

him to audience, having matters of great importance to communicate to him. The officer informed him of a ceremony, which he knew was insupportable to some Greeks, but without which none were allowed to speak to the king; and this was, to fall prostrate before him. "Our laws, says he, command us to honour the king "in that manner, and to worship him as the living "image of the immortal God, who maintains and "preserves all things." Themistocles promised to comply. Being admitted to audience, he fell on his face before the king, after the Persian manner; and afterwards rising up, "Great king *," says he by an interpreter, "I am Themistocles the Athenian, who "having been banished by the Greeks, am come to "your court in hopes of finding an asylum in it. I "have indeed brought many calamities on the Per-"sians; but, on the other side, I have done them no "less services, by the salutary advices I have given "them more than once; and I now am able to do "them more important services than ever. My life is "in your hands. You may now exert your clemency, "or display your vengeance: By the former you will "preserve your suppliant; by the latter you will "destroy the greatest enemy of Greece."

ARTAX. LONGIMA.

The king made him no answer at this audience, though he was struck with admiration at his great sense and boldness; but history informs us, he told his friends, that he considered Themistocles's arrival as a very great happiness; that he implored his god Arimanius always to inspire his enemies with such thoughts, and to prompt them to banish and make away with their most illustrious personages. It is added, that when this king was asleep, he started up three times in excess of joy, and cried thrice, *I have got Themistocles the Athenian!*

The next morning at day-break, he sent for the greatest lords of his court, and commanded Themistocles to be brought before him, who expected no-

* *Thucydides makes him say very near the same words; but informs us, that Themistocles did not speak them to the king, but sent them by way of letter before he was introduced to him.*

ARTAX. LONGIMA. thing but deſtruction; eſpecially after what one of his guards, upon hearing his name, had ſaid to him the night before, even in the preſence-chamber, juſt as he had left the king, *Thou ſerpent of Greece, thou compound of fraud and malice, the good genius of our prince brings thee hither!* However, the ſerenity which appeared in the king's face ſeemed to promiſe him a favourable reception. Themiſtocles was not miſtaken, for the king began by making him a preſent of two hundred * talents, which ſum he had promiſed to any one who ſhould deliver him up, which conſequently was his due, as Themiſtocles had brought him his head, by ſurrendering himſelf to him. He afterwards deſired him to give an account of the affairs of Greece: But as Themiſtocles could not expreſs his thoughts to the king without the aſſiſtance of an interpreter, he deſired time might be allowed him to learn the Perſian tongue, hoping he then ſhould be able to explain thoſe things he was deſirous of communicating to him, better than he could by the aid of a third perſon. It is the ſame, ſays he, with the ſpeech of a man, as with a piece of tapeſtry, which muſt be ſpread out and unfolded, to ſhow the figures and other beauties wrought in it. Themiſtocles having ſtudied the Perſian tongue twelve months, made ſo great a progreſs, that he ſpoke it with greater elegance than the Perſians themſelves, and conſequently could converſe with the king without the help of an interpreter. This prince treated him with uncommon marks of friendſhip and eſteem; he made him marry a lady deſcended from one of the nobleſt families in Perſia; gave him a palace and an equipage ſuitable to it, and ſettled a noble penſion on him. He uſed to carry him abroad on his parties of hunting, and every banquet and entertainment; and ſometimes converſed privately with him, ſo that the lords of the court grew jealous and uneaſy upon that account. He even preſented him to the princeſſes, who honoured him with their eſteem, and received his viſits. It is obſerved, as a proof of the peculiar

* *Two hundred thouſand French crowns; or, about* 45,000 l. *ſterling.*

peculiar favour ſhowed him, that by the king's ſpecial order, Themiſtocles was admitted to hear the lectures and diſcourſes of the Magi, and was inſtructed by them in all the ſecrets of their philoſophy. ARTAX. LONGIM.

Another proof of his great credit is related. Demaratus of Sparta, who was then at court, being commanded by the king to aſk any thing of him, he deſired that he might be ſuffered to make his entry on horſeback, into the city of Sardis, with the royal tiarà on his head: A ridiculous vanity! equally unworthy of the Grecian grandeur, and the ſimplicity of a Lacedæmonian! The king, exaſperated at the inſolence of his demand, expreſſed his diſguſt in the ſtrongeſt terms, and ſeemed reſolved not to pardon him; but Themiſtocles having interceded, the king reſtored him to favour.

In fine, Themiſtocles was in ſuch great credit, that under the ſucceeding reigns, in which the affairs of Perſia were ſtill more mixed with thoſe of Greece, whenever the kings were deſirous of drawing over any Greek to their intereſt, they uſed to declare expreſsly in their letters, that he ſhould be in greater favour with them, than Themiſtocles had been with king Artaxerxes.

It is ſaid alſo that Themiſtocles, when in his moſt flouriſhing condition in Perſia, was honoured and eſteemed by all the world, who were emulous in making their court to him, ſaid one day, when his table was covered magnificently: *Children, we ſhould have been ruined, if we had not been ruined.*

But at laſt, as it was judged neceſſary for the king's intereſt that Themiſtocles ſhould reſide in ſome city of Aſia Minor, that he might be ready on any occaſion which ſhould preſent itſelf; accordingly he was ſent to Magneſia, ſituated on the Meander; and for his ſubſiſtence, beſides the whole revenues of that city, (which amounted to fifty * talents every year) had thoſe of Myunte and Lampſacus aſſigned him. One of the cities was to furniſh him with bread, another

* *Fifty thouſand crowns; or, about* 11,250 l. *ſterling.*

ARTAX. LONGIMA. with wine, and a third with other proviſions. Some authors add two more, *viz.* for his furniture and clothes. Such was the cuſtom of the ancient kings of the eaſt: Inſtead of ſettling penſions on perſons they rewarded, they gave them cities, and ſometimes even provinces, which under the name of bread, wine, *&c.* were to furniſh them abundantly with all things neceſſary for ſupporting, in a magnificent manner, their family and equipage. Themiſtocles lived for ſome years in Magneſia in the utmoſt ſplendour, till he came to his end in the manner which will be related hereafter.

SECT. III. CIMON *begins to make a figure at Athens. His firſt achievement and double victory over the Perſians, near the river Eurymedon. Death of* THEMISTOCLES.

A. M. 3534. Ant. J. C. 470. (*b*) THE Athenians having loſt one of their moſt diſtinguiſhed citizens, as well as ableſt generals, by the baniſhment of Themiſtocles, endeavoured to retrieve that loſs, by beſtowing the command of the armies on Cimon, who was not inferior to him in merit.

He ſpent his youth in ſuch exceſſes as did him no honour, and preſaged no good with regard to his future conduct. (*i*) The example of this illuſtrious Athenian, who paſſed his juvenile years in ſo diſſolute a manner, and afterwards roſe to ſo exalted a pitch of glory, ſhows, that parents muſt not always deſpair of the happineſs of a ſon, when wild and irregular in his youth; eſpecially when nature has endowed him with genius, goodneſs of heart, generous inclinations, and an eſteem for perſons of merit. Such was the character of Cimon. The ill reputation he had drawn upon himſelf, having prejudiced the people againſt him, he at firſt was very ill received by them; when, being diſcouraged by this repulſe, he reſolved to lay aſide all thoughts of concerning himſelf with the affairs

(*b*) Diod. l. xi. p. 45. Plut. in Cim. p. 482, 483. (*i*) Plut. in CHR. p. 480.

affairs of the publick. But Ariſtides perceiving that his diſſolute turn of mind was united with many fine qualities, he conſoled him, inſpired him with hope, pointed out the paths he ſhould take, inſtilled good principles into him, and did not a little contribute, by the excellent inſtructions he gave him, and the affection he expreſſed for him on all occaſions, to make him the man he afterwards appeared. What more important ſervice could he have done his country? ARTAX. LONGIMA.

(*k*) Plutarch obſerves, that after Cimon had laid aſide his juvenile extravagancies, his conduct was in things great and noble; and that he was not inferior to Miltiades either in courage or intrepidity, nor to Themiſtocles in prudence and ſenſe, but that he was more juſt and virtuous than either of them; and that without being at all inferior to them in military virtues, he ſurpaſſed them far in the practice of the moral ones.

It would be of great advantage to a ſtate, if thoſe, who excel in profeſſions of every kind, would take pleaſure, and make it their duty to faſhion and inſtruct ſuch youths as are remarkable for the pregnancy of their parts and goodneſs of diſpoſition. They would thereby have an opportunity of ſerving their country even after their death, and of perpetuating in it, in the perſon of their pupils, a taſte and inclination for true merit, and the practice of the wiſeſt maxims.

The Athenians, a little after Themiſtocles had left his country, having put to ſea a fleet under the command of Cimon, the ſon of Miltiades, took Eion, on the banks of the Strymon, Amphipolis, and other places of Thrace; and as this was a very fruitful country, Cimon planted a colony in it, and ſent ten thouſand Athenians thither for that purpoſe.

(*l*) The fate of Eion is of too ſingular a kind to be omitted here. Boges * was governor of it under the

(*k*) Plut. in Cim. p. 481. (*l*) Herod. l. vii. c. 107. Plut. p. 482.

* *Plutarch calls him Butis. Herodotus ſeems to place this hiſtory under Xerxes; but it is more probable, that it happened under Artaxerxes his ſucceſſor.*

ARTAX. LONGIMA. the king of Perſia, and acted with ſuch a zeal and fidelity for his ſovereign, as have few examples. When beſieged by Cimon and the Athenians, it was in his power to have capitulated upon honourable terms, and he might have retired to Aſia with his family and all his effects. However, being perſuaded he could not do this with honour, he reſolved to die rather than ſurrender. The city was aſſaulted with the utmoſt fury, and he defended it with incredible bravery. Being at laſt in the utmoſt want of proviſions, he threw from the walls into the river Strymon, all the gold and ſilver in the place; and cauſing fire to be ſet to a pile, and having killed his wife, his children, and his whole family, he threw them into the midſt of the flames, and afterwards ruſhed into them himſelf. Xerxes could not but admire, and at the ſame time bewail, ſo ſurpriſing an example of generoſity. The heathens, indeed, might give this name to what is rather ſavage ferocity and barbarity.

Cimon made himſelf maſter alſo of the iſland of Scyros, where he found the bones of Theſeus, the ſon of Ægeus, who had fled from Athens to that city, and there ended his days. An oracle had commanded that ſearch ſhould be made after his bones. Cimon put them on board his galley, adorned them magnificently, and carried them to his native country, near eight hundred years after Theſeus had left it. The people received them with the higheſt expreſſions of joy; and to perpetuate the rememberance of this event, they founded a diſputation or prize for tragick writers, which became very famous, and contributed exceedingly to the improvement of the drama, by the wonderful emulation it excited among the tragick poets, whoſe pieces were repreſented in it. For Sophocles having, in his youth, brought his firſt play on the ſtage, the archon, or chief magiſtrate who preſided at theſe games, obſerving there was a ſtrong faction among the ſpectators, prevailed with Cimon, and the reſt of the generals his colleagues (who were ten in number, and choſen out of each tribe) to ſit as judges. The prize was

was adjudged to Sophocles, which ſo deeply afflicted Æſchylus, who till then had been conſidered as the greateſt dramatick poet, that Athens became inſupportable to him, and he withdrew to Sicily, where he died. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

(*m*) The confederates had taken a great number of Barbarian priſoners in Seſtus and Byzantium; and, as a proof of the high regard they had for Cimon, intreated him to diſtribute the booty. Accordingly Cimon placed all the captives (ſtark naked) on one ſide, and on the other all their riches and ſpoils. The allies complained of this partition as too unequal; but Cimon giving them the choice, they immediately took the riches which had belonged to the Perſians, and left the priſoners for the Athenians. Cimon therefore ſet out with his portion, and was thought a perſon no ways qualified to ſettle the diſtribution of prizes: For the allies carried off a great number of chains, necklaces and bracelets of gold; a large quantity of rich habits, and fine purple cloaks; whilſt the Athenians had only for their ſhare a multitude of human creatures quite naked, and unfit for labour. However, the relations and friends of theſe captives came ſoon after from Phrygia and Lydia, and purchaſed them all at a very high price; ſo that with the monies ariſing from the ranſom of them, Cimon had enough to maintain his fleet four months; beſides a great ſum of money which was put into the exchequer, not to mention what he himſelf had for his own ſhare. He afterwards uſed to take exceeding pleaſure, in relating this adventure to his friends.

(*n*) He made the beſt uſe of his riches, as Gorgias the rhetor has happily expreſſed it in few, but ſtrong and elegant words. * *Cimon*, ſays he, *amaſſed riches, only to uſe them; and he employed them to no other uſe, but to acquire eſteem and honour.* We may here perceive (by the way) what was the ſcope and aim of the moſt exalted actions of the heathens; and with what juſtice

(*m*) Plut. in Cim. p. 484. (*n*) Plut. in Cim. p. 484. Cornel. Nep. in Cim. c. iv. Athen. l. xii. p. 533.

* Φασὶ τὸν Κίμωνα τὰ χρήματα κλᾶσθαι μὲν ὡς χρῆτο, χρῆσθαι δὲ ὡς τιμᾶτο.

Artax. Longima. juſtice Tertullian defined a pagan, how perfect ſoever he might appear, a vain-glorious animal, *animal gloriæ*. The gardens and orchards of Cimon were always open, by his order, to the citizens in general; who were allowed to gather whatever fruits they pleaſed. His table was daily covered in a frugal, but polite manner. It was entirely different from thoſe delicate and ſumptuous tables, to which only a few perſons of great diſtinction are admitted; and which are covered merely to diſplay a vain magnificence or elegance of taſte. Now that of Cimon was plain, but abundant; and all the poor citizens were received at it without diſtinction. In thus baniſhing from his entertainments, whatever had the leaſt air of oſtentation and luxury, he reſerved to himſelf an inexhauſtible fund, not only for the expences of his houſe, but for the wants of his friends, his domeſticks, and a very great number of citizens; demonſtrating, by this conduct, that he knew much better than moſt rich men, the true uſe and value of riches.

He was always followed by ſome ſervants, who were ordered to ſlip privately ſome piece of money into the hands of ſuch poor as they met, and to give clothes to thoſe who were in want of them. He often buried ſuch perſons as had not left money enough behind them to defray the expences of their funeral; and what is admirable, and which Plutarch does not fail to obſerve, he did not act in this manner to gain credit among the people, nor to purchaſe their voices; ſince we find him, on all occaſions, declaring for the contrary faction, that is, in favour of ſuch citizens as were moſt conſiderable for their wealth or authority.

(*o*) Although he ſaw all the reſt of the governors of his time enrich themſelves by the plunder and oppreſſion of the publick, he was always incorruptible, and his hands were never ſtained with extortion, or the ſmalleſt preſent; and he continued, during his whole life, not only to ſpeak, but to act ſpontaneouſly, and without the leaſt view of intereſt, whatever he thought might be of advantage to the commonwealth.

Beſides

(*o*) Plut, in Cim. p. 485.

Beſides a greater number of other excellent qualities, Cimon had the fineſt ſenſe, extraordinary prudence, and a profound knowledge of the genius and characters of men. The allies, beſides the ſums of money in which each of them was taxed, were to furniſh a certain number of men and ſhips. Several among them, who, from the retreat of Xerxes, were ſtudious of nothing but their eaſe, and applied themſelves entirely to tilling and cultivating their lands, to free themſelves from the toils and dangers of war, choſe to furniſh their quota in money rather than in men, and left the Athenians the care of manning with ſoldiers and rowers, the ſhips they were obliged to furniſh. The other generals, who had no forecaſt and penetration for the future, gave ſuch people ſome uneaſineſs at firſt, and were for obliging them to obſerve the treaty literally. But Cimon, when in power, acted in a quite different manner, and ſuffered them to enjoy the tranquillity they choſe; plainly perceiving that the allies, from being warlike in the field, would inſenſibly loſe their martial ſpirit, and be fit for nothing but huſbandry and trade; whilſt the Athenians, by exerciſing the oar perpetually, would be more and more inured to hardſhips, and daily increaſe in power. What Cimon had foreſeen happened; this very people purchaſed themſelves maſters at their own expence; ſo that they who before had been companions and allies, became in ſome meaſure the ſubjects and tributaries of the Athenians. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

(p) No Grecian general ever gave ſo great a blow to the pride and haughtineſs of the Perſian monarch as Cimon. After the Barbarians had been driven out of Greece, he did not give them time to take breath; but ſailed immediately after them with a fleet of upwards of two hundred ſhips, took their ſtrongeſt cities, and brought over all their allies; ſo that the king of Perſia had not one ſoldier left in Aſia, from Ionia to Pamphylia. Still purſuing his point, he bravely attacked

(p) Plut. in Cim. p. 485—487. Thucyd. l. i. p. 66. Diod. l. xi. p. 45—47.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. attacked the enemy's fleet, though much ſtronger than his own. It lay near the mouth of the river Eurymedon, and conſiſted of three hundred and fifty ſail of ſhips, ſupported by the land-army on the coaſt. It was ſoon put to flight; and two hundred ſail were taken, beſides thoſe that were ſunk. A great number of the Perſians had left their ſhips and leaped into the ſea, in order to join their land-army, which lay on the ſhore. It was very hazardous to attempt a deſcent in ſight of the enemy, and to lead on troops, which were already fatigued by their late battle, againſt freſh forces much ſuperior in number. However Cimon, finding that the whole army was eager to engage the Barbarians, thought proper to take advantage of the ardour of the ſoldiers, who were greatly animated with their firſt ſucceſs. Accordingly he * landed, and marched them directly againſt the Barbarians, who waited reſolutely for their coming up, and ſuſtained the firſt onſet with prodigious valour; however, being at laſt obliged to give way, they broke and fled. A great ſlaughter enſued, and an infinite number of priſoners, and immenſely rich ſpoils, were taken. Cimon having, in one day gained two victories which almoſt equalled thoſe of Salamin and Platæa; to crown all, ſailed out to meet a re-inforcement of eighty-four Phœnician ſhips, which were come from Cyprus to join the Perſian fleet, and knew nothing of what had paſſed. They were all either taken or ſunk, and moſt of the ſoldiers were killed or drowned.

Cimon having achieved ſuch glorious exploits, returned in triumph to Athens; and employed part of the ſpoils in fortifying the harbour, and in beautifying the city. The riches which a general amaſſes in the field, are applied to the nobleſt uſes when they are diſpoſed of in this manner; and muſt reflect infinitely greater honour upon him, than if he expended them in building magnificent palaces for himſelf, which muſt one time or other devolve to ſtrangers; whereas

* *We do not find that the ancients made uſe of long-boats in making deſcents; the reaſon of which perhaps was, that as their gallies were flat-bottomed, they were brought to ſhore without any difficulty.*

whereas works, built for publick uſe, are his property, in ſome meaſure, for ever, and tranſmit his name to the lateſt poſterity. (q) It is well known that ſuch embelliſhments in a city give infinite pleaſure to the people, who are always ſtruck with works of this kind; and this, as Plutarch obſerves in the life of Cimon, is one of the ſureſt, and, at the ſame time, the moſt lawful method of acquiring their friendſhip and eſteem. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

(r) The year following, this general ſailed towards the Helleſpont; and having driven the Perſians out of the Thracian Cherſoneſus, of which they had poſſeſſed themſelves, he conquered it in the name of the Athenians, though he himſelf had more right to it, as Miltiades his father had been its ſovereign. He afterwards attacked the people of the iſland of Thaſus, who had revolted from the Athenians, and defeated their fleet. Theſe maintained their revolt with an almoſt unparallelled obſtinacy and fury. (s) As if they had been in arms againſt the moſt cruel and barbarous enemies, from whom they had the worſt of evils to fear, they made a law, that the firſt man who ſhould only mention the concluding a treaty with the Athenians, ſhould be put to death. The ſiege was carried on three years, during which the inhabitants ſuffered all the calamities of war with the ſame obſtinacy. (t) The women were no leſs inflexible than the men; for the beſieged wanting ropes for their military engines, all the women cut off their hair in a ſeeming tranſport; and when the city was in the utmoſt diſtreſs by famine, which ſwept away a great number of the inhabitants, Hegetorides the Thaſian, deeply afflicted with ſeeing ſuch multitudes of his fellow-citizens periſh, reſolutely determined to ſacrifice his life for the preſervation of his country. Accordingly he put a halter round his neck, and preſenting himſelf to the aſſembly, "Countrymen," ſays he, "do with me as you pleaſe, and don't ſpare me if "you judge proper; but let my death ſave the reſt of "the

(q) Plut. de gerend. rep. p. 818. Thucyd. l. i. p. 66, 67. Diod. l. xi. p. 53.
(r) Plut. in Cim. p. 487.
(s) Polyæn. Str. l. ii.
(t) Polyæn. l. viii.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. "the people, and prevail with you to aboliſh the cruel "law you have enacted, ſo contrary to your welfare." The Thaſians, ſtruck with theſe words, aboliſhed the law, but would not ſuffer it to coſt ſo generous a citizen his life; for they ſurrendered themſelves to the Athenians, who ſpared their lives, and only diſmantled their city.

After Cimon had landed his troops on the ſhore oppoſite to Thrace, he ſeiſed on all the gold mines of thoſe coaſts, and ſubdued every part of that country as far as Macedonia. He might have attempted the conqueſt of that kingdom; and, in all probability, could have eaſily poſſeſſed himſelf of part of it, had he improved the occaſion. And indeed, for his neglect in this point, at his return to Athens, he was proſecuted, as having been bribed by the money of the Macedonians and of Alexander their king. But Cimon had a ſoul ſuperior to all temptations of that kind, and proved his innocence in the cleareſt light.

A. M. 3538. Ant. J. C. 466. (*u*) The conqueſts of Cimon and the power of the Athenians, which increaſed every day, gave Artaxerxes great uneaſineſs. To prevent the conſequences of it, he reſolved to ſend Themiſtocles into Attica, with a great army, and accordingly propoſed it to him.

Themiſtocles was in great perplexity on this occaſion. On one ſide, the rememberance of the favours the king had heaped upon him; the poſitive aſſurances he had given that monarch to ſerve him with the utmoſt zeal on all occaſions; the inſtances of the king who claimed his promiſe; all theſe conſiderations would not permit him to refuſe the commiſſion. On the other ſide, the love of his country, which the injuſtice and ill treatment of his fellow-citizens could not baniſh from his mind; his ſtrong reluctance to ſully the glory of his former laurels and mighty achievements by ſo ignominious a ſtep; perhaps too, the fear of being unſucceſsful in a war, in which he ſhould be oppoſed by excellent generals, and particularly Cimon, who ſeemed to be as ſucceſsful as valiant; theſe different reflections would

(*u*) Thucyd. l. i. p. 92. Plut. in Themiſt. p. 127.

would not ſuffer him to declare againſt his country, in an enterpriſe, which, whether ſucceſsful or not, would reflect ſhame on himſelf. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

To rid himſelf at once of all theſe inward ſtruggles, he reſolved to put * an end to his life, as the only method for him not to be wanting in the duty he owed his country, nor to the promiſes he had made that prince. He therefore prepared a ſolemn ſacrifice, to which he invited all his friends; when, after embracing them all, and taking a laſt farewell of them, he drank bull's blood, or, according to others, ſwallowed a doſe of poiſon, and died in this manner at Magneſia, aged threeſcore and five years, the greateſt part of which he had ſpent either in the government of the republick, or the command of the armies. (*x*) When the king was told the cauſe and manner of his death, he eſteemed and admired him ſtill more, and continued his favour to his friends and domeſticks. But the unexpected death of Themiſtocles proved an obſtacle to the deſign he meditated of attacking the Greeks. The Magneſians erected a ſplendid monument to the memory of that general in the publick ſquare, and granted peculiar privileges and honours to his deſcendents. They continued to enjoy them in Plutarch's time, that is, near ſix hundred years after, and his tomb was ſtill ſtanding.

(*y*) Atticus, in the beautiful dialogue of Cicero, entitled Brutus, refutes, in an agreeable and ingenious manner, the tragical end which ſome writers aſcribe to Themiſtocles, as related above; pretending that the whole is a fiction, invented by rhetoricians, who, on the bare rumour that this great man had poiſoned himſelf, had added all the other particulars to embelliſh the ſtory, which otherwiſe would have been very dry and unaffecting. He appeals for this to Thucydides, that judicious hiſtorian, who was an Athenian, and almoſt contemporary with Themiſtocles. This author indeed owns, that a report had prevailed, that this

(*x*) Cic. de Senec. n. 72. (*y*) Brut. n. 42, 43.

* *The wiſeſt heathens did not think that a man was allowed to lay violent hands on himſelf.*

ARTAX. LONGIMA. general had poiſoned himſelf; however, his opinion was, that he died a natural death, and that his friends conveyed his bones ſecretly to Athens, where, in (z) Pauſanias's time, his mauſoleum was ſtanding near the great harbour. This account ſeems much more probable than the other.

Themiſtocles was certainly one of the greateſt men that Greece ever produced. He had a great ſoul, and invincible courage, which danger even enflamed; was fired with an incredible thirſt for glory, which ſometimes his country's love would temper and allay, but which ſometimes carried him too far; * his preſence of mind was ſuch, that it immediately ſuggeſted whatever it was moſt neceſſary to act: In fine, he had a ſagacity and penetration with regard to futurity, that revealed to him, in the cleareſt light, the moſt ſecret deſigns of his enemies; pointing out to him at a diſtance, the ſeveral meaſures he ſhould take to diſconcert them, and inſpired him with great, noble, bold, extenſive views with regard to the honour of his country. The moſt eſſential qualities of the mind were however wanting in him, I mean ſincerity, integrity, and fidelity: Nor was he altogether free from ſuſpicions of avarice, which is a great blemiſh in ſuch as are charged with publick affairs.

(a) Nevertheleſs, a noble ſentiment as well as action are related of him, which ſpeak a great and diſintereſted ſoul. † His daughter being aſked of him in marriage, he preferred an honeſt poor man to a rich one of an indifferent character; and gave for his reaſon, *That in the choice of a ſon-in-law, he would much rather have merit without riches, than riches without merit.*

SECT.

(z) Lib. i. p. 1.

(a) Plut. in Themiſt. p. 121.

* De inſtantibus, ut ait Thucydides, veriſſimè judicabat, & de futuris callidiſſimè conjiciebat. *Corn. Nep. in Themiſt. cap.* i.

† Themiſtocles, cùm conſuleretur utrum bono viro pauperi, an minùs probato diviti filiam collocaret: EGO VERO, inquit, MALO VIRUM QUI PECUNIA EGEAT, QUAM PECUNIAM QUÆ VIRO. *Cic. de Offic. l.* ii, *l.* 71.

SECT. IV. *The Egyptians riſe againſt Perſia, ſupported by the Athenians.*

(*b*) ABOUT this time the Egyptians, to free themſelves from a foreign yoke which was inſupportable to them, revolted from Artaxerxes, and made Inarus, prince of the Lybians, their king. They demanded aid of the Athenians, who having at that time a fleet of two hundred ſhips at the iſland of Cyprus, accepted the invitation with pleaſure, and immediately ſet ſail for Egypt; judging this a very favourabe opportunity to weaken the power of the Perſians, by driving them out of ſo great a kingdom. ARTAX. LONGIMA. A. M. 3538. Ant. J. C. 466.

Advice being brought Artaxerxes of this revolt, he raiſed an army of three hundred thouſand men, and reſolved to march in perſon againſt the rebels. But his friends adviſing him not to venture himſelf in that expedition, he gave the command of it to Achæmenes, one of his brothers. The latter being arrived in Egypt, encamped his great army on the banks of the Nile. During this interval, the Athenians having defeated the Perſian fleet, and either deſtroyed or taken fifty of their ſhips, they went again up that river, landed their forces under the command of Charitimi their general; and having joined Inarus and his Egyptians, they charged Achæmenes, and defeated him in a great battle, in which that Perſian general, and an hundred thouſand of his ſoldiers were ſlain. Thoſe who eſcaped fled to Memphis, whither the conquerors purſued them, and immediately made themſelves maſters of two quarters of the city: But the Perſians having fortified themſelves in the third, called the *white wall*, which was the largeſt and ſtrongeſt of the three, they were beſieged in it near three years, during which they made a moſt vigorous defence, till they were at laſt delivered by the forces ſent to their aid. A. M. 3545. Ant. J. C. 459.

Artaxerxes hearing of the defeat of his army, and how much the Athenians had contributed to it; to make a diverſion of their forces, and oblige them to A. M. 3546. Ant. J. C. 458.

(*b*) Thucy. l. i. p. 68. & 71, 72. Cteſ. c. 32—35. Diod. l. xi. p. 54—58.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. turn their arms another way, he ſent ambaſſadors to the Lacedæmonians, with a large ſum of money, to engage them to proclaim war againſt the Athenians. But the Lacedæmonians having rejected the offer, their refuſal did not abate his ardour, and accordingly he gave Megabyſus and Artabazus the command of the forces deſigned againſt Egypt. Theſe generals immediately raiſed an army of three hundred thouſand men in Cilicia and Phœnicia. They were obliged to wait till the fleet was equipped, which was not till the next year. Artabazus then took upon him the command of it, and ſailed towards the Nile, whilſt Megabyſus, at the head of the land army, marched towards Memphis. He raiſed the ſiege of that city, and afterwards fought Inarus. All the forces on both ſides engaged in this battle, in which Inarus was entirely defeated; but the Egyptians who had rebelled ſuffered moſt in this ſlaughter. After this defeat, Inarus, though wounded by Megabyſus, retreated with the Athenians, and ſuch Egyptians as were willing to follow him; and reached Biblos, a city in the iſland of Proſopitis, which is ſurrounded by two arms of the Nile, and both navigable. The Athenians ran their fleet into one of theſe arms, where it was ſecured from the attacks of the enemy, and held out a ſiege of a year and a half in this iſland.

A. M. 3547. Ant. J. C. 557.

A. M. 3548. Ant. J. C. 456.

After the battle, all the reſt of Egypt ſubmitted to the conqueror, and was re-united to the empire of Artaxerxes, except Amyrteus, who had ſtill a ſmall party in the fens, where he long ſupported himſelf, through the difficulty the Perſians found in penetrating far enough to reduce him.

A. M. 3550. Ant. J. C. 454.

The ſiege of Proſopitis was ſtill carrying on. The Perſians finding that they made no advances in attacking it after the uſual methods, becauſe of the ſtratagems and intrepidity of the beſieged, they therefore had recourſe to an extraordinary expedient, which ſoon produced what force had not been able to effect. They turned the courſe, by different canals, of the arm of the Nile in which the Athenians lay, and by that means opened themſelves a paſſage for their whole army

army to enter the iſland. Inarus, ſeeing that all was loſt, compounded with Megabyſus for himſelf, for all his Egyptians, and about fifty Athenians, and ſurrendered upon condition that their lives ſhould be ſpared. The remainder of the auxiliary forces, which formed a body of ſix thouſand men, reſolved to hold out longer; and for this purpoſe they ſet fire to their ſhips, and drawing up in order of battle, reſolved to die ſword in hand, and ſell their lives as dear as they could, in imitation of the Lacedæmonians, who refuſed to yield, and were all cut to pieces at Thermopylæ. The Perſians, hearing they had taken ſo deſperate a reſolution, did not think it adviſeable to attack them. A peace was therefore offered them, with a promiſe that they ſhould all be permitted to leave Egypt, and have free paſſage to their native country either by ſea or land. They accepted the conditions, put the conquerors in poſſeſſion of Biblos and of the whole iſland, and went by ſea to Cyrene, where they embarked for Greece: But moſt of the ſoldiers who had ſerved in this expedition periſhed in it. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

But this was not the only loſs the Athenians ſuſtained on this occaſion. Another fleet of fifty ſhips, which they ſent to the aid of their beſieged countrymen, ſailed up one of the arms of the Nile (juſt after the Athenians had ſurrendered) to diſengage them, not knowing what had happened. But the inſtant they entered, the Perſian fleet, which kept out at ſea, followed them and attacked their rear, whilſt the army diſcharged ſhowers of darts upon them from the banks of the river; thus only a few ſhips eſcaped, which opened themſelves a way through the enemy's fleet, and all the reſt were loſt. Here ended the fatal war carried on by the Athenians for ſix years in Egypt, which kingdom was now united again to the Perſian empire, and continued ſo during the reſt of the reign of Artaxerxes, of which this is the twentieth year. But the priſoners who were taken in this war met with the moſt unhappy fate. A. M. 3550. Ant. J. C 454.

SECT. V. INARUS *is delivered up to to the king's mother, contrary to the articles of the treaty. The affliction of* MEGABYSUS, *who revolts.*

ARTAX. LONGIMA. A. M. 3556. Ant. J. C. 448.

(*c*) ARTAXERXES, after refuſing to gratify the requeſt of his mother, who for five years together had been daily importuning him to put Inarus and his Athenians into her hands, in order that ſhe might ſacrifice them to the manes of Achæmenes her ſon, at laſt yielded to her ſollicitations. But how blind, how barbarouſly weak muſt this king have been, to break through the moſt ſolemn engagements merely through complaiſance; who (deaf to remorſe) violated the laws of nations, ſolely to avoid offending a moſt unjuſt mother. (*d*) This inhuman princeſs, without regard to the faith of ſolemn treaties, cauſed Inarus to be crucified, and beheaded all the reſt. Megabyſus was in the deepeſt affliction on that account; for as he had promiſed that no injury ſhould be done them, the affront reflected principally on him. He therefore left the court, and withdrew to Syria, of which he was governor; and his diſcontent was ſo great, that he raiſed an army, and revolted openly.

A. M. 3557. Ant. J. C. 447.

The king ſent Oſiris, who was one of the greateſt lords of the court, againſt him with an army of two hundred thouſand men. Megabyſus engaged Oſiris, wounded him, took him priſoner, and put his army to flight. Artaxerxes ſending to demand Oſiris, Megabyſus generouſly diſmiſſed him, as ſoon as his wounds were cured.

A. M. 3558. Ant. J. C. 446.

The next year Artaxerxes ſent another army againſt him, the command of which he gave to Menoſtanes, ſon to Artarius the king's brother, and governor of Babylon. This general was not more fortunate than the former. He alſo was defeated and put to flight, and Megabyſus gained as ſignal a victory as the former.

Artaxerxes, finding he could not reduce him by force of arms, ſent his brother Artarius and Amytis his ſiſter, who was the wife of Megabyſus, with ſeveral other perſons

(*c*) Cteſ. c. xxxvi. (*d*) Thucyd. l. i. p. 72.

perſons of the firſt quality, to perſuade the latter to return to his allegiance. They ſucceeded in their negotiation; the king pardoned him, and he returned to court. ARTAX. LONGIMA

One day as they were hunting, a lion, raiſing himſelf on his hinder feet, was going to run upon the king, when Megabyſus ſeeing the danger he was in, and fired with zeal and affection for his ſovereign, hurled a dart at the lion, which killed him. But Artaxerxes, upon pretence that he had affronted him, in darting at the lion firſt, commanded Megabyſus's head to be ſtruck off. Amytis the king's ſiſter, and Ameſtris, with the greateſt difficulty prevailed upon the king to change this ſentence into perpetual baniſhment. Megabyſus was therefore ſent to Cyrta, a city on the Red-ſea, and condemned to end his days there: However, five years after, diſguiſing himſelf like a leper, he made his eſcape and returned to Suſa, where, by the aſſiſtance of his wife and mother-in-law, he was reſtored to favour, and continued ſo to his death, which happened ſome years after, in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age. Megabyſus was extremely regretted by the king and the whole court. He was a man of the greateſt abilities in the kingdom, and at the ſame time the beſt general. Artaxerxes owed both his crown and life to him: * But it is of dangerous conſequence for a ſubject, when his ſovereign is under too many obligations to him. This was the cauſe of all the misfortunes of Megabyſus.

It is ſurpriſing that ſo judicious a prince as Artaxerxes ſhould have been ſo imprudent, as to be fired with jealouſy againſt a nobleman of his court, merely becauſe in a party of hunting he had wounded the beaſt they were purſuing before him. Could any thing be ſo weak? and was this placing the point of honour in a manner worthy a king? Nevertheleſs, hiſtory furniſhes us with many inſtances of this kind. I am apt to believe, from ſome expreſſions of (e)

(e) Plut. in Apoththegm. p. 173.

* Beneficia eò uſque læta ſunt, dum videntur exolvi poſſe; ubi multum antevertere, pro gratia odium redditur. *Tacit. Annal.* l. iv. c. 18.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. Plutarch, that Artaxerxes was aſhamed of the wild fury to which this falſe delicacy had raiſed him, and that he made ſome publick kind of atonement for it: For, according to this author, he publiſhed a decree, importing, that any man who was hunting with the king, ſhould be allowed to throw his javelin firſt at the beaſt, if opportunity ſhould offer; and he, according to Plutarch, was the firſt Perſian monarch who granted ſuch a permiſſion.

SECT. VI. ARTAXERXES *ſends* ESDRAS, *and afterwards* NEHEMIAH, *to Jeruſalem.*

BEFORE I proceed in the hiſtory of the Perſians and Greeks, I ſhall relate, in few words, the ſeveral things which happened to the people of God, during the firſt twenty years of Artaxerxes, which is an eſſential part of the hiſtory of that prince.

A. M. 3537. Ant. J. C. 467. (*f*) In the ſeventh year of the reign of Artaxerxes, Eſdras obtained of the king and his ſeven counſellors an ample commiſſion, empowering him to return to Jeruſalem with all ſuch Jews as would follow him thither, in order to ſettle the Jewiſh government and religion agreeably to their own laws. Eſdras was deſcended from Saraia, who was high prieſt of Jeruſalem, when deſtroyed by Nabuchodonoſor, and was put to death by his command. Eſdras was a very learned and pious man, and was chiefly diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the Jews by his great knowledge in the ſcriptures; it being ſaid of him, (*g*) *That he was very ready in the law of Moſes that was given by the God of Iſrael.* He now ſet out from Babylon with the gifts and offerings which the king, his courtiers, and ſuch Iſraelites as had ſtaid in Babylon, had put into his hands for the ſervice of the temple, and which he gave to the prieſts upon his arrival in Jeruſalem. It appears by the commiſſion which Artaxerxes gave him, that this prince had a high veneration for the God of Iſrael, as, in commanding his officers to furniſh the Jews with all things neceſſary for their worſhip,

(*f*) 1 Eſdras vii. &c. (*g*) 1 Eſdras viii. 3.

worſhip, he adds, (*b*) *Let all things be performed after the law of God diligently, unto the moſt high God, that wrath come not upon the kingdom of the king and his ſon.* This commiſſion, as I obſerved, empowered him to ſettle the religion and government of the Jews, purſuant to the law of Moſes; to appoint magiſtrates and judges to puniſh evil doers, not only by impriſoning their perſons, and confiſcating their poſſeſſions, but alſo by ſending them into baniſhment, and even ſentencing them to death, according to the crimes they ſhould commit. Such was the power with which Eſdras was inveſted, and which he exerciſed faithfully during thirteen years, till Nehemiah brought a new commiſſion from the Perſian court. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

(*i*) Nehemiah was alſo a Jew of diſtinguiſhed merit and piety, and one of the cup-bearers to king Artaxerxes. This was a very conſiderable employment in the Perſian court, becauſe the privilege annexed to it, *viz.* of being often near the king's perſon, and of being allowed to ſpeak to him in the moſt favourable moments. However, neither his exalted ſtation, nor the ſettlement of his family in that land of captivity, could obliterate from his mind the country of his anceſtors, nor their religion: Neither his love for the one, nor his zeal for the other, were abated; and his heart was ſtill in Sion. Some Jews who were come from Jeruſalem, having informed him of the ſad ſtate of that city, that its walls lay in ruin, its gates were burnt down, and the inhabitants thereby expoſed to the inſults of their enemies, and made the ſcorn of all their neighbours; the affliction of his brethren, and the dangers with which they were menaced; made ſuch an impreſſion on his mind, as might naturally be expected from one of his piety. One day as he was waiting upon the king, the latter obſerving an unuſual air of melancholy in Nehemiah's countenance, aſked him the cauſe of it; a proof that this monarch had a tenderneſs of heart rarely found in kings, and which is nevertheleſs much more valuable than the moſt ſhining qualities. A. M. 3550. Ant. J. C. 454.

(*b*) 1 Eſdras viii. 21. (*i*) Nehem. c. i. & ii.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. qualities. Nehemiah took this opportunity to acquaint him with the calamitous ſtate of his country; owned that was the ſubject of his grief; and humbly intreated that leave might be given him to go to Jeruſalem, in order to repair the fortifications of it. The kings of Perſia his predeceſſors had permitted the Jews to rebuild the temple, but not the walls of Jeruſalem. But Artaxerxes immediately decreed, that the walls and gates of Jeruſalem ſhould be rebuilt; and Nehemiah, as governor of Judea, was appointed to put this decree in execution. The king, to do him the greater honour, ordered a body of horſe, commanded by a conſiderable officer, to eſcort him thither. He likewiſe writ to all the governors of the provinces on this ſide the Euphrates, to give him all the aſſiſtance poſſible in forwarding the work for which he was ſent. This pious Jew executed every part of his commiſſion with incredible zeal and activity.

(*k*) It is from this decree, enacted by Artaxerxes in the twentieth year of his reign, for the rebuilding of the walls of Jeruſalem that we date the beginning of the ſeventy weeks mentioned in the famous prophecy of Daniel, after which the Meſſiah was to appear and be put to death. I ſhall here inſert the whole prophecy, but without giving the explication of it, as it may be found in other writers, and is not a part of this hiſtory.

" (*l*) Thou art greatly beloved, therefore under-
" ſtand the matter, and conſider the viſion. Seventy
" weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon
" thy holy city, to finiſh the tranſgreſſion, and to make
" an end of ſins, and to make reconciliation for
" iniquity, and to bring in everlaſting righteouſneſs,
" and to ſeal up the viſion and prophecy, and to anoint
" the Moſt Holy. Know therefore and underſtand,
" THAT FROM THE GOING FORTH OF THE COMMAND-
" MENT TO RESTORE AND TO BUILD JERUSALEM,
" unto the Meſſiah the prince, ſhall be ſeven weeks;
" and threeſcore and two weeks the ſtreet ſhall be built
" again, and the wall, even in troublous times. And
" after

(*k*) Dan. ix. 23—27. (*l*) Ibid.

" after threeſcore and two weeks ſhall Meſſiah be cut off, but not for himſelf: And the people of the prince that ſhall come, ſhall deſtroy the city and the ſanctuary, and the end thereof ſhall be with a flood; and unto the end of the war deſolations are determined. And he ſhall confirm the covenant with many for one week; and in the midſt of the week he ſhall cauſe the ſacrifice and the oblation to ceaſe, and for the overſpreading of abominations, he ſhall make it deſolate, even until the conſummation, and that determined ſhall be poured upon the deſolate." ARTAX. LONGIMA.

(*m*) When Eſdras was in power, as his chief view was to reſtore religion to its ancient purity, he diſpoſed the books of ſcripture into their proper order, reviſed them all very carefully, and collected the incidents relating to the people of God in ancient times; in order to compoſe out of them the two books of Chronicles, to which he added the hiſtory of his own times, which was finiſhed by Nehemiah. It is their books that end the long hiſtory which Moſes had begun, and which the writers who came after them continued in a direct ſeries, till the repairing of Jeruſalem. The reſt of the ſacred hiſtory is not written in that uninterrupted order. Whilſt Eſdras and Nehemiah were compiling the latter part of that great work, Herodotus, whom prophane authors call the father of hiſtory, began to write. Thus we find that the lateſt authors of the books of ſcripture flouriſhed about the ſame time with the firſt authors of the Grecian hiſtory; and when it began, that of God's people, to compute only from Abraham, included already fifteen centuries. Herodotus made no mention of the Jews in his hiſtory; for the Greeks deſired to be informed of ſuch nations only as were famous for their wars, their commerce and grandeur; ſo that as Judea was then but juſt riſing from its ruins, it did not excite the attention of that people.

(*m*) *Biſhop of Maux's univerſal hiſtory.*

SECT.

SECT. VII. *Character of* PERICLES. *The methods employed by him to gain the affection of the people.*

ARTAX. LONGIMA. I Now return to Greece. From the baniſhment of Themiſtocles, and the death of Ariſtides (the exact time of which is not known) two citizens, Cimon and Pericles, divided all credit and authority in Athens. Pericles was much younger than Cimon, and of a quite different character. As he will make a very conſiderable figure in the following hiſtory, it is of importance to the reader to know who he was, in what manner he had been educated, and his ſcheme and method of government.

(*n*) Pericles was deſcended, by the mother's as well as father's ſide, from the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious families of Athens. His father Xanthippus, who defeated at Mycale the king of Perſia's lieutenants, married Agariſta, niece to Clyſthenes, who expelled the Piſiſtratides, deſcendents of Piſiſtratus the tyrant, and eſtabliſhed a popular government in Athens. Pericles had long prepared himſelf for the deſign he formed of engaging in ſtate affairs.

He was brought up under the moſt learned men of his age, and particularly Anaxagoras of Clazomene, ſurnamed the *Intelligent*, from his being the firſt, as we are told, who aſcribed human events, as well as the formation and government of the univerſe, not to chance, as ſome philoſophers, nor to a fatal neceſſity, but to a ſuperior intelligence, who diſpoſed and governed all things with wiſdom. This tenet or opinion ſubſiſted long before his time, but he perhaps ſet it in a ſtronger light than all others had done, and taught it methodically and from principles. Anaxagoras inſtructed his pupil perfectly in the part of philoſophy that relates to nature, and which is therefore called * phyſicks. This ſtudy gave him a ſtrength and greatneſs of ſoul which raiſed him above an infinite number of vulgar prejudices, and vain practices generally obſerved

(*n*) Plut. in vit. Pericl. p. 153—156.

* *The ancients, under this name comprehended what we call phyſicks and metaphyſicks; that is, the knowledge of ſpiritual things, as God and ſpirits; and that of bodies.*

obſerved in his time; and which, in affairs of government and military enterpriſes, either diſconcerted often the wiſeſt and moſt neceſſary meaſures, who defeated them by ſcrupulous delays, authorized and covered with the ſpecious veil of religion. Theſe were ſometimes dreams or auguries, at other times dreadful phænomena, as eclipſes of the ſun or moon, or elſe omens and preſages; not to mention the wild chimeras of judiciary aſtrology. The knowledge of nature, free from the groveling and weak ſuperſtitions to which ignorance gives birth, inſpires him, ſays Plutarch, with a well-grounded piety towards the gods, attended with a ſtrength of mind that was immoveable, and a calm hope of the bleſſings to be expected from them. Although he found infinite charms in this ſtudy, he did not however devote himſelf to it as a philoſopher, but as a ſtateſman; and he had ſo much power over himſelf (a very difficult thing) as to preſcribe himſelf limits in the purſuit of knowledge. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

But the talent he cultivated with the greateſt care, becauſe he looked upon it as the moſt neceſſary inſtrument to all who are deſirous of conducting and governing the people, was eloquence. And indeed, thoſe who poſſeſſed this talent, in a free ſtate like that of Athens, were ſure of reigning in the aſſemblies, engroſſing ſuffrages, determining affairs, and exerciſing a kind of abſolute power over the hearts and minds of the people. He therefore made this his chief object, and the mark to which all his other improvements, as well as the ſeveral ſciences he had learned from Anaxagoras, * were directed; exalting, to borrow Plutarch's expreſſion, the ſtudy of philoſophy with the dye of rhetorick; the meaning of which is, that Pericles, to embelliſh and adorn his diſcourſe, heightened the ſtrength and ſolidity of reaſoning, with the colouring and graces of eloquence.

He had no cauſe to repent his having beſtowed ſo much time in this ſtudy, for his ſucceſs far exceeded his

* Βαφῇ τῇ ῥητορικῇ τὴν φυσιολυζίαν ἐποχεόμενον.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. his utmoſt hopes. * The poets, his contemporaries, uſed to ſay, that his eloquence was ſo powerful, that he lightened, thundered, and agitated all Greece. † It had thoſe piercing and lively ſtrokes which reach the inmoſt ſoul; and his diſcourſe left always an irreſiſtible incentive, a kind of ſpur behind it in the minds of his auditors. He had the art of uniting beauty with ſtrength; and Cicero obſerves, that at the very time he oppoſed, with the greateſt tenaciouſneſs, the inclinations and deſires of the Athenians, he had the art to make even ſeverity itſelf, and the kind of cruelty with which he ſpoke againſt the flatterers of the people, popular. There was no reſiſting the ſolidity of his arguments, or the ſweetneſs of his words, whence it was ſaid, that the goddeſs of perſuaſion, with all her graces, reſided on his lips. And indeed, as Thucydides ‡, his rival and adverſary, was one day aſked, whether he or Pericles was the beſt wreſtler: "Whenever, ſays he, I have given him a fall, he affirms the "contrary, in ſuch ſtrong and forcible terms, that he "perſuades all the ſpectators that I did not throw him, "though they themſelves ſaw him on the ground." Nor was he leſs prudent and reſerved than ſtrong and vehement in his ſpeeches; and it is related, that he never ſpoke in publick, till after he had beſought the gods not to ſuffer any expreſſion to drop from him, either incongruous to his ſubject, or offenſive to the people. (o) Whenever he went into the aſſembly before he came out of his houſe he uſed to ſay to himſelf; *Remember, Pericles, that thou art going to ſpeak to men born in the arms of liberty; to Greeks, to Athenians.*

The

(o) Plut. in Symp. lib. i. p. 610.

* Ab Ariſtophane poeta fulgurare, tonare, permiſcere Græciam dictus eſt. *Cic. in Orat. n.* 29.

† Quid Pericles? De cujus dicendi copia ſic accepimus, ut, cum contra voluntatem Athenienſium loqueretur pro ſalute patriæ, ſeverius tamen id ipſum, quod ille contra populares homines diceret, populare omnibus & jucundum videretur: cujus in labris veteres comici—leporem habitaſſe dixerunt: tantamque vim in eo fuiſſe, ut in eorum mentibus, qui audiſſent, quaſi aculeos quoſdam relinqueret, *Cic. lib.* iii. *de Orat. n.* 138.

† *Not the hiſtorian.*

ARTAX. LONGIMA.

The uncommon endeavours which Pericles, according to hiſtorians, uſed, in order to improve his mind in knowledge, and to attain to a perfection in eloquence, are an excellent leſſon to ſuch perſons as are one day to fill the important offices of ſtate; and a juſt cenſure of * thoſe, who, diſregarding whatever is called ſtudy and learning, bring into thoſe employments (upon which they enter without knowledge or experience) nothing but a ridiculous ſelf-ſufficiency, and a raſh boldneſs in deciding. (*p*) Plutarch, in a treatiſe where he ſhows, that it is to ſtateſmen that a philoſopher ought chiefly to attach himſelf, preferably to any other claſs of men; (becauſe in inſtructing them he, at the ſame time, teaches whole cities and republicks) verifies his aſſertion from the example of the greateſt men both of Greece and Italy, who derived this help from philoſophy. Pericles, of whom we now write, was taught by Anaxagoras; Dionyſius of Syracuſe by Plato; many princes of Italy by Pythagoras; Cato, the famous cenſor, travelled to the place where Athenodorus lived for the ſame purpoſe; and, laſtly, the famous Scipio, the deſtroyer of Carthage, always kept Panetius the philoſopher near his perſon.

One of the chief endeavours of Pericles alſo was, to ſtudy thoroughly the genius and diſpoſition of the Athenians, that he might diſcover the ſecret ſprings which were to be employed in order to ſet them in motion; and the manner it was proper to act for acquiring their confidence; † for it was principally in that the great men among the ancients uſed to make their ſkill and politicks conſiſt. He found by the reflections he had made on ſeveral tranſactions of his time, that the predominant paſſions of this people were, a violent averſion to tyranny, and a ſtrong love of liberty, which

(*p*) Plut. in Symp. lib. i. p. 777.

* Nunc contrà plerique ad honores adipiſcendos, & ad remp. gerendam, nudi veniunt & inermes, nulla cognitione rerum, nulla ſcientia ornati. *Cic. lib.* iii. *de Orat. n.* 136.

† Olim noſcenda vulgi natura, & quibus modis temperanter haberetur: Senatuſque & optimatium ingenia qui maximè perdidicerant, callidi temporum & ſapientes habebantur. *Tacit Annal. lib.* iv. *cap.* 33.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. which inſpired them with ſentiments of fear, jealouſy, and ſuſpicion, of all ſuch citizens as were too conſpicuous for their birth, their perſonal merit, their own credit and authority, or that of their friends. He not only was very like Piſiſtratus, with regard to the ſweetneſs of his voice, and fluency of expreſſion, but he alſo reſembled him very much in the features of his face, and his whole air and manner; and he obſerved, that the moſt ancient Athenians who had ſeen the tyrant, were prodigiouſly ſtruck at the reſemblance. Beſides, he was very rich, was deſcended from an illuſtrious family, and had very powerful friends. To prevent therefore his being obnoxious to the ſuſpicion and jealouſy of the people, he at firſt ſhunned all affairs of government, which require a conſtant attendance in the city; and was ſolely intent upon diſtinguiſhing himſelf in war and dangers.

Seeing Ariſtides dead, Themiſtocles baniſhed, and Cimon engaged almoſt continually in foreign wars, and abſent from Greece; he began to appear in publick with greater confidence than before, and entirely devoted himſelf to the party of the people, but not out of inclination, for he was far from affecting popular power, but to remove all ſuſpicions of his aſpiring to the tyranny, and ſtill more, to raiſe a ſtrong bulwark againſt the credit and authority of Cimon, who had joined with the nobles.

At the ſame time, he quite changed his conduct and way of life; and aſſumed, in all things, the character of a ſtateſman, wholly buſied in affairs of government, and entirely devoted to the ſervice of his country. He was never ſeen in the ſtreets, except when he was going either to the aſſembly of the people, or to the council. He left off going to banquets, aſſemblies, and other diverſions of that kind which he had uſed to frequent; and during the many years that he preſided in the adminiſtration, he was never ſeen to go to ſupper with his friends, except once at the nuptials of a near relation.

He

(q) He * knew that the people, who are naturally fickle and inconſtant, commonly increaſe their diſregard for thoſe who are always in their ſight; and that too ſtrong a deſire to pleaſe them grows at laſt tireſome and importunate; and it was obſerved that ſuch a behaviour did Themiſtocles great prejudice. To avoid this error, he uſed to go very rarely to the aſſemblies; and never appeared before the people but at intervals, in order to make himſelf deſired; and to preſerve ſuch an aſcendant over their minds as might be always new, and not worn, and in a manner withered by an over-great aſſiduity; wiſely reſerving himſelf for great and important occaſions. (r) Hence it was ſaid that he imitated Jupiter, who, in the government of the world, according to ſome philoſophers, buſied himſelf in great events only; and left the direction of thoſe of leſs importance to ſubaltern deities. And indeed, Pericles uſed to tranſact all petty affairs by his friends, and by certain orators who were entirely devoted to him, among whom was Ephialtes. ARTAX. LONGIM.

(s) Pericles employed his whole induſtry and application to gain the favour and eſteem of the people, in order to counter-balance the fame and credit of Cimon. However, he could not equal the magnificence and liberality of his rival, whoſe immenſe riches gave him an opportunity of beſtowing ſuch largeſſes as appear to us almoſt incredible, ſo much they differ from our behaviour in that reſpect. Finding it impoſſible for him to rival Cimon in this particular, he had recourſe to another expedient (in order to gain the love of the populace) no leſs effectual perhaps, but certainly not ſo lawful and honourable. He was the firſt who divided the conquered lands among the citizens; who diſtributed among them the publick revenues for the expence of their games and ſhows, and annexed penſions to all publick employments; ſo that certain

(q) Plut. de ſui laude, p. 441. (r) Plut. de ger. rep. p. 811. (s) Plut. in Pericl. p. 156.

* Iſta noſtra aſſiduitas, Servi, neſcis quantum interdum afferat hominibus faſtidii, quantum ſatietatis——Utrique noſtrûm deſiderium nihil obfuiſſet. *Cic. pro Mur. n.* 21.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. ſums were beſtowed on them regularly, as well to gratify them at the games, as for their preſence in the courts of juſtice, and the publick aſſemblies. It is impoſſible to ſay how fatal theſe unhappy politicks were to the republick, and the many evils with which they were attended. For theſe new regulations, beſides their draining the publick treaſury, gave the people a luxurious and diſſolute turn of mind; whereas they before were ſober and modeſt, and contented themſelves with getting a livelihood by their ſweat and labour.

By * ſuch arts as theſe Pericles had gained ſo great an aſcendant over the minds of the people, that he may be ſaid to have attained a monarchical power under a republican form of government; moulding the citizens into what ſhape he pleaſed, and preſiding with unlimited authority in all their aſſemblies. And, indeed, Valerius Maximus makes ſcarce any other difference between Piſiſtratus and Pericles, except that the one exerciſed a tyrannical power by force of arms, and the other by the ſtrength of his eloquence, in which he had made a very great progreſs under Anaxagoras.

This credit and authority, however enormous, could not yet reſtrain the comick writers from laſhing him very ſeverely in the theatres; and it does not appear that any of the poets, who cenſured Pericles with ſo much boldneſs, were ever puniſhed, or even called to account for it by the people. Perhaps it was out of prudence and policy that he did not attempt to curb this licentiouſneſs of the ſtage; nor to ſilence the poets, that he might amuſe and content the people by this vain ſhadow of liberty, and prevent their diſcovering that they really were enſlaved.

(*t*) But Pericles did not ſtop here. He boldly reſolved,

(*t*) Plut. in Pericl. p. 157. In Cim. p. 488.

* Pericles feliciſſimis naturæ incrementis, ſub Anaxagora præceptore ſummo ſtudio perpolitus & inſtructus, liberis Athenarum cervicibus jugum ſervitutis impoſuit: egit enim ille urbem & verſavit arbitrio ſuo——Quid inter Piſiſtratum & Periclem interfuit, niſi quod ille armatus, hic ſine armis, tyrannidem exercuit? *Val. Max.* l. viii. c. 9.

ſolved, if poſſible, to weaken the authority of the tribunal of the Areopagus, of which he was not a member, becauſe he had never been elected either * Archon, Theſmotheta, king of the ſacrifices, nor Polemarch. Theſe were different employments in the republick, which from time immemorial had been given by lot; and none but thoſe who had behaved uprightly in them, were allowed a ſeat in the Areopagus. Pericles, taking advantage of Cimon's abſence, ſet Ephialtes, who was his creature, at work clandeſtinely; and at laſt leſſened the power of that illuſtrious body, in which the chief ſtrength of the nobility conſiſted. The people, emboldened and ſupported by ſo powerful a faction, ſubverted all the fundamental laws and ancient cuſtoms; took from the ſenate of the Areopagus the cognizance of moſt cauſes that uſed to be brought before it, leaving it very few, and ſuch only as were of little conſequence, and made themſelves abſolute maſters of all the tribunals. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

Cimon, being returned to Athens, was afflicted to ſee the dignity of the ſenate trampled under foot, and therefore ſet every engine at work to reſtore it to its priſtine authority, and to revive the ariſtocracy, in the ſame form as it had been eſtabliſhed under Cliſthenes. But now his enemies began to exclaim and excite the people againſt him; reproaching him, among many other things, for his ſtrong attachment to the Lacedæmonians. Cimon had himſelf given ſome room for this reproach, by his not paying ſufficient regard to the Athenian delicacy: For, in ſpeaking to them, he would for ever extol Lacedæmonia; and whenever he cenſured their conduct on any occaſion, he uſed to cry, *The Spartans do not act in this manner.* Such expreſſions as theſe drew upon him the envy and hatred of his fellow-citizens; but an event, in which he nevertheleſs had

* *After ſome changes had been made in the form of the Athenian government, the ſupreme authority was at laſt inveſted in nine magiſtrates, called Archons and laſted but one year. One was called Rex, another Polemarchus, a third Archon, and this magiſtrate was properly at the head of the reſt, and gave his name to the year; and ſix Theſmothetæ, who preſided immediately over the laws and decrees.*

Artax. Longima. had no ſhare, made him the object of their utmoſt deteſtation.

Sect. VIII. *An earthquake in Sparta. Inſurrection of the Helots. Seeds of diviſion ariſe between the Athenians and Spartans.* Cimon *is ſent into baniſhment.*

A. M. 3534. Ant. J. C. 470. (*u*) IN the fourth year of the reign of Archidamus, there happened the moſt dreadful earthquake in Sparta that had ever been known. In ſeveral places the country was entirely ſwallowed up; Taygetus and other mountains were ſhaken to their foundations; many of their ſummits, being torn away, came tumbling down; and the whole city was laid in ruins, five houſes only excepted. To heighten the calamity, the Helots, who were ſlaves to the Lacedæmonians, looking upon this as a favourable opportunity to recover their liberty, flew up and down every part of the city, to murther ſuch as had eſcaped the earthquake: But finding them under arms, and drawn up in order of battle, by the prudent foreſight of Archidamus, who had aſſembled them round him, they retired into the neighbouring cities, and commenced that very day open war, having entered into alliance with ſeveral of the neighbouring nations, and being ſtrengthened by the Meſſenians, who at that time were engaged in a war with the Spartans.

The Lacedæmonians in this extremity ſent to Athens to implore ſuccours; but this was oppoſed by Ephialtes, who declared that it would be no way adviſeable to aſſiſt them, nor to rebuild a city that was the rival of Athens, which, he ſaid, ought to be left in its ruins, and the pride of Sparta thereby humbled for ever. But Cimon, being ſtruck with horrour at theſe politicks, did not heſitate a moment to prefer the welfare of the Lacedæmonians to the aggrandiſing of his country; declaring, in the ſtrongeſt terms, that it was abſolutely weak and inconſiſtent, *to leave Greece lame of one of its legs, and Athens without a counterpoiſe*; the people came into

(*u*) Plut. in Cim. p. 488, 489.

into his opinion, and accordingly a ſuccour was voted. Sparta and Athens might indeed be conſidered as the two limbs on which Greece ſtood; ſo that if one of them was deſtroyed, the reſt were inevitably crippled. It is alſo certain, that the Athenians were ſo elate with their grandeur, and were become ſo proud and enterpriſing, that they wanted a curb; for which none was ſo proper as Sparta, that ſtate being the only one that was capable of being a counterpoiſe to the head-ſtrong diſpoſition of the Athenians. Cimon therefore marched to the aid of the Lacedæmonians with four thouſand men. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

We have here an example of the prodigious influence which a man of fine talents and abilities has in a ſtate, when a great fund of merit unites in his perſon, with a well-eſtabliſhed reputation for probity, diſintereſtedneſs, and zeal for the good of his country. Cimon, with very little difficulty, prevails ſo far as to inſpire the Athenians with noble and magnanimous ſentiments, which in outward appearance interfered with their intereſt; and this in ſpite of the ſuggeſtions of a ſecret jealouſy, which never fails to ſhow itſelf in the moſt ſenſible manner on theſe occaſions. By the aſcendant and authority which his virtue gives him, he raiſes them above the groveling and unjuſt (though too common) political views, which prompt a people to conſider the calamities of their neighbours as an advantage, which the intereſt of their own country permits, and even enjoins them to lay hold of. The counſels of Cimon were perfectly wiſe and equitable; but it is ſurpriſing, how he could prevail ſo far as to make a whole people approve them, ſince this is all that could be expected from an aſſembly of the wiſeſt and graveſt ſenators.

(x) Some time after, the Lacedæmonians again implored the aid of the Athenians againſt the Meſſenians and Helots, who had ſeiſed upon Ithoma. But theſe forces being arrived under the command of Cimon, the Spartans began to dread their intrepidity,

(x) Plut. in Cim. Thucyd. l. i. p. 67, 68.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. their power, and great fame; ſo that they affronted them ſo far, as to ſend them back, upon the ſuſpicion of their harbouring ill deſigns, and of intending to turn their arms againſt them.

The Athenians being returned full of anger and reſentment, they declared themſelves, from that very day, enemies to all who ſhould favour the Lacedæmonian intereſt; for which reaſon they baniſhed Cimon by the oſtraciſm, the firſt opportunity that preſented itſelf for that purpoſe. This is the firſt time that the miſunderſtanding between theſe two nations, which afterwards augmented through mutual diſcontent, diſplayed itſelf in ſo ſtrong a manner. It was nevertheleſs ſuſpended for ſome years, by truces and treaties, which prevented its conſequences; but it at laſt broke out in the moſt violent manner in the Peloponneſian war.

Thoſe who had ſhut themſelves up in Ithoma, after making a ten years defence in it, ſurrendered at laſt to the Lacedæmonians, who gave them their lives upon condition that they ſhould never return to Peloponneſus. The Athenians, to exaſperate the Lacedæmonians, received them with their wives and children, and ſettled them in Naupactus, of which they had juſt before poſſeſſed themſelves. (*y*) The inhabitants of Megara at the ſame time went over from the Spartans to the Athenians. In this manner ſeveral leagues were concluded on both ſides, and many battles were fought, the moſt famous of which was that of Tanagra in Bœotia, which Diodorus equals with thoſe of Marathon and Platæa, and in which Myronides the Athenian general defeated the Spartans who came to the aid of the Thebans.

A. M. 3548. Ant. J. C. 456.

(*z*) It was on this occaſion that Cimon, thinking himſelf diſpenſed from his proſcription, repaired with ſome ſoldiers to his tribe to ſerve his country, and to fight in the Athenian army againſt the Lacedæmonians: But his enemies cauſed him to be ordered to retire.

(*y*) Thucyd. l. i. p. 69. 71. Diod. l. xi. p. 59—65. (*z*) Plut. in Cim. p. 489.

retire. However, before he went away, he exhorted his companions, who were no leſs ſuſpected than himſelf of favouring the Lacedæmonians, to exert themſelves to the utmoſt, and fight with the greateſt courage, to prove their innocence; and, if poſſible, to efface from the minds of the citizens, a ſuſpicion ſo injurious to them all. Accordingly thoſe brave ſoldiers, who were an hundred in number, fired by his words, demanded his whole armour of him, which they placed in the centre of their little battalion, in order to have him in a manner preſent and before their eyes. They fought with ſo much valour and fury, that they were all cut to pieces, to the great regret of the Athenians, who deeply repented their having accuſed them ſo unjuſtly. ARTAX. LONGIMAN

I omit ſeveral events of little importance.

SECT. IX. CIMON *is recalled. He eſtabliſhes peace between the two cities. He gains ſeveral victories, which reduce* ARTAXERXES *to the neceſſity of concluding a treaty highly honourable to the Greeks.* CIMON's *death.*

(*a*) THE Athenians perceiving the great occaſion they had for Cimon, recalled him from baniſhment, in which he had ſpent five years. It was Pericles himſelf who propoſed and drew up that decree; ſo moderate in thoſe times, ſays Plutarch, were feuds and animoſities, and ſo eaſy to be appeaſed, when the welfare of their country required it; and ſo happily did ambition, which is one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt lively paſſions, yield to the neceſſity of the times, and comply with the occaſions of the publick.

(*b*) The inſtant Cimon returned, he ſtifled the ſparks of war which were going to break out among the Greeks, reconciled the two cities, and prevailed with them to conclude a truce for five years. And to prevent the Athenians, who were grown haughty in effect of the many victories they had gained, from having A. M. 3554. Ant J. C. 450.

(*a*) Plut. in Cim. p. 490.

(*b*) Plut. in Cim. p. 490. Diod. l. xii. p. 73, 74.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. an opportunity, or harbouring a deſign to attack their neighbours and allies, he thought it adviſeable to lead them at a great diſtance from home againſt the common enemy; thus endeavouring, in an honourable way, to inure the citizens to war, and enrich them at the ſame time. Accordingly he put to ſea with a fleet of two hundred ſail. He ſent ſixty of theſe into Egypt to the aid of Amyrteus, and himſelf ſailed with the reſt againſt the iſland of Cyprus. Artabazus was at that time in thoſe ſeas, with a fleet of three hundred ſail; and Megabyſus, the other general of Artaxerxes, with an army of three hundred thouſand men, on the coaſt of Cilicia. As ſoon as the ſquadron which Cimon ſent into Egypt had joined his fleet, he ſailed and attacked Artabazus, and took an hundred of his ſhips. He ſunk many of them, and chaſed the reſt as far as the coaſt of Phœnicia. But, as if this victory had been only a prelude to a ſecond, he made a deſcent on Cilicia in his return, attacked Megabyſus, defeated him, and cut to pieces a prodigious number of his troops. He afterwards returned to Cyprus with this double triumph, and laid ſiege to Citium, a ſtrong city of very great importance. His deſign, after he had reduced that iſland, was to ſail for Egypt, and again embroil the affairs of the Barbarians; for he had very extenſive views, and meditated no leſs a proſpect than that of the entire ſubverſion of the mighty empire Perſia. The rumours which prevailed, that Themiſtocles was to command againſt him, added freſh fire to his courage; and almoſt aſſured of ſucceſs, he was infinitely pleaſed with the occaſion of trying his abilities with thoſe of that general. But we have already ſeen that Themiſtocles laid violent hands on himſelf about this time.

(c) Artaxerxes, tired with a war in which he had ſuſtained ſuch great loſſes, reſolved, with the advice of his council, to put an end to it. Accordingly, he ſent orders to his generals to conclude a peace with the Athenians, upon the moſt advantageous conditions they

(c) Diod. p. 74, 75.

they could. Megabyſus and Artabazus ſent ambaſſadors to Athens to propoſe an accommodation. Plenipotentiaries were choſen on both ſides, and Callias was at the head of thoſe of Athens. The conditions of the treaty were as follow: 1. That all the Grecian cities of Aſia ſhould enjoy their liberty, with ſuch laws and forms of government as they ſhould think fit to chooſe. 2. That no Perſian ſhip of war ſhould be allowed to enter the ſeas between the Cyanean and Chelidonian iſlands, that is, from the Euxine ſea to the coaſts of Pamphilia. 3. That no Perſian general ſhould march any troops within three days march of thoſe ſeas. 4. That the Athenians ſhould not invade any part of the dominions of the king of Perſia. Theſe articles being ratified by both parties, peace was proclaimed. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

Thus ended this war, which, from the burning of Sardis by the Athenians, had laſted fifty-one years complete, and in which infinite numbers of Perſians as well as Greeks had periſhed. A. M. 3555. Ant. J. C. 449.

(*d*) Whilſt this treaty was negotiating, Cimon died, either of ſickneſs, or of a wound he had received at the ſiege of Citium. When he was near his end, he commanded his officers to ſail with the fleet immediately for Athens, and to conceal his death with the utmoſt care. Accordingly this was executed with ſo much ſecrecy, that neither the enemy nor the allies once ſuſpected it; and they returned ſafe to Athens, ſtill under the conduct and auſpices of Cimon, though he had been dead above thirty days.

Cimon was univerſally regretted * which is no wonder, ſince he was poſſeſſed of all thoſe qualities which dignify the ſoul; the moſt tender ſon; a faithful friend; zealous for the good of his country; a great politician; an accompliſhed general; modeſt when raiſed to the higheſt employments and moſt diſtinguiſhed honours; liberal and beneficent almoſt to profuſion; ſimple and averſe to oſtentation of every kind even

(*b*) Plut. in Cim. p. 491.

* Sic ſe gerendo, minimè eſt cura, & non acerba. *Corn. Nep.* mirandum, ſi & vita ejus fuit ſe- *in Cim, cap.* iv

Artax. Longima

even in the midſt of riches and abundance; in fine, ſo great a lover of the poor citizens, as to ſhare his whole eſtate with them, without being aſhamed of ſuch companions of his fortune. History mentions no ſtatues or monuments erected to his memory, nor any magnificent obſequies celebrated after his death: But the greateſt honour that could be paid him was the ſighs and tears of the people; * theſe were permanent and laſting ſtatues, which are not obnoxious to the inclemencies of weather, or the injuries of time, and endear the memory of the good and virtuous to the remoteſt ages. For the moſt ſplendid mauſoleums, the works of braſs and marble that are raiſed in honour of wicked great men, are deſpiſed by poſterity, as ſepulchres which incloſe nothing but vile duſt and putrefaction.

What followed proved more ſtrongly the loſs which Greece had ſuſtained by his death; for Cimon was the laſt of all the Grecian generals who did any thing conſiderable or glorious againſt the Barbarians. Excited by the orators, who gained the ſtrongeſt aſcendant over the minds of the people, and ſowed the ſeeds of diviſion in their publick aſſemblies, they turned their animoſity againſt each other, and at laſt proceeded to open war, the fatal conſequences of which no one endeavoured to prevent; a circumſtance that was of great advantage to the king of Perſia, and the utmoſt prejudice to the affairs of Greece.

Sect. X. Thucydides *is oppoſed to* Pericles. *The envy raiſed againſt the latter. He clears himſelf, and prevails to have* Thucydides *baniſhed.*

(*e*) THE nobles of Athens ſeeing Pericles raiſed to the higheſt degree of power, and far above all the reſt of the citizens, reſolved to oppoſe him with a man, who, in ſome meaſure, might make head againſt

(*e*) Plut. in Peric. p. 158—161.

* Hæ pulcherrimæ effigies & odium vertit, pro ſepulchris ſpermanſuræ. Nam, quæ ſaxo ſtruuntur. *Tacit, Annal. lib.* iv. untur, ſi judicium poſterorum in *cap.* 38.

againſt him, and prevent his authority from growing up to monarchy. Accordingly they oppoſed him with Thucydides, Cimon's brother-in-law, a man who had diſplayed his wiſdom on numberleſs occaſions. He, indeed, did not poſſeſs the military talents in ſo eminent a degree as Pericles; but then he had as great an influence over the people; ſhaping their opinions, and directing their aſſemblies as he pleaſed: And as he never ſtirred out of the city, but continually combated Pericles in all his deſigns, he ſoon reſtored things to an equilibrium. On the other ſide, Pericles was ſollicitous of pleaſing the people on all occaſions, and ſlackened the rein more than ever; entertaining them as often as poſſible with ſhows, feſtivals, games, and other diverſions. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

He found means to maintain, during eight months in the year, a great number of poor citizens, by putting them on board a fleet, conſiſting of threeſcore ſhips, which he fitted out every year, and thereby did his country an important ſervice, by training up a great number of ſeamen for its defence. He alſo planted ſeveral colonies in Cherſoneſus, in Naxos, in Andros, and among the Biſaltæ in Thrace. There was a very noble one in Italy, of which we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to ſpeak, and which built Thurium. Pericles had different views in ſettling thoſe colonies, beſides the particular deſign he might have of gaining the affections of the people by that means. His chief motives were, to clear the city of a great number of idle perſons who were ever ready to diſturb the government; to relieve the wants of the loweſt claſs of people, who before were unable to ſubſiſt themſelves; in fine, to awe the allies, by ſettling native Athenians among them as ſo many garriſons; which might prevent their engaging in any meaſures contrary to the intereſt of that people. The Romans acted in the ſame manner; and it may be ſaid, that ſo wiſe a policy was one of the moſt effectual methods uſed by them to ſecure the tranquillity of the ſtate.

But

ARTAX. LONGIMA. But the circumſtance which did Pericles the greateſt honour in the ſenſe of the people, was his adorning the city with magnificent edifices and other works, which raiſed the admiration and aſtoniſhment of all foreigners, and gave them a mighty idea of the power of the Athenians. It is ſurpriſing that, in ſo ſhort ſpace, ſo many works of architecture, ſculpture, engraving, and painting, ſhould be performed, and at the ſame time be carried to the higheſt perfection: For it is generally found, that edifices, raiſed in haſte, boaſt neither a ſolid and durable grace, nor the regularity required in works of an exquiſitely beautiful kind. Commonly, nothing but length of time, joined to aſſiduous labour, can give them ſuch a ſtrength as may preſerve, and make them triumph over ages; and this raiſes our wonder ſtill more in regard to the works of Pericles, which were finiſhed with ſo much rapidity, and however ſubſiſted through ſo great a length of time. For each of thoſe works, the very inſtant it was finiſhed, had the beauty of an antique; and at this time, *i. e.* above five hundred years after, ſays Plutarch, they retain a freſhneſs and youth as if juſt come out of the artiſt's hands; ſo happily do they preſerve the graces and charms of novelty, which will not ſuffer time to diminiſh their luſtre, as if an ever-blooming ſpirit, and a ſoul exempt from age, were diffuſed into every part of thoſe works.

But that circumſtance, which excited the admiration of the whole world, raiſed the jealouſy of the people againſt Pericles. His enemies were for ever crying aloud in the aſſemblies, that it was diſhonourable to the Athenians to appropriate to themſelves the bank of all Greece, which he had ſent for from Delos, where it had been depoſited; that the allies muſt neceſſarily conſider ſuch an attempt as a manifeſt tyranny, when they found that the ſums which had been extorted from them, upon pretence of their being employed in the war, were laid out by the Athenians in gilding and embelliſhing their city, in making magnificent ſtatues, and raiſing temples that coſt millions.

lions. They did not amplify on theſe occaſions; for the temple of Minerva only, called the Parthenone, had coſt three millions of livres. * ARTAX. LONGIMA.

Pericles, on the contrary, remonſtrated to the Athenians, that they were not obliged to give the allies an account of the monies they had received from them; that it was enough they defended them from, and repulſed the Barbarians, whilſt the allies furniſhed neither ſoldiers, horſes, nor ſhips; and were excuſed for ſome ſums of money, which, from the inſtant they were paid in, were no longer the property of the donors, but of thoſe who received them; provided they performed the conditions agreed upon, and in conſideration of which they were received. He added, that as the Athenians were ſufficiently provided with all things neceſſary for war, it was but juſt that they ſhould employ the reſt of their riches in edifices, and other works, which, when finiſhed, would give immortal glory to the city; and, the whole time they were carrying on, diffuſed a plenty of all things, and gave bread to an infinite number of citizens: That they themſelves had all kinds of materials, as timber, ſtone, braſs, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypreſs wood; and all ſorts of artificers capable of working them, as carpenters, maſons, ſmiths, ſtone-cutters, dyers, goldſmiths; artificers in ebony, painters, embroiderers, and turners; men fit to conduct their naval affairs, as merchants, ſailors, and experienced pilots; others for land-carriage, as cartwrights, waggoners, carters, rope-makers, pavers, *&c.* That it was for the advantage of the ſtate to employ theſe different artificers and workmen, who, as ſo many ſeparate bodies, formed, when united, a kind of peaceable and domeſtick army, whoſe different functions and employments diffuſed gain and increaſe throughout all ſexes and ages: Laſtly, that whilſt men of robuſt bodies, and of an age fit to bear arms, whether ſoldiers or mariners, and thoſe who were in the different garriſons, were ſupported with the publick monies; it was but juſt, that the reſt of the people who

* *About* 145,000l. *ſterling.*

ARTAX. LONGIMA. who lived in the city ſhould alſo be maintained in their way; and that as all were members of the ſame republick, they all ſhould reap the ſame advantages, by doing it ſervices, which, though of a different kind, did however all contribute to its ſecurity or ornament.

One day, as the debates were growing warm, Pericles offered to defray the expence of all theſe things, provided it ſhould be declared in the publick inſcriptions, that he only had been at the charge of them. At theſe words the people, either admiring his magnanimity, or fired with emulation, and determined not to let him engroſs that glory, cried with one voice, that he might take out of the publick treaſury all the ſums neceſſary for his purpoſe.

Phidias, the celebrated ſculptor, preſided over all theſe works as director general. It was he who particularly caſt the gold * and ivory ſtatue repreſenting Pallas, which was ſo highly valued by all the judges of antiquity. There aroſe an incredible ardour and emulation among the ſeveral artificers, who all ſtrove to excel each other, and immortaliſe their names by maſter-pieces of art.

The Odeon, or muſick-theatre, which had a great number of ſeats and columns within it, and whoſe roof grew narrower by degrees, and terminated in a point, was built, as hiſtory informs us, after the model of king Xerxes's tent, according to the direction of Pericles. It was at that time he propoſed, with great warmth, a decree, by which it was ordained, that muſical games ſhould be celebrated on the feſtival called Panathenæa; and having been choſen the judge and diſtributor of the prizes, he regulated the manner in which muſicians ſhould play on the flute and the lyre, as well as ſing. From that time the muſical games were always exhibited in this theatre.

I have already taken notice, that the more the beauty and ſplendour of theſe works were admired, the greater envy and clamour were raiſed againſt Pericles. The orators

* Non Minervæ Athenis factæ amplitudine utemur, cum ea ſit cubitorum xxvi. Ebore hæc & auro conſtat. *Plin. l.* xxxvi. *c.* 5. *This ſtatue was twenty-ſix cubits in height.*

orators of the oppoſite faction were eternally exclaiming againſt him, and tearing his character to pieces; accuſing him of ſquandering the publick monies, and laying out very unſeaſonably the revenues of the ſtate in edifices, whoſe magnificence was of no uſe. At laſt the rupture between him and Thucydides roſe to ſuch a height, that one or other of them muſt neceſſarily be baniſhed by the oſtraciſm. He got the better of Thucydides; prevailed to have him baniſhed; cruſhed by that means the faction which oppoſed him, and obtained a deſpotick authority over the city and government of Athens. He now diſpoſed at pleaſure of the publick monies, troops, and ſhips. The iſlands and ſea were ſubject to him; and he reigned ſingly and alone in that wide domain, which extended, not only over the Greeks, but the Barbarians alſo, and which was cemented and ſtrengthened by the obedience and fidelity of the conquered nations, by the friendſhip of kings, and treaties concluded with various princes. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

Hiſtorians expatiate greatly on the magnificent edifices and other works with which Pericles adorned Athens, and I have related faithfully their teſtimony; but I cannot ſay whether the complaints and murmurs raiſed againſt him were very ill grounded. And indeed, was it juſt in him to expend in ſuperfluous buildings, and vain decorations, the immenſe * ſums intended for carrying on the war; and would it not have been better to have eaſed the allies of part of the contributions, which, in Pericles's adminiſtration, were raiſed to a third part more than before? According to Cicero, (*f*) ſuch edifices and other works only are worthy of admiration, as are of uſe to the publick, as aqueducts, city-walls, citadels, arſenals, ſea-ports; and to theſe we muſt add, the work made by Pericles, to join Athens to the port of Piræeus. But Cicero obſerves, at the ſame time, that Pericles was blamed for ſquandering away the publick treaſure, merely to embelliſh

(*f*) Lib. ii. Offic. n. 60.

* *They amounted to upwards of ten millions French money.*

Artax. Longima. embelliſh the city with ſuperfluous ornaments. (*g*) Plato, who formed a judgement of things, not from their outward ſplendour, but from truth, obſerves (after his maſter Socrates) that Pericles, with all his grand edifices and other works, had not improved the mind of one of the citizens in virtue, but rather corrupted the purity and ſimplicity of their ancient manners.

Sect. XI. Pericles *changes his conduct with regard to the people. His prodigious authority. His diſintereſtedneſs.*

(*h*) WHEN Pericles ſaw himſelf inveſted with the whole authority, he began to change his behaviour. He now was not ſo mild and tractable as before, nor did he ſubmit or abandon himſelf any longer to the whims and caprice of the people, as ſo many winds; but drawing in, ſays Plutarch, the reins of this, too looſe, popular government, in the ſame manner as we ſcrew up the ſtrings of an inſtrument when too ſlack, he changed it into an ariſtocracy, or rather a kind of monarchy, without departing however from the publick good. Chooſing always what was moſt expedient, and becoming irreproachable in all things, he gained ſo mighty an aſcendant over the minds of the people, that he turned and directed them at pleaſure. Sometimes, by his bare counſel, and by perſuaſive methods, he would win them over gently to his will, and gain their aſſent ſpontaneouſly; at other times, when he found them obſtinate, he would in a manner drag them forward againſt their will to thoſe things which were for their good; imitating on this occaſion a ſkilful phyſician, who in a tedious and ſtubborn diſeaſe, knows what times are proper for him to indulge his patient in innocent medicaments that are pleaſing; in order after to adminiſter thoſe of a ſtrong and violent nature, which indeed put him to pain, but are alone capable of reſtoring his health.

And

(*g*) In Georg. p. 515. In Alcib. c. i. p. 119. (*h*) Plut. in Pericl. p. 161.

And indeed, it is manifeſt that the utmoſt ſkill and abilities were required, to manage and govern a populace haughty from their power and exceedingly capricious; and on this occaſion Pericles ſucceeded wonderfully. He uſed to employ, according to the different ſituation of things, ſometimes hope, and at other times fear, as a double helm, either to check the wild tranſports and ſtarts of the people, or to raiſe them when dejected and deſponding. By this conduct he ſhowed that eloquence, as Plato obſerves, is only the art of directing the minds of people at will; and that the chief excellency of this art conſiſts in moving, ſeaſonably, the various paſſions, whether gentle or violent; which being to the ſoul what ſtrings are to a muſical inſtrument, need only be touched by an ingenious and ſkilful hand to produce their effect. ARTAX. LONGIM.

It muſt nevertheleſs be confeſſed, that the circumſtance which gave Pericles this great authority, was, not only the force of his eloquence; but, as Thucydides obſerves, the reputation of his life, and great probity.

(i) Plutarch points out in Pericles, one quality which is very eſſential to ſtateſmen; a quality, well adapted to win the eſteem and confidence of the publick, and which ſuppoſes a great ſuperiority of mind; and that is, for a man to be fully perſuaded that he wants the counſels of others, and is not able to manage and direct all things alone; to aſſociate with himſelf perſons of merit in his labours, to employ each of theſe according to his talents; and to leave them the management of ſmall matters, which only conſume time, and deprive him of the liberty of mind, ſo neceſſary in the conduct of important affairs. Such a conduct, ſays Plutarch, is productive of two advantages. Firſt, it extinguiſhes or at leaſt breaks the force of envy and jealouſy, by dividing, in ſome meaſure, a power, which is grating and offenſive to us when we ſee it united in one ſingle perſon, as if all merit centered in him alone. Secondly, it advances and facilitates the

(i) Plut. in præc. de rep. ger. p. 811.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. execution of affairs, and makes their ſucceſs more certain. Plutarch, the better to explain his thought, employs a very natural and beautiful compariſon. The hand, ſays he, which, from its being divided into five fingers, ſo far from being weaker, is the ſtronger, the more active, and better adapted to motion on that very account. It is the ſame of a ſtateſman, who has the ſkill to divide his cares and functions in a proper manner, and who by that means makes his authority more active, more extenſive, and deciſive: Whereas the indiſcreet fire of a narrow-minded man, who takes umbrage at, and is for engroſſing all things, ſerves to no other purpoſe but to ſet his weakneſs and incapacity in a ſtronger light, and to diſconcert his affairs. But Pericles, ſays Plutarch, did not act in this manner. Like a ſkilful pilot, who, though he ſtands almoſt motionleſs himſelf, however puts every thing in motion, and will ſometimes ſeat ſubaltern officers at the helm; ſo Pericles was the ſoul of the government; and, ſeeming to do nothing of himſelf, he actuated and governed all things; employing the eloquence of one man, the credit and intereſt of another, the prudence of a third, the bravery and courage of a fourth, and ſo on.

(*k*) To what has been here related, we may add another quality which is no leſs rare and valuable, I mean, a noble and diſintereſted ſoul. Pericles had ſo great a diſinclination to the receiving of gifts, ſo utter a contempt for riches, and was ſo far above all rapaciouſneſs and avarice, that though he had raiſed Athens to the richeſt and moſt flouriſhing ſtate; though his power had ſurpaſſed that of many tyrants and kings; though he had long diſpoſed in an abſolute manner of the treaſures of Greece, he did not however add a ſingle drachma to the eſtate he inherited from his father. This was the ſource, the true cauſe of the ſupreme authority of Pericles in the republick; the juſt and deſerved fruit of his integrity and perfect diſintereſtedneſs.

It

(*k*) Plut. in vit. Pericl. p. 161, 162.

It was not only for a few ſhort moments, nor during the firſt heats of favour, which are generally ſhort-lived, that he preſerved his authority. He maintained it forty years, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of Cimon, of Tolmides, of Thucydides, and many others, who had all declared againſt him; and of theſe forty years he ſpent fifteen without a rival, from the time of Thucydides's baniſhment, and diſpoſed all affairs with abſolute power. Nevertheleſs, in the midſt of this ſupreme authority, which he had rendered perpetual and unlimited in his own perſon, his ſoul was always ſuperior to the charms and allurements of wealth, though he never neglected improving his eſtate to the utmoſt of his power. For Pericles did not act like thoſe rich men, who, notwithſtanding their immenſe revenues, either through negligence or want of œconomy, or the expences of pride and folly, are always poor in the midſt of their riches; unable and unwilling to do the leaſt ſervice to their virtuous friends, or their faithful and zealous domeſticks; and at laſt die in every one's debt, whence their name and memory are had in the utmoſt deteſtation by their unfortunate creditors. I ſhall not expatiate on another extreme, to which this negligence and want of œconomy generally lead, I mean rapine, a love of gifts and exactions; for here, as well as in the management of the publick monies, the maxim of Tacitus takes place, * *viz.* that when a man has ſquandered away his eſtate, he then makes it his whole ſtudy to retrieve the loſs of it by all ſorts of methods, not excepting the moſt criminal. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

Pericles knew much better the uſe a ſtateſman ought to make of riches. He was ſenſible that he ought to expend them in the ſervice of the publick, ſuch as the procuring of able men to aſſiſt him in the adminiſtration; the relieving good officers, who too often are in unhappy circumſtances; the rewarding and encouraging merit of every kind, and a thouſand

* Si ambitione ærarium exhauſerimus, per ſcelera ſupplendum erit. *Tacit. Annal. l.* ii. *c.* 38.

Artax. Longima. ſuch things; to which doubtleſs, either on account of the exquiſite joy they give, or the ſolid glory that reſults from them, no one will be ſo thoughtleſs as to compare the expences laviſhed away in entertainments, equipages, or gaming. In this view Pericles managed his eſtate with the utmoſt œconomy; having himſelf taught one of his old ſervants to take care of his domeſtick concerns; and he always had the account brought him, at ſtated times, of all things that had been received as well as expended; confining himſelf and his family to a decent ſubſiſtence (from which he baniſhed ſeverely all ſuperfluities of a vain and oſtentatious kind) ſuitable to his eſtate and condition. This way of life, indeed, did no way pleaſe his children when they were come to years of maturity, and much leſs his wife. They thought Pericles did not live at a ſufficient expence for perſons of their rank; and murmured at that low ſordid œconomy as they called it, which carried no air of the plenty which generally reigns in houſes where riches and authority are united. However, Pericles had little regard to theſe complaints, and directed his views to things of much greater importance.

I believe it will not be improper to apply on this occaſion, a very juſt remark of Plutarch in his parallel of Ariſtides and Cato. After ſaying that political virtue, or the art of governing cities and kingdoms, is the greateſt and moſt perfect that man can acquire, he adds, that œconomy is not one of the moſt inconſiderable branches of this virtue. And indeed, as riches are one of the means which may moſt contribute to the ſecurity or ruin of a ſtate; the art that teaches to diſpoſe of, and make a good uſe of them, and which is called œconomy, is certainly a branch of the art of policy; and not one of the moſt inconſiderable branches of it, ſince great wiſdom is required, in order to the obſerving a juſt medium on theſe occaſions, and to the baniſhing poverty and too great opulence from a country. It is this art, which avoiding induſtriouſly all trifling and needleſs expences, prevents

prevents a magiſtrate from being forced to overburthen a people with taxes; and keeps always in reſerve, in the publick coffers, monies ſufficient for the ſupporting a war that may break out, or for providing againſt any unforeſeen accident. Now what is ſaid of a kingdom or a city, may be applied to particular perſons. For a city, which is compoſed of an aſſemblage of houſes, and which forms a whole of ſeveral parts united, is either powerful or weak when taken together, in proportion as all the members of which it conſiſts are powerful or weak. Pericles certainly acquitted himſelf well with regard to that part of this ſcience which relates to the government of a family: But I do not know whether the ſame may be ſaid of his adminiſtration of the publick revenues. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

SECT. XII. *Jealouſy and conteſts ariſe between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. A treaty of peace is concluded for thirty years.*

(*l*) SUCH was the conduct of Pericles with reſpect to his domeſtick concerns: And he was no leſs famous for his adminiſtration of publick affairs. The Lacedæmonians beginning to grow jealous of the proſperity of the Athenians, and to take umbrage at it; Pericles, to inſpire his citizens with greater courage and magnanimity, publiſhed a decree, importing, that orders ſhould be ſent to all the Greeks, inhabiting either Europe or Aſia, and to all the cities great or ſmall, to ſend immediately their deputies or repreſentatives to Athens, to examine and debate on ways and means to rebuild the temples that had been burnt by the Barbarians; to perform the ſacrifices, which they had engaged themſelves to offer up, for the preſervation and ſafety of Greece when war was carrying on againſt them; as alſo, to conſider on the neceſſary expedients for eſtabliſhing ſuch an order and diſcipline in their navy, that all ſhips might ſail in ſafety, and the Greeks live in peace one with another.

Accordingly twenty perſons were choſen for this

(*l*) Plut. in Pericl. p. 162.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. embaſſy, each of whom was upwards of fifty years old. Five of theſe were ſent to the Ionians and Dorians of Aſia, and the inhabitants of the iſlands as far as Leſbos and Rhodes; five to the countries of the Helleſpont and Thrace, as far as Byzantium. Five were ordered to go to Bœotia, to Phocis, and Peloponneſus; and from thence, by the country of the Locrians, to proceed to the ſeveral cities of the upper continent as far as Acarnania and Ambracia. The laſt five were ordered to croſs Eubœa, and to go to the people of mount Œta, and thoſe of the gulph of Malea, and to the inhabitants of Phthiotis, of Achaia, and of Theſſaly; to induce the ſeveral nations to come to the aſſembly convened in Athens, and to aſſiſt at the debates which ſhould be there carried on concerning peace, and the general affairs of Greece. I judged it neceſſary to enter into this detail, as it ſhows how far the power of the Greeks extended, and the authority which the Athenians enjoyed among them.

But all theſe ſollicitations were in vain; the cities not ſending their deputies, which, according to hiſtorians, was owing to the oppoſition made by the Lacedæmonians, a circumſtance we are not to wonder at. They were ſenſible, that Pericles's deſign was to have Athens acknowledged as miſtreſs and ſovereign of all the other Grecian cities; and Lacedæmon was far from allowing it that honour. A ſecret leaven of diſſention had, for ſome years, began to diſturb the tranquillity of Greece; and we ſhall find by the ſequel, that diſguſts augmented continually.

Pericles had acquired great fame for the wiſdom with which he formed and conducted his enterpriſes. The troops repoſed the higheſt confidence in him, and whenever they followed him, aſſured themſelves of ſucceſs. His chief maxim of war was, never to venture a battle unleſs he were almoſt certain of a victory, and not to laviſh the blood of the citizens. He uſed to ſay frequently, that were it in his power they ſhould be immortal; that when trees were felled they ſhoot to life again in a little time, but when once men die, they

they are loſt for ever. A victory that was only the effect of a happy temerity, appeared to him as little worthy of praiſe, though it often was much admired. ARTAX. LONGIN.

His expedition into the Thracian Cherſoneſus did him great honour, and was of great advantage to all the Greeks of that country; for he not only ſtrengthened the Grecian cities of that peninſula, by the colonies of Athenians which he carried thither, but alſo ſhut up the iſthmus with a ſtrong wall, with forts at proper diſtances from ſea to ſea; ſecuring by that means the whole country from the perpetual incurſions of the Thracians, who were very near neighbours to it.

He alſo ſailed with an hundred ſhips round Peloponneſus, ſpreading the terror of the Athenian arms wherever he came, the ſucceſs of which was not once interrupted on this occaſion.

He advanced as far as the kingdom of Pontus with a large, well-manned, and magnificent fleet; and granted the Grecian cities all they thought fit to aſk of him. At the ſame time he diſplayed to the Barbarian nations in that neighbourhood, to their kings and princes, the greatneſs of the power of the Athenians; and proved to them, by the ſecurity with which he ſailed to all parts, that they poſſeſſed the empire of the ſeas without a rival.

(*m*) But ſo conſtant and ſhining a fortune began to dazzle the eyes of the Athenians. Intoxicated with the idea of their power and grandeur, they now revolved nothing but the boldeſt and moſt lofty projects. They were for ever talking of new attempts upon Egypt; of attacking the maritime provinces of the great king; of carrying their arms into Sicily (a fatal and unhappy deſign, which at that time did not take effect, though it was revived ſoon after); and to extend their conqueſts towards Hetruria on one ſide, and Carthage on the other. Pericles was far from giving into ſuch idle views, or ſupporting them with his

(*m*) Plut. in Pericl. p. 164.

ARTAXERXES LONGIMA. his credit and approbation. On the contrary, his whole ſtudy was to damp that reſtleſs ardour, and check an ambition which no longer knew either bounds or meaſure. It was his opinion that the Athenians ought to employ their forces for the future, only in ſecuring and preſerving their preſent acquiſitions; and he thought he had gained a great point, in reſtraining the power of the Lacedæmonians, the reducing of which he always meditated; and this was particularly ſeen in the ſacred war.

(*n*) This name was given to the war which was raiſed on account of Delphos. The Lacedæmonians, having entered armed into the country where that temple is ſituated, had diſpoſſeſſed the people of Phocis of the ſuperintendence of that temple, and beſtowed it on the Delphians. As ſoon as they left it, Pericles went thither with an army, and reſtored the Phocenſes.

The Eubœans having rebelled at the ſame time, Pericles was obliged to march thither with an army. He was no ſooner arrived there, but news was brought that the inhabitants of Megara had taken up arms; and that the Lacedæmonians, headed by Pliſtonax their king, were on the frontiers of Attica. This obliged him to quit Eubœa, and to go with all poſſible expedition to defend his country. The Lacedæmonian army being retired, he returned againſt the rebels, and again ſubjected all the cities of Eubœa to the Athenians.

A. M. 3568. Ant. J. C. 440. (*o*) After this expedition, a truce for thirty years was concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. This treaty reſtored things to a tranquillity for the preſent: But as it did not deſcend to the root of the evil, nor cure the jealouſy and enmity of the two nations, this calm was not of long duration.

SECT.

(*n*) Plut. in Pericl. p. 164. (*o*) Thucyd. l. i. p. 75. Diod. p. 87.

SECT. XII. *New ſubjects of contention between the two nations, occaſioned by the Athenians laying ſiege to Samos; by their ſuccouring the people of Corcyra, and beſieging Potidæa. An open rupture enſues.*

(*p*) THE Athenians, ſix years after, took up arms againſt Samos in favour of Miletus. Theſe two cities were conteſting for that of Priene, to which each claimed a right. It is pretended, that Pericles fomented this war to pleaſe a famous courtezan, of whom he was very fond; her name was Aſpaſia, a native of Miletus. After ſeveral events and battles, Pericles beſieged the capital of the iſland of Samos. It is ſaid, that this was the firſt time he uſed military engines, as battering-rams and tortoiſes, invented by Artemon the engineer, who was lame, and therefore was always carried in a chair to the batteries, whence he was ſurnamed Periphoretus. The uſe of theſe machines had been long known in the eaſt. The Samians, after ſuſtaining a nine months ſiege, ſurrendered, Pericles raſed their walls, diſpoſſeſſed them of their ſhips, and demanded immenſe ſums to defray the expences of the war. Part of this ſum they paid down; agreed to diſburſe the reſt at a certain time, and gave hoſtages by way of ſecurity for the payment. ARTAX. LONGIMA. A. M. 3564. Ant. J. C. 440.

After the reduction of Samos, Pericles, being returned to Athens, buried in a ſplendid manner all who had loſt their lives in this war, and pronounced in perſon the funeral oration over their graves. This cuſtom, which he firſt introduced, was afterwards regularly obſerved. The ſenate of the Areopagus always appointed the orator on theſe occaſions. He was choſen ten years after for the like ceremony in the beginning of the Peloponneſian war.

(*q*) Pericles, who foreſaw that a rupture would ſoon enſue between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, adviſed the former to ſend aid to the people of Corcyra, whom the Corinthians had invaded; and to win over A. M. 3572. Ant J. C. 432.

(*p*) Thucyd. l. i. p. 75, 76. Diod. l. xii. p. 88, 89. Plut. in. Pericl. p. 165—167. (*q*) Thucyd. l. i. p. 171—37. Diod. l. xii. p. 90—93. Plut. in Pericl. p. 167.

Artax. Longima. over to their intereſt that iſland, which was ſo very formidable at ſea; foretelling them, that they would be attacked by the Peloponneſians. The occaſion of the quarrel between the people of Corcyra and Corinth, which gave riſe to that of Peloponneſus, one of the moſt conſiderable events in the Grecian hiſtory, was as follows.

* Epidamnum, a maritime city of Macedonia among the Taulentii, was a colony of Corcyrans, founded by Phalius of Corinth. This city growing in time very large and populous, diviſions aroſe in it, and the common people expelled the moſt wealthy inhabitants, who went over to the neighbouring nations, and infeſted them greatly with their incurſions. In this extremity they firſt had recourſe to the Corcyrans, and being refuſed by them, they addreſſed the Corinthians, who took them under their protection, ſent ſuccours to, and ſettled other inhabitants in it. But they did not continue long unmoleſted there, the Corcyrans beſieging it with a large fleet. The people of Corinth haſtened to its aid, but having been defeated at ſea, the city ſurrendered that very day, upon condition that the foreigners ſhould be ſlaves, and the Corinthians priſoners, till further orders. The Corcyrans erected a trophy, murthered all their priſoners except the Corinthians, and laid waſte the whole country.

The year after the battle, the Corinthians raiſed a greater army than the former, and fitted out a new fleet. The people of Corcyra, finding it would be impoſſible for them to make head alone againſt ſuch powerful enemies, ſent to the Athenians to deſire their alliance. The treaty of peace, concluded between the ſtates of Greece, left ſuch Grecian cities as had not declared themſelves, the liberty of joining whom they pleaſed, or of ſtanding neuter. This the Corcyrans had hitherto done; judging it their intereſt not to eſpouſe any party, in conſequence of which they had hitherto been without allies. They now ſent for this purpoſe to Athens, which the Corinthians hearing, they alſo

* *This city was afterwards called Dyrrachium.*

alſo ſent deputies thither. The affair was debated with great warmth in preſence of the people, who heard the reaſons on both ſides, and it was twice put to the vote in the aſſembly. The Athenians declared the firſt time in favour of the Corinthians; but afterwards changing their opinion (doubtleſs on the remonſtrances of Pericles) they received the Corcyrans into their alliance. However, they did not go ſo far as to conclude a league offenſive and defenſive with them (for they could not declare war againſt Corinth without breaking at the ſame time with all Peloponneſus); but only agreed to ſuccour each other mutually, in caſe they ſhould be attacked, either perſonally, or in their allies. Their real deſign was, to ſet thoſe two ſtates, very powerful by ſea, at variance; and after each ſhould have exauſted the other, by a tedious war, to triumph over the weakeſt: For at that time there were but three ſtates in Greece, who poſſeſſed powerful fleets; and theſe were Athens, Corinth, and Corcyra. They alſo had a deſign on Italy and Sicily, which their taking the iſland of Corcyra would very much promote. Ar. Tax. Longima.

On this plan they concluded an alliance with the Corcyrans, and accordingly ſent them ten gallies, but with an order for them not to engage the Corinthians, unleſs they ſhould firſt invade the iſland of Corcyra, or ſome other place belonging to their allies: This precaution was uſed, in order that the articles of the truce might not be infringed.

But it was very difficult to obey theſe orders. A battle was fought between the Corcyrans and the Corinthians, near the iſland of Sibotis, oppoſite to Corcyra: It was one of the moſt conſiderable, with regard to the number of ſhips, that ever was fought between the Greeks. The advantage was almoſt equal on both ſides. About the end of the battle, as night was drawing on, twenty Athenian gallies came up. The Corcyrans, with this re-inforcement, ſailed next day by day-break towards the port of Sibotis, whither the Corinthians had retired, to ſee if they would venture

ARTAX. LONGIMA. venture a ſecond engagement. However, the latter contented themſelves with ſailing away in order of battle, without fighting. Both parties erected a trophy in the iſland of Sibotis, each aſcribing the victory to himſelf.

(*r*) From this war aroſe another, which occaſioned an open rupture between the Athenians and Corinthians, and afterwards the war of Peloponneſus. Potidæa, a city of Macedonia, was a colony belonging to the Corinthians, which ſent magiſtrates thither annually: but it was dependent at that time on Athens, and paid tribute to it. The Athenians fearing this city would revolt, and prevail with the reſt of the Thracian allies to join them, commanded the inhabitants to demoliſh their walls on the ſide next Pallene; to deliver hoſtages to them as ſureties for their fidelity; and to ſend back the magiſtrates which Corinth had given them. Demands of ſo unjuſt a nature only fomented the revolt. (*s*) The Potidæans declared againſt the Athenians, and ſeveral neighbouring cities followed their example. Both Athens and Corinth armed and ſent forces thither. The two armies engaged near Potidæa, and that of the Athenians had the advantage. Alcibiades, who was then very young, and Socrates his maſter, ſignaliſed themſelves on this occaſion. It is ſomething very ſingular, to ſee a philoſopher put on his coat of mail; as well as to conſider his behaviour and conduct in a battle. There was not a ſoldier in the whole army who ſo reſolutely ſupported all the toils and fatigues of the campaign as Socrates. Hunger, thirſt, and cold, were enemies he had long accuſtomed himſelf to deſpiſe and ſubdue with eaſe. Thrace, the ſcene of this expedition, was a frozen region. Whilſt the other ſoldiers, covered with thick clothes and warm furs, lay cloſe in their tents, and ſcarce ever dared to ſtir out of them; Socrates uſed to come into the open air as thin clad as uſual, and bare-footed. His gaiety and

(*r*) Thucyd. l. i. p. 37—42. Diod. l. xii. p. 93. 94. (*s*) Plut. in Conviv. p. 219, 220. Plut. in Alcib. p. 194.

and wit were the life of all tables: and induced others to put the glaſs round chearfully, though he himſelf never drank wine to exceſs. When the armies engaged, he performed his duty to a miracle. Alcibiades having been thrown down and wounded, Socrates placed himſelf before him, defended him valiantly, and, in ſight of the whole army, prevented him and his arms from being taken by the enemy. The prize of valour was juſtly due to Socrates; but as the generals ſeemed inclined to decree it to Alcibiades, on account of his illuſtrious birth, Socrates, who only ſought for opportunities to inflame him with deſire of true glory, contributed more than any other perſon, by the noble eulogium he made on his courage, to cauſe the crown and complete ſuit of armour (which was the prize of valour) to be adjudged to Alcibiades. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

Notwithſtanding the loſs which the Corinthians had ſuſtained in the battle, the inhabitants of Potidæa did not change their conduct. The city was therefore beſieged. (*t*) The Corinthians, fearing to loſe a place of ſo much importance, addreſſed their allies in the ſtrongeſt terms; who, all in conjunction with them, ſent a deputation to Lacedæmon, to complain of the Athenians, as having infringed the articles of peace. The Lacedæmonians admitted them to audience in one of their ordinary aſſemblies. The people of Ægina, though very much diſguſted at the Athenians, did not ſend a deputation publickly thither, for fear of giving umbrage to a republick to which they were ſubject, but they acted in ſecret as ſtrenuouſly as the reſt. The Magarians complained vehemently againſt the Athenians, that (contrary to the law of nations, and in prejudice to the treaty concluded between the Greeks) they had prohibited them, by a publick decree, acceſs to their fairs and markets, and excluded them from all the ports dependent on them. (*u*) By that

(*t*) Thucyd. l. i. p. 43—59. (*u*) Plut. in Pericl. p. 168.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. that decree, according to Plutarch*, the Athenians declared an eternal and irreconcileable hatred againſt Megara; and ordained that all Megarians ſhould be put to death, that ſet foot in Athens; and that all the Athenian generals, when they took the uſual oath, ſhould ſwear expreſsly, that they would ſend a body of ſoldiers twice a year, to lay waſte the territories of the Megarenſes.

The chief complaints were made by the Corinthian ambaſſador, who ſpoke with the utmoſt force and freedom. He repreſented to the Lacedæmonians, that as they themſelves never ſwerved from the moſt inviolable integrity, either in publick or private tranſactions, they, for that very reaſon, were leſs ſuſpicious of the probity of others; and that their own moderation prevented their diſcovering the ambition of their enemies: That inſtead of flying, with inſtant activity, to meet dangers and calamities, they never attempted to remedy them, till they were quite cruſhed by them: That by their indolence and ſupineneſs they had given the Athenians an opportunity of attaining, by inſenſible degrees, their preſent height of grandeur and power. That it was quite different with regard to the Athenians: "That this active, "vigilant, and indefatigable people were never at reſt "themſelves, or would ſuffer any other nation to "be ſo. Employed (ſays he) wholly in their pro-"jects, they form only ſuch as are of the greateſt "and moſt intrepid nature; their deliberations are "ſpeedy, and their executions the ſame. One en-"terpriſe ſerves only as a ſtep to a ſecond. Whether "they are ſucceſsful or unfortunate, they turn every "thing to their advantage; and never ſtop in "their

* *According to Plutarch, ſome perſons pretended that Pericles had cauſed this decree to be enacted, to revenge the private injury done to Aſpaſia, from whoſe houſe the people of Megara had carried off two courtezans; and he cites ſome verſes of Ariſtophanes, who, in a comedy entitled,* The Acharnanians, *reproaches Pericles with this action. But Thucydides, a contemporary author, and who was very well acquainted with all the tranſactions of Athens, does not ſay a word of this affair; and he is much more worthy of belief than a poet who was a profeſſed ſlanderer and ſatyriſt.*

" their career, or are diſcouraged. But you, who ARTAX. LONGIMA.
" are oppreſſed by ſuch formidable enemies, are lulled
" aſleep in a fatal tranquillity; and do not reflect,
" that a man who deſires to live calm and eaſy, muſt
" not only forbear injuring others, but alſo not let
" any ill be done to himſelf; and that juſtice conſiſts,
" not only in forbearing to commit evil ourſelves,
" but in avenging that done to us by others. Shall I
" be ſo free as to ſay it? Your integrity is of too
" antique a caſt for the preſent ſtate of affairs. It is
" neceſſary for men in politicks as well as in all other
" things, to conform always to the times. When a
" people are at peace, they may follow their ancient
" maxims; but when they are involved in a variety of
" difficulties, they muſt try new expedients, and
" ſet every engine at work to extricate themſelves.
" It was by theſe arts that the Athenians have
" increaſed their power ſo much. Had you imitated
" their activity, they would not have diſpoſſeſſed us
" of Corcyra, and would not now be laying ſiege
" to Potidæa. Follow, at leaſt, their example on
" this occaſion, by ſuccouring the Potidæans and
" the reſt of your allies, as your duty obliges you;
" and do not force your friends and neighbours, by
" forſaking them, to have recourſe, out of deſpair, to
" other powers."

The Athenian ambaſſador, who was come to Sparta upon other affairs, and was in the aſſembly, did not think it adviſeable to let this ſpeech go unanſwered: But put the Lacedæmonians in mind of the ſtill recent ſervices that the republick, by which he was ſent, had done to all Greece, which (he ſaid) merited ſome regard; and that therefore it ought not to be envied, much leſs ſhould endeavours be uſed to leſſen its power. That the Athenians could not be charged with having uſurped an empire over Greece; ſince it was merely at the entreaty of their allies, and in ſome meaſure with the conſent of Sparta, that they had been forced to take the abandoned helm: That thoſe who murmured, did it without grounds; and only

Artax. Longima. only from the averſion which mankind in general have to dependence and ſubjection, though of the gentleſt and moſt equitable kind: That he exhorted them to employ a ſufficient time in deliberating, before they came to a reſolution; and not involve themſelves and all Greece in a war, which would neceſſarily be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. That gentle methods may be found, for terminating the differences of the allies, without breaking at once into open violence. However, that the Athenians, in caſe of an invaſion, were able to oppoſe force with force; and would prepare for a vigorous defence, after having invoked, againſt Sparta, the deities who take vengeance on thoſe that forſwear themſelves, and who violate the faith of treaties.

The ambaſſadors being withdrawn, and the affair debated, the majority were for war. But before it paſſed into an act, Archidamus king of Sparta, ſetting himſelf above thoſe prejudices which ſo ſtrongly biaſſed the reſt, and directing his views to futurity, made a ſpeech, in which he ſet forth the dreadful conſequences of the war they were going to embark in; ſhowed the ſtrength of the Athenians; exhorted them firſt to try gentle methods, which they themſelves had ſeemed to approve; but to make, in the mean time, the neceſſary preparations for carrying on ſo important an enterpriſe, and not to be under any apprehenſions, that their moderation and delays would be branded with the name of cowardice, ſince their paſt actions ſecured them from any ſuſpicion of that kind.

But, notwithſtanding all theſe wiſe expoſtulations, a war was reſolved. The people cauſed the allies to return into the aſſembly, and declared to them, that in their opinion the Athenians were the aggreſſors; but that it would be expedient firſt to aſſemble all who were in the alliance, in order that peace or war might be agreed upon unanimouſly. This decree of the Lacedæmonians was made the fourteenth year of the truce; and was not owing ſo much to the complaints

plaints of the allies, as to the jealouſy of the Athenian power, which had already ſubjected a conſiderable part of Greece. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

(x) Accordingly the allies were convened a ſecond time. They all gave their votes, in their ſeveral turns, from the greateſt city to the leaſt, and war was reſolved by a general conſent. However, as they had not yet made any preparations, it was judged adviſeable to begin them immediately; and while this was doing, in order to gain time, and obſerve the neceſſary formalities, to ſend ambaſſadors to Athens to complain of the violation of the treaty.

The firſt who were ſent thither, reviving an ancient complaint, required of the Athenians to expel out of their city the deſcendents of thoſe who had prophaned the temple of Minerva in the affair of * Cylon. As Pericles was of that family by the mother's ſide, the view of the Lacedæmonians, in their making this demand, was, either to procure his baniſhment or leſſen his authority. However, it was not complied with. The ſecond ambaſſadors required, that the ſiege of Potidæa ſhould be raiſed, and the liberty of Ægina reſtored, and above all, that the decree againſt the Megarians ſhould be repealed; declaring, that otherwiſe no accommodation could take place. In fine, a third ambaſſador came, who took no notice of any of theſe particulars, but only ſaid, that the Lacedæmonians were for peace; but that this could never be, except the Athenians ſhould ceaſe to infringe the liberties of Greece.

(x) Thucyd. l. i. p. 77—84, and 93.

* *This Cylon ſeiſed on the citadel of Athens above an hundred years before. Thoſe who followed him, being beſieged in it, and reduced to extreme famine, fled for ſhelter to the temple of Minerva, where they afterwards were taken out by force and cut to pieces. Thoſe who adviſed this murther were declared guilty of impiety and ſacrilege, and as ſuch baniſhed. However, they were recalled ſome time after.*

SECT. XIV. *Troubles excited againſt* PERICLES. *He determines the Athenians to engage in war againſt the Lacedæmonians.*

ARTAX. LONGIMA.

(y) PERICLES oppoſed all theſe demands with great vigour, and epecially that relating to the Megarians. He had great credit in Athens, and at the ſame time had many enemies. Not daring to attack him at firſt in perſon, they cited his moſt intimate friends, and thoſe for whom he had the greateſt eſteem, as Phidias, Aſpaſia, and Anaxagoras, before the people, and their deſign in this was, to ſound how the people ſtood affected towards Pericles himſelf.

Phidias was accuſed of having embezzled conſiderable ſums in the caſting the ſtatue of Minerva, which was his maſter-piece. The proſecution having been carried on with the uſual forms, before the aſſembly of the people, not a ſingle proof of Phidias's pretended embezzlement appeared: For that artiſt, from beginning that ſtatue, had, by Pericles's advice, contrived the workmanſhip of the gold in ſuch a manner, that all of it might be taken off and weighed; which accordingly Pericles bid the informers do in preſence of all the ſpectators. But Phidias had witneſſes againſt him, the truth of whoſe evidence he could neither diſpute nor ſilence; theſe were the fame and beauty of his works, the ever-exiſting cauſes of the envy which attacked him. The circumſtance which they could leaſt forgive in him was, his having repreſented to the life (in the battle of the Amazons, engraved on the ſhield of the goddeſs) his own perſon, and that of Pericles (z): And, by an imperceptible art, he had ſo blended and incorporated theſe figures with the whole work, that it was impoſſible to eraſe them, without diſfiguring and taking to pieces the whole ſtatue. Phidias was therefore dragged to priſon, where he came to his end, either by the common courſe of nature, or by poiſon. Other authors ſay, that he

(y) Plut. in Pericl. p. 168, 169. (z) Ariſtot. in tractat. de mund. p. 613.

he was only baniſhed, and that after his exile he made the famous ſtatue of Jupiter at Olympia. It is not poſſible to excuſe, in any manner, the ingratitude of the Athenians, in thus making a priſon or death the reward of a maſter-piece of art; nor their exceſſive rigour, in puniſhing, as a capital crime, an action that appears innocent in itſelf; or which, to make the worſt of it, was a vanity very pardonable in ſo great an artiſt. ARTAX. LONGIM.

Aſpaſia, a native of Miletus in Aſia, had ſettled in Athens, where ſhe was become very famous, not ſo much for the charms of her perſon, as for her vivacity and ſolidity of wit, and her great knowledge. All the illuſtrious men in the city thought it an honour to frequent her houſe. (*a*) Socrates himſelf uſed to viſit her conſtantly; and was not aſhamed to paſs for her pupil, and to own that he had learnt rhetorick from her. Pericles declared alſo, that he was obliged to Aſpaſia for his eloquence, which ſo greatly diſtinguiſhed him in Athens; and that it was from her converſation he had imbibed the principles of the art of policy, for ſhe was exceedingly well verſed in the maxims of government. Their intimacy was owing to ſtill ſtronger motives. Pericles did not love his wife; he reſigned her very freely to another man, and ſupplied her place with Aſpaſia, whom he loved paſſionately, though her reputation was more than ſuſpicious. Aſpaſia was therefore accuſed of impiety, and a diſſolute conduct; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that Pericles ſaved her, by his intreaties and by the compaſſion he had raiſed in the judges, by ſhedding abundance of tears whilſt her cauſe was pleading, a behaviour little conſiſtent with the dignity of his character, and the rank of ſupreme head of the moſt powerful ſtate of Greece.

A decree had paſſed, by which informations were ordered to be taken out againſt all ſuch * perſons as

 denied

(*a*) Plut. in Menex. p. 235.

* Τα θεῖα μη νομίζοντας, ἢ λογῳ περὶ των μετεωρίων διδασκοντας. *Anax-* *agoras teaching, that the divine intelligence alone gave a regular motion*

ARTAX. LONGIMA. denied what was aſcribed to the miniſtry of the gods; or thoſe philoſophers and others who taught preternatural things, and the motions of the heavens, doctrines on this occaſion conſidered injurious to the eſtabliſhed religion. The ſcope and aim of this decree was, to make Pericles ſuſpected with regard to theſe matters, becauſe Anaxagoras had been his maſter. This philoſopher taught, that one only intelligence had modified the chaos, and diſpoſed the univerſe in the beautiful order in which we now ſee it; which tended directly to depreciate the gods of the pagan ſyſtem. Pericles, thinking it would be impoſſible for him to ſave his life, ſent him out of the city to a place of ſafety.

The enemies of Pericles ſeeing that the people approved and received with pleaſure all theſe accuſations, they impeached that great man himſelf, and charged him with embezzling the publick monies during his adminiſtration. A decree was made, by which Pericles was obliged to give in immediately his accompts; was to be tried for oppreſſion and rapine; and the cauſe to be adjudged by fifteen hundred judges. Pericles had no real cauſe of fear, becauſe in the adminiſtration of the publick affairs his conduct had always been irreproachable, eſpecially on the ſide of intereſt: He could not however but be under ſome apprehenſions from the ill-will of the people, when he conſidered their great levity and inconſtancy. One day when Alcibiades (then very young) went to viſit Pericles, he was told that he was not to be ſpoke with, becauſe of ſome affairs of great conſequence in which he was then engaged. Alcibiades enquiring what theſe mighty affairs were, was anſwered, that Pericles was preparing to give in his accompts. *He ought rather*, ſays Alcibiades, *not give them in:* And indeed this was what Pericles at laſt reſolved. To allay the ſtorm, he made a reſolution to oppoſe the inclination the people diſcovered for the Peloponneſian war

to all the parts of nature, and preſided in the government of the univerſe; deſtroyed, by that ſyſtem, the plurality of gods, their powers, and all the peculiar functions which were aſcribed to them.

ARTAX. LONGIMA.

war no longer, preparations for which had been long carrying on, firmly perſuaded that this would ſoon ſilence all complaints againſt him; that envy would yield to a more powerful motive; and that the citizens, when in ſuch imminent danger, would not fail of throwing themſelves into his arms, and ſubmit implicitly to his conduct, from his great power and exalted reputation.

(*b*) This is what ſome hiſtorians have related; and the comick poets, in the life-time, and under the eye as it were, of Pericles, ſpread ſuch a report in publick, to ſully, if poſſible, his reputation and merit, which drew upon him the envy and enmity of many. Plutarch, on this occaſion, makes a reflection which may be of great ſervice, not only to thoſe in the adminiſtration of publick affairs, but to all ſorts of perſons, as well as of advantage in the ordinary commerce of life. He thinks it ſtrange, when actions are good in themſelves, and manifeſtly laudable in all reſpects, that men, purely to diſcredit illuſtrious perſonages, ſhould pretend to dive into their hearts; and from a ſpirit of the vileſt and moſt abject malice, ſhould aſcribe ſuch views and intentions to them, as they poſſibly never ſo much as imagined. He, on the contrary, wiſhes, when the motive is obſcure, and the ſame action may be conſidered in different lights, that men would always view it in the moſt favourable, and incline to judge candidly of it. He applies this maxim to the reports which had been ſpread concerning Pericles, as the fomenter of the Peloponneſian war, merely for private views of intereſt: Whereas, the whole tenor of his paſt conduct ought to have convinced every body, that it was wholly from reaſons of ſtate, and for the good of the publick, that he at laſt acquieſced in an opinion, which he had hitherto thought it incumbent on him to oppoſe.

(*c*) Whilſt this affair was carrying on at Athens, the Lacedæmonians ſent ſeveral embaſſies thither, one

(*b*) Plut. de Herod. malign. p. 855, 856. (*c*) Thucyd. l. i. p. 93—99. Diod. l. xii. p. 95—97.

ARTAX. LONGIMA

after another, to make the various demands abovementioned. At laſt the affair was debated in the aſſembly of the people, and it was reſolved they ſhould firſt deliberate upon all the articles, before they gave a poſitive anſwer. Opinions, as is uſual in theſe caſes, were divided; and ſome were for aboliſhing the decree enacted againſt Megara, which ſeemed the chief obſtacle to the peace.

Pericles ſpoke on this occaſion with the utmoſt force of eloquence, which his view to the publick welfare, and the honour of his country, rendered more vehement and triumphant than it had ever appeared before. He ſhowed, in the firſt place, that the decree relating to Megara, on which the greateſt ſtreſs was laid, was not of ſo little conſequence as they imagined: That the demand made by the Lacedæmonians on that head, was merely to ſound the diſpoſition of the Athenians, and to try whether it would be poſſible to frighten them out of their deſign; that ſhould they recede on this occaſion, it would betray fear and weakneſs: That the affair was of no leſs importance than the giving up to the Lacedæmonians the empire which the Athenians had poſſeſſed during ſo many years, by their courage and reſolution: That ſhould the Athenians ſubmit on this occaſion, the Lacedæmonians would immediately preſcribe new laws to them, as to a people ſeiſed with dread; whereas, if they made a vigorous reſiſtance, their opponents would be obliged to treat them, at leaſt, on the foot of equals: That with regard to the preſent matters in diſpute, arbiters might be choſen, in order to adjuſt them in an amicable way; but that it did not become the Lacedæmonians to command the Athenians in a magiſterial way, to quit Potidæa, to free Ægina, and revoke the decree relating to Megara: That ſuch imperious behaviour was directly contrary to the treaty, which declared in expreſs terms, *That ſhould any diſputes ariſe among the allies, they ſhould be decided by pacifick methods*, AND WITHOUT ANY PARTY'S BEING OBLIGED TO GIVE UP ANY PART OF

OF WHAT THEY POSSESSED: That the ſureſt way to prevent a government from being eternally conteſting about its poſſeſſions is to take up arms, and diſpute its rights ſword in hand: That the Athenians had juſt reaſon to believe they would gain their cauſe this way; and to give them a ſtronger idea of this truth, he ſet before them in the moſt pompous light the preſent ſtate of Athens, giving a very particular account of its treaſures, revenues, fleets, land as well as ſea-forces, and thoſe of its allies; contraſting theſe ſeveral things with the poverty of the Lacedæmonians, who (he ſaid) had no money, which is the ſinews of war, not to mention the poor condition of their navy, on which they moſt depended. (*d*) And indeed, it appeared by the treaſury, that the Athenians had brought from Delos to their city nine thouſand ſix hundred talents, which amount to about twelve hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. The annual contributions of the allies amounted to four hundred and ſixty talents, that is, to near fourteen hundred thouſand French livres. In caſes of neceſſity, the Athenians would find infinite reſources from the ornaments of the temples, ſince thoſe of the ſtatue of Minerva only amounted to fifty talents of gold, that is, fifteen hundred thouſand French livres, which might be taken from the ſtatue without ſpoiling it in any manner, and be afterwards fixed on again in more auſpicious times. With regard to the land-forces, they amounted to very near thirty thouſand men, and the fleet conſiſted of three hundred gallies. Above all, he adviſed them not to venture a battle in their own country againſt the Peloponneſians, whoſe troops were ſuperior in number to theirs; not to regard the laying waſte of their lands, as they might eaſily be reſtored to their former condition; but to conſider the loſs of their men as highly important, becauſe irretrievable; to make their whole policy conſiſt in defending their city, and preſerving the empire of the ſea, which would certainly one day give them the ſuperiority over their enemies. He laid down the

ARTAX. LONGIMA.

(*d*) Diod. l. xii. p. 96, 97.

ARTAX. LONGIM. plan for carrying on the war, not for a ſingle campaign, but during the whole time it might laſt; and enumerated the evils they had to fear, if they deviated from that ſyſtem. Pericles, after adding other conſiderations, taken from the genius or character, and the internal government of the two republicks; the one uncertain and fluctuating in its deliberations, and rendered ſtill ſlower in the execution, from its being obliged to wait for the conſent of its allies; the other ſpeedy, determinate, independent, and miſtreſs of its reſolutions, which is no indifferent circumſtance with regard to the ſucceſs of enterpriſes; Pericles, I ſay, concluded his ſpeech, and gave his opinion as follows: "We have no more "to do but to diſmiſs the ambaſſadors, and to give "them this anſwer, that we permit thoſe of Megara to "trade with Athens, upon condition that the Lacedæ-"monians do not prohibit either us, or our allies to "trade with them. With regard to the cities of "Greece, we ſhall leave thoſe free who were ſo at the "time of our agreement, provided they ſhall do the "ſame with regard to thoſe dependent on them. We "do not refuſe to ſubmit the deciſion of our differences "to arbitration, and will not commit the firſt hoſtilities: "However, in caſe of being attacked, we ſhall make "a vigorous defence."

The ambaſſadors were anſwered as Pericles had dictated. They returned home, and never came again to Athens; ſoon after which the Peloponneſian war broke out.

CHAP. II.

Tranſactions of the Greeks in Sicily and Italy.

AS the Peloponneſian war is a great event of conſiderable duration, before I enter upon the hiſtory of it, it may be proper to relate, in few words, the moſt conſiderable tranſactions which had happened in Græcia Major, to the time we now ſpeak of, whether in Sicily or Italy.

SECT.

SECT. I. *The Carthaginians are defeated in Sicily.* THERON, *tyrant of Agrigentum. Reign of* GELON *in Syracuſe, and his two brothers. Liberty is reſtored.*

I. GELON.

ARTAX. LONGIMA.

WE have ſeen that (*e*) Xerxes, whoſe project tended to no leſs than the total extirpation of the Greeks, had prevailed with the Carthaginians to make war againſt the people of Sicily. They landed in it an army of above three hundred thouſand men, and ſent thither a fleet of two thouſand ſhips, and upwards of three thouſand ſmall veſſels for the baggage, *&c.* Hamilcar, the ableſt of the Carthaginian generals at that time, was charged with this expedition. However, the ſucceſs was not anſwerable to theſe mighty preparations; the Carthaginians were entirely defeated by Gelon, who at that time had the chief authority in Syracuſe. A. M. 3520. Ant J. C. 484.

(*f*) This Gelon was born in a city of Sicily, ſituated on the ſouthern coaſt between Agrigentum and Camerina, called Gelas, whence perhaps he received his name. He had ſignaliſed himſelf very much in the wars which Hippocrates, tyrant of Gela, carried on againſt the neighbouring powers, moſt of whom he ſubdued, and was very near taking Syracuſe. After the death of Hippocrates, Gelon, upon pretence of defending the rights and poſſeſſion of the tyrant's children, took up arms againſt his own citizens, and having overcome them in a battle, poſſeſſed himſelf of the government in his own name. Some time after he made himſelf maſter alſo of Syracuſe, by the aſſiſtance of ſome exiles whom he had cauſed to return into it, and who had engaged the populace to open the gates of that city to him. He then gave Gelo to Hiero his brother, and applied himſelf wholly in extending the limits of the territory of Syracuſe, and ſoon rendered himſelf very powerful. We may form a judgement of this * from the army which he offered the

(*e*) Diod. l. xi. p. 1. & 16—22. (*f*) Her. l. vii. c. 153—167.

* *He promiſed to furniſh two hundred ſhips, and thirty thouſand men.*

ARTAX. LONGIMA. the Grecian ambaſſadors who came to deſire his aid againſt the king of Perſia; and by his demand of being appointed generaliſſimo of all their forces, which however they refuſed. The fear he was in at that time of being ſoon invaded by the Carthaginians, was the chief occaſion of his not ſuccouring the Greeks. He was extremely political in his conduct; and when news was brought him of Xerxes's having croſſed the Helleſpont, he ſent a truſty perſon with rich preſents, with orders for him to wait the iſſue of the firſt battle, and in caſe Xerxes ſhould be victorious, to pay homage to him in his name, otherwiſe to bring back the money. I now return to the Carthaginians.

They were landed in Sicily at the earneſt ſollicitations of Terillus, formerly tyrant of Himera, but dethroned by Theron, another tyrant, who reigned at Agrigentum. The family of the latter was one of the moſt illuſtrious of all Greece, being deſcended in a direct line from Cadmus. He married into the family which at that time ruled at Syracuſe, and which conſiſted of four brothers, Gelon, Hiero, Polyzelus, and Thraſybulus. He married his daughter to the firſt, and himſelf married the daughter of the third.

Hamilcar, having landed at Panormus, began by laying ſiege to Himera. Gelon haſtened with a great army to the ſuccour of his father-in-law; when uniting, they defeated the Carthaginians. This was perhaps the moſt complete victory ever gained.

The battle was fought the ſame day with that of * Thermopylæ, the circumſtances of which I have related in the (g) hiſtory of the Carthaginians. One remarkable circumſtance in the conditions of the peace, which Gelon preſcribed the conquered, was, that they ſhould ceaſe to ſacrifice their children to the god

(g) Vol. I. Plut. in Apophth. p. 175.

* *Herodotus ſays, that this battle was fought the ſame day with that of Salamin, which does not appear ſo probable. For the Greeks, informed of Gelon's ſucceſſes, intreated him to ſuccour them againſt Xerxes, which they would not have done after the battle of Salamin, that exalted their courage ſo much, that after this battle, they imagined themſelves ſtrong enough to reſiſt their enemies, and to put an end to the war, to their own advantage, without the aſſiſtance of any other power.*

god Saturn; which ſhews, at the ſame time, the cruelty of the Carthaginians, and the piety of Gelon. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

The ſpoils won on this occaſion were of immenſe value. Gelon allotted the greateſt part of them for the ornament of the temples in Syracuſe. They alſo took an incredible number of priſoners. Theſe he ſhared, with the utmoſt equity with his allies, who employed them, after putting irons on their feet, in cultivating their lands, and in building magnificent edifices, as well for the ornament as the utility of the cities. Several of the citizens of Agrigentum had each five hundred for his own ſhare.

Gelon, after ſo glorious a victory, ſo far from growing more proud and haughty, behaved with greater affability and humanity than ever towards the citizens and his allies. Being returned from the campaign, he convened the aſſembly of the Syracuſans, who were ordered to come armed into it. However, he himſelf came unarmed thither: Declared to the aſſembly every ſtep of his conduct; the uſes to which he had applied the ſeveral ſums with which he had been entruſted, and in what manner he had employed his authority; adding, that if they had any complaints to make againſt him, his perſon and life were at their diſpoſal. All the people, ſtruck with ſo unexpected a ſpeech, and ſtill more with the unuſual confidence he repoſed in them, anſwered by acclamations of joy, praiſe, and gratitude; and immediately, with one conſent, inveſted him with the ſupreme authority, and the title of king. (*b*) And to preſerve to lateſt poſterity the remembrance of Gelon's memorable action, who had come into the aſſembly, and put his life into the hands of the Syracuſans, they erected a ſtatue in honour of him, wherein he was repreſented in the ordinary habit of a citizen, ungirded, and unarmed. This ſtatue met afterwards with a very ſingular fate, and worthy of the motives which had occaſioned its ſetting up. Timoleon, above a hundred and thirty years after, having reſtored the Syracuſans to their liberty, A.M. 3525. Ant. J. C. 479.

(*b*) Plut. in Timol. p. 247. Ælian. l. xiii. c. 37.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. liberty, thought it adviſeable, in order to eraſe from it all traces of tyrannical government, and at the ſame time to aſſiſt the wants of the people, to ſell publickly all the ſtatues of thoſe princes and tyrants who had governed it till that time. But, firſt, he brought them to a trial, as ſo many criminals; hearing the depoſitions and witneſſes upon each of them. They all were condemned unanimouſly, the ſtatue of Gelon only excepted, which found an eloquent advocate and defender in the warm and ſincere gratitude which the citizens retained for that great man, whoſe virtue they revered as if he had been ſtill alive.

The Syracuſans had no cauſe to repent their having entruſted Gelon with unlimited power and authority. This did not add to his known zeal for their intereſts, but only enabled him to do them more important ſervices. (*i*) For, by a change till then unheard of, and of which * Tacitus found no example except in Veſpaſian, he was the firſt man whom the ſovereignty made the better man. He made upwards of ten thouſand foreigners, who had ſerved under him, denizens. His views were, to people the capital, to increaſe the power of the ſtate, to reward the ſervices of his brave and faithful ſoldiers; and to attach them more ſtrongly to Syracuſe, from the ſenſe of the advantageous ſettlement they had obtained in being incorporated with the citizens.

(*k*) He was particularly famous for his inviolable ſincerity, truth, and fidelity to his engagements; a quality very eſſential to a prince, the only one capable of gaining him the love and confidence of his ſubjects and of foreigners, and which therefore ought to be conſidered as the baſis of all juſt policy and good government. Having occaſion for money to carry on an expedition he meditated (this, very probably, was before he had triumphed over the Carthaginians) he addreſſed the people, in order to obtain a contribution from them; but finding the Syracuſans unwilling

(*i*) Diod. l. xi. p. 55. (*k*) Plut. in Apophth. p. 175.

* Solus omnium ante ſe principum in melius mutatus eſt. *Hiſt.* l. i. c. 50.

unwilling to be at that expence, he told them, that he aſked nothing but a loan, and that he would engage to repay it as ſoon as the war ſhould be over. The money was advanced, and repaid punctually at the promiſed time. How happy is that government where ſuch juſtice and equity are exerciſed; and how miſtaken are thoſe miniſters and princes who violate them in the leaſt! ARTAX. LONGIMA.

(*l*) One of the chief objects of his attention, and in which his ſucceſſor imitated him, was to make the cultivation of the lands be conſidered as an honourable employment. It is well known how fruitful Sicily was in corn; and the immenſe revenues which might be produced from ſo rich a ſoil when induſtriouſly cultivated. He animated the huſbandman by his preſence, and delighted ſometimes in appearing at their head, in the ſame manner as on other occaſions he had marched at the head of armies. His intention, ſays Plutarch, was not merely to make the country rich and fruitful, but alſo to exerciſe his ſubjects, to accuſtom and inure them to toils, and by that means to preſerve them from a thouſand diſorders, which inevitably follow a ſoft and indolent life. There are few maxims (in point of policy) on which the ancients have inſiſted more ſtrongly, than on that relating to the cultivation of their lands; a manifeſt proof of their great wiſdom, and the profound knowledge they had of what conſtitutes the ſtrength and ſolid happineſs of a ſtate. (*m*) Xenophon, in a dialogue, the ſubject of which is government, entitled Hiero, ſhows the great advantage it would be to a ſtate, were the king ſtudious to reward thoſe who ſhould excel in huſbandry, and whatever relates to the cultivation of lands. He ſays the ſame of war, of trade, and of all the arts; on which occaſion, if honours were paid to all thoſe who ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves in them, it would give univerſal life and motion; would excite a noble and laudable emulation among the citizens, and

(*l*) Plut. in Apoththegm. p. 175. (*m*) Ibid. p. 916, 917.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. and give riſe to a thouſand inventions for the improvement of thoſe arts.

It does not appear that Gelon had been educated in the ſame manner as the children of the rich among the Greeks, who are taught muſick and the art of playing on inſtruments very carefully. Poſſibly this was becauſe of his mean birth, or rather was owing to the little value he ſet on thoſe kind of exerciſes. (*n*) One day at an entertainment, when, according to the uſual cuſtom, a lyre was preſented to each of the gueſts; when it was Gelon's turn, inſtead of touching the inſtrument as the reſt had done, he cauſed his horſe to be brought, mounted him with wonderful agility and grace, and ſhowed that he had learnt a nobler exerciſe than playing on the lyre.

(*o*) From the defeat of the Carthaginians in Sicily, the ſeveral cities of it enjoyed a profound peace, and Syracuſe was particularly happy in its tranquillity, under the auſpicious government of Gelon. He was not born at Syracuſe, and yet all the inhabitants of that city, though ſo extremely jealous of their liberty, had forced him in a manner to be their king. Though an alien, the ſupreme power went in ſearch of him, not courted with any art or inducement but thoſe of merit. Gelon was thoroughly acquainted with all the duties of the regal office, as well as its great weight; and he accepted it with no other view but the good of his people. He thought himſelf only king for the defence of the ſtate, to preſerve the good order of ſociety, to protect innocence and juſtice, and to exhibit to all his ſubjects, in his ſimple, modeſt, active, and regular life a pattern of every civil virtue. The whole of royalty that he aſſumed was the toils and cares of it, a zeal for the publick welfare, and the ſweet ſatisfaction which reſults from making millions happy by his cares: In a word, he conſidered the ſovereignty as an obligation, and a means to procure the felicity of a greater number of men. He baniſhed from it pomp, oſtentation, licentiouſneſs, and impunity for

(*n*) Plut. in Apopth. p. 175. (*o*) Diod. l. xi. p. 29, 30.

for crimes. He did not affect the appearance of reigning, but contented himſelf with making the laws reign. He never made his inferiors feel that he was their maſter, but only inculcated to them that both himſelf and they ought to ſubmit to reaſon and juſtice. To induce their obedience, he employed no other methods but perſuaſion and a good example, which are the weapons of virtue, and alone produce a ſincere and uninterrupted obedience. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

A revered old age, a name highly dear to all his ſubjects, a reputation equally diffuſed within and without his kingdoms; theſe were the fruits of that wiſdom which he retained on the throne to the laſt gaſp. His reign was ſhort, and only juſt ſhowed him in a manner to Sicily, to exhibit in his perſon an example of a great, good, and true king. He left the world, after having reigned only ſeven years, to the infinite regret of all his ſubjects. Every family imagined itſelf deprived of its beſt friend, its protector, and father. The people erected, in the place where his wife Demarata had been buried, a ſplendid mauſoleum, ſurrounded with nine towers of a ſurpriſing height and magnificence; and decreed thoſe honours to him, which were then paid to the demi-gods or heroes. The Carthaginians afterwards demoliſhed the mauſoleum, and Agathocles the towers: But, ſays the hiſtorian, neither violence, envy, nor time, which deſtroys all groſſer things, could deſtroy the glory of his name, or aboliſh the memory of his exalted virtues and noble actions, which love and gratitude had engraved in the hearts of the Sicilians.

II. HIERO.

After Gelon's death, the ſceptre continued near twelve years in his family. He was ſucceeded by Hiero, his eldeſt brother. A. M. 3532. Ant J. C. 472.

It will be neceſſary for us, in order to reconcile the authors who have writ on this prince, ſome of whom declare him to have been a good king, and others a deteſtable tyrant; it will be neceſſary, I ſay, to diſtinguiſh

Artax. Longima. guiſh the periods. It is very probable that Hiero, dazzled, in the beginning of his reign, by the glitter of ſovereign power, and corrupted by the flattery of his courtiers, ſtudiouſly endeavoured to deviate from that path which his predeceſſor had pointed out to him, and in which he had found himſelf ſo happy. (*p*) This young prince was avaricious, headſtrong, unjuſt, and ſtudious of nothing but the gratification of his paſſions, without ever endeavouring to acquire the eſteem and affection of the people; who, on the other ſide, had the utmoſt averſion for a prince, whom they looked upon as a tyrant over them, rather than as a king; and nothing but the veneration they had for Gelon's memory prevented from breaking out.

(*q*) Some time after he had aſcended the throne, he had violent ſuſpicions of Polyzelus, his brother, whoſe great credit among the citizens made him fear that he had a deſign to depoſe him. However, in order to rid himſelf without noiſe of an enemy whom he fancied very dangerous, he reſolved to put him at the head of ſome forces he was going to ſend to the ſuccour of the Sibaritæ againſt the Crotonienſes, hoping that he would periſh in the expedition. His brother's refuſal to accept this command, made him the more violent againſt him. Theron, who had married Polyzelus's daughter, joined with his father-in-law. This gave riſe to great differences of long duration between the kings of Syracuſe and Agrigentum; however, they at laſt were reconciled by the wiſe mediation of (*r*) Simonides the poet; and to make their reconciliation laſting, they cemented it by a new alliance, Hiero marrying Theron's ſiſter; after which the two kings always lived in good intelligence with each other.

(*s*) At firſt, an infirm ſtate of health, which was increaſed by repeated illneſſes, gave Hiero an opportunity of thinking ſeriouſly; after which he reſolved to

(*p*) Diod. l. xxi. p. 51. (*q*) Ibid. l. xi. p. 36. (*r*) Schol. in Pind. (*s*) Ælian. l. iv. c. 15.

to ſend for men of learning, who might converſe agreeably with him, and furniſh him with uſeful inſtructions. The moſt famous poets of the age came to his court, as Simonides, Pindar, Bacchylides, and Epicharmus; and it is affirmed, that their delightful converſation did not a little contribute to ſoften the cruel and ſavage diſpoſition of Hiero. ARTAX. LONGINA.

(*t*) Plutarch relates a noble ſaying of his, which ſhews an excellent diſpoſition in a prince. He declared, that his palace and his ears ſhould be always open to every man who would tell him the truth, and that without diſguiſe or reſerve.

The poets above-mentioned excelled, not only in poetry, but were alſo poſſeſſed of a great fund of learning, and conſidered and conſulted as the ſages of their times. This is what * Cicero ſays particularly of Simonides. He had a great aſcendant over the king; and the only uſe he made of it was, to incline him to virtue.

(*u*) They often uſed to converſe on philoſophical ſubjects. I obſerved on another occaſion, that Hiero, in one of theſe converſations, aſked Simonides his opinion with regard to the nature and attributes of the Deity. The latter deſired one day's time to conſider of it; the next day he aſked two, and went on increaſing in the ſame proportion. The prince preſſing him to give his reaſons for theſe delays; he confeſſed that the ſubject was above his comprehenſion, and that the more he reflected, the more obſcure it appeared to him.

Xenophon has left us an excellent treatiſe on the art of governing well, entitled Hiero, and writ by way of dialogue between this prince and Simonides. Hiero undertakes to prove to the poet, that tyrants and kings are not ſo happy as is generally imagined. Among the great number of proofs alledged by him, he inſiſts chiefly on their vaſt unhappineſs in being deprived

(*t*) In Apopth. p. 175. (*u*) Cic. l. i. de Nat. Deor. n. 60.

* Simonides, non poeta ſolùm ſuavis, verùm etiam cæteroqui doctus ſapienſque traditur. *Lib.* i. *de Nat. Deor. n.* 60.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. of the greateſt comfort and bleſſing in this life, *viz.* the enjoyment of a true friend, to whoſe boſom they may ſafely confide their ſecrets and afflictions; who may ſhare with them in their joy and ſorrow; in a word, a ſecond ſelf, who may form but one heart, one ſoul with them. Simonides, on the other ſide, lays down admirable maxims with reſpect to the well governing of a kingdom. He repreſents to him, that a king is not ſo for himſelf, but for others: That his grandeur conſiſts, not in building magnificent palaces for his own reſidence, but in erecting temples, and fortifying and embelliſhing cities: That it is his glory, not that his people ſhould fear, but be afraid for him: That a truely royal care is, not to enter the liſts with the firſt comer at the Olympick games (for the princes of that age were paſſionately fond of them, and eſpecially * Hiero) but to contend with the neighbouring kings, who ſhould ſucceed beſt in diffuſing wealth and abundance throughout his dominions, and in endeavouring to form the felicity of his people.

Nevertheleſs, another poet (Pindar) praiſes Hiero for the victory he had won in the horſe-race. "This "prince, (ſays he, in his ode) who governs with "equity the inhabitants of opulent Sicily, has ga-"thered the faireſt flower in the garden of virtue. "He takes a noble delight in the moſt exquiſite per-"formances of poetry and muſick. He loves melo-"dious airs, ſuch as it is cuſtomary for us to play, "at the banquets given us by our deareſt friends. "Rouſe then thyſelf, take thy lyre, and raiſe it to "the Dorick pitch. If thou feeleſt thyſelf animated "by a glorious fire in favour of † Piſa and Phœ-"renice; if they have waked the ſweeteſt tranſports "in thy breaſt, when that generous courſer (without "being quickened by the ſpur) flew along the banks "of

* *It is ſaid that Themiſtocles, ſeeing him arrive at the Olympick games with a ſplendid equipage, would have had him forbid them, becauſe he had not ſuccoured the Greeks againſt the common enemy, any more than Gelon his brother; which motion did honour to the Athenian general.* Ælian. l. ix. c. 5.

† *Piſa was the city, near to which the Olympick games were ſolemnized: And Phœrenice, the name of Hiero's courſer, ſignifying the victor.*

"of the Alpheus, and carried his royal rider to glo- ARTAX. LONGINUS.
"rious victory: O ſing the king of Syracuſe, the
"ornament of the Olympick courſe!"

The whole ode, tranſlated by the late Mr. Maſſieu, is in the ſixth volume of the Memoirs of the Academy of inſcriptions of Belles-Lettres, from which I have made the ſmall extract above. I was very glad to give the reader ſome idea of Pindar, by this little ſpecimen.

The next ode to this was compoſed in honour of Theron, king of Agrigentum, victorious in the chariot-race. The diction of it is ſo ſublime, the thoughts ſo noble, and the moral ſo pure, that many look upon it as Pindar's maſter-piece.

I cannot ſay how far we may depend on the reſt of the praiſes which Pindar gives Hiero, for poets are not always very ſincere in the eulogiums they beſtow on princes: However, it is certain that Hiero had made his court the reſort of all perſons of wit and ſenſe, and that he had invited them to it by his affability and engaging behaviour, and much more by his liberality, which is a great merit in a king.

We cannot beſtow on Hiero's court the eulogium which * Horace gives the houſe of Mecænas, in which a character prevailed rarely found among ſcholars, and nevertheleſs worth all their erudition. This amiable houſe, ſays Horace, was an utter ſtranger to the mean and groveling ſentiments of envy and jealouſy; and men ſaw, in thoſe who ſhared in the maſter's favour, a ſuperior merit or credit, without

* ——— Non iſto vivimus illic,
Quo tu rere, modo. Domus hac nec purior ulla eſt,
Nec magis his aliena malis. Nil mî officit unquam,
Ditior hic aut eſt quia doctior. Eſt locus uni-
Cuique ſuus. HOR. *lib.* i. *Sat.* 9.

That is,

Sir, you miſtake, that's not our courſe of life,
We know no jealouſies, no brawls, no ſtrife;
From all thoſe ills our patron's houſe is free,
None, 'cauſe more learn'd or wealthy, troubles me;
We have our ſtations, all their own purſue, &c.

CREECH.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. taking the leaſt umbrage at it. (*w*) But it was far otherwiſe in the court of Hiero, or of Theron. It is ſaid that Simonides, and Bacchylides, his nephew, employed all kinds of criticiſm, to leſſen the eſteem which thoſe princes had for Pindar's works. The latter, by way of repriſal, ridicules them very ſtrongly in his ode to Theron, in comparing *them to ravens, who croak in vain againſt the divine bird of Jove.* But modeſty was not the virtue which diſtinguiſhed Pindar.

(*x*) Hiero, having drove the ancient inhabitants of Catana and Naxos from their country, ſettled a colony of ten thouſand men there, half of whom were Syracuſans, and the reſt Peloponneſians. This prompted the inhabitants of thoſe two cities to appoint, after his death, the ſame ſolemnities in his honour, as were beſtowed on heroes, or demi-gods, becauſe they conſidered him as their founder.

(*y*) He ſhowed great favour to the children of Anaxilaus, formerly tyrant of Zancle, and a great friend to Gelon, his brother. As they were arrived at years of maturity, he exhorted them to take the government into their own hands; after Micythus, their tutor, ſhould have informed them of the perfect ſtate of it, and how he himſelf had behaved in the adminiſtration. The latter, having aſſembled the neareſt relations and moſt intimate friends of the young princes, gave, in their preſence, ſo good an account of his guardianſhip, that the whole aſſembly (in perfect admiration) beſtowed the higheſt encomiums on his prudence, integrity, and juſtice. Matters were carried ſo far, that the young princes were extremely urgent with him to preſide in the adminiſtration, as he had hitherto done. However, the wiſe tutor preferring the ſweets of eaſe to the ſplendour of authority, and perſuaded, at the ſame time, that it would be for the intereſt of the ſtate if the young princes took the government into their own hands, he reſolved to retire from buſineſs. Hiero died, after having reigned eleven years.

III. THRA-

(*w*) Scholiaſt. Pind. (*x*) Diod. l. xi. p. 37. (*y*) Ibid. p. 50.

III. Thrasybulus.

(z) He was ſucceeded by Thraſybulus his brother, who, by his evil conduct, contributed very much to the making him be regretted. Swelled with pride and a brutal haughtineſs, he conſidered men as mere worms; vainly fancying that they were created for him to trample upon, and that he was of a quite different nature from them. He abandoned himſelf implicitly to the flattering counſels of the giddy young courtiers who ſurrounded him. He treated all his ſubjects with the utmoſt ſeverity; baniſhing ſome, confiſcating the poſſeſſions of others, and putting great numbers to death. So ſevere a ſlavery grew ſoon inſupportable to the Syracuſans, and therefore they implored the ſuccour of the neighbouring cities, whoſe intereſt it was alſo to throw off the tyrant's yoke. Thraſybulus was beſieged even in Syracuſe, the ſovereignty of part of which he had reſerved to himſelf, *viz.* Acradina, and the iſland which was very well fortified; but the third quarter of the city, called Tyche, was poſſeſſed by the enemy. After making a feeble reſiſtance, and demanding to capitulate, he left the city, and withdrew into baniſhment among the Locrians. He had reigned but a year. In this manner the Syracuſans recovered their liberty. They alſo delivered the reſt of the cities of Sicily from tyrants; eſtabliſhed a popular government in all places, and maintained that form themſelves during threeſcore years, till the reign of Dionyſius the tyrant, who again enſlaved them. Artax. Longima.

(a) After Sicily had been delivered from the government of tyrants, and all the cities of it were reſtored to their liberty; as the country was extremely fruitful in itſelf, and the peace which all places enjoyed, gave the inhabitants of this iſland an opportunity of cultivating their lands, and feeding their flocks; the people grew very powerful, and amaſſed great riches. To perpetuate to lateſt poſterity the rememberance of the happy day in which they had A. M. 3544. Ant. J. C. 460.

(z) Diod. l. xi. p. 51, 52. (a) Ibid. p. 55, &c.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. thrown off the yoke of ſlavery, by the baniſhment of Thraſybulus, it was decreed in the general aſſembly of the nation, that a coloſſal ſtatue ſhould be ſet up to Jupiter the Deliverer; that on the anniverſary of this day, a feſtival ſhould be ſolemniſed, by way of thankſgiving, for the reſtoration of their liberty; and that there ſhould be ſacrificed, in honour of the gods, four hundred and fifty bulls, with which the people ſhould be entertained as a common feaſt.

There nevertheleſs lay concealed in the minds of many, I know not what ſecret leaven of tyranny, which frequently diſturbed the harmony of this peace, and occaſioned ſeveral tumults and commotions in Sicily, the particulars of which I ſhall omit. (*b*) To prevent the evil conſequences of them, the Syracuſans eſtabliſhed the Petaliſm, which differed very little from the Athenian Oſtraciſm; and was ſo called from the Greek πέταλον, ſignifying a leaf, becauſe the votes were then given on an olive leaf. This judgement was pronounced againſt ſuch citizens whoſe great power made the people apprehenſive that they aſpired at the tyranny, and it baniſhed them for ten years; however, it did not long continue in force, and was ſoon aboliſhed; becauſe the dread of falling under its cenſure, having prompted the moſt virtuous men to retire, and renounce the government, the chief employments were now filled by ſuch citizens only as had the leaſt merit.

(*c*) DEUCETIUS, according to Diodorus, was chief over the people who were properly called Sicilians. Having united them all (the inhabitants of Hybla excepted) into one body, he became very powerful, and formed ſeveral great enterpriſes. It was he who built the city Palica, near the temple of the gods called Palici. This city was very famous on account of ſome wonders which are related of it; and ſtill more from the ſacred nature of the oaths which were there taken, the violation whereof was ſaid to be always followed by a ſudden and exemplary puniſhment.

(*b*) Diod. l. xi. p. 65. (*c*) Ibid. p. 67—70.

ment. This was a ſecure aſylum for all perſons who were oppreſſed by ſuperior power; and eſpecially for ſlaves who were unjuſtly abuſed, or too cruelly treated by their maſters. They continued in ſafety in this temple, till certain arbiters and mediators had made their peace; and there was not a ſingle inſtance of a maſter's having ever forfeited the promiſe he had made to pardon his ſlave; ſo famous were the gods who preſided over this temple, for the ſevere vengeance they took on thoſe who violated their oaths. ARTAX. LONGIM.

This Deucetius, after having been ſucceſsful on a great many occaſions, and gained ſeveral victories, particularly over the Syracuſans; ſaw his fortune change on a ſudden by the loſs of a battle, and was abandoned by the greateſt part of his forces. In the conſternation and deſpondency into which ſo general and ſudden a deſertion threw him, he formed ſuch a reſolution as deſpair only could ſuggeſt. He withdrew in the night to Syracuſe, advanced as far as the great ſquare of the city, and there falling proſtrate at the foot of the altar, he abandoned his life and dominions to the mercy of the Syracuſans, that is, to his profeſſed enemies. The ſingularity of this ſpectacle drew great numbers of people to it. The magiſtrates immediately convened the people, and debated on the affair. They firſt heard the orators, whoſe buſineſs was generally to addreſs the people by their ſpeeches; and theſe animated them prodigiouſly againſt Deucetius, as a publick enemy, whom Providence ſeemed to throw into their way, to revenge and puniſh, by his death, all the injuries he had done the republick. A ſpeech in this caſt ſtruck all the virtuous part of the aſſembly with horrour. The moſt ancient and wiſeſt of the ſenators repreſented, "That they were "not to conſider what puniſhment Deucetius deſerved, "but how it behoved the Syracuſans to behave on "that occaſion; that they ought not to look upon "him any longer as an enemy, but as a ſuppliant, a "character by which his perſon was become ſacred and

ARTAX. LONGIMA. "inviolable. That there was a goddeſs (Nemeſis) who "took vengeance of crimes, eſpecially of cruelty and "impiety, and who doubtleſs would not ſuffer that "to go unpuniſhed: That beſides the baſeneſs and "inhumanity there is in inſulting the unfortunate, "and in cruſhing thoſe who are already under one's "foot; it was worthy the grandeur and goodneſs "natural to the Syracuſans, to exert their clemency "even to thoſe who leaſt deſerved it." All the people came into this opinion, and, with one conſent, ſpared Deucetius's life. He was ordered to reſide in Corinth, the metropolis and foundreſs of Syracuſe; and the Syracuſans engaged to furniſh Deucetius with all things neceſſary for his ſubſiſting honourably there. What reader, who compares theſe two different opinions, does not perceive which of them was the nobleſt and moſt generous?

SECT. II. *Of ſome famous perſons and cities in Græcia Major.* PYTHAGORAS, CHARONDAS, ZALEUCUS, MILO *the Athleta:* CROTON, SYBARIS, *and* THURIUM.

I. PYTHAGORAS.

A.M. 3480. Ant. J. C. 524. IN treating of what relates to Græcia Major in Italy, I muſt not omit Pythagoras, who was the glory of it. (*d*) He was born in Samos. After having travelled into a great many regions, and enriched his mind with the moſt excellent learning of every kind, he returned to his native country, but did not make a long ſtay in it, becauſe of the tyrannical government Polycrates had eſtabliſhed in it, who however had the higheſt regard for him, and ſhowed him all the eſteem due to his rare merit. But the ſtudy of the ſciences, and particularly of philoſophy, is ſcarce compatible with ſlavery, though of the mildeſt and moſt honourable kind. He therefore went into Italy, and reſided uſually either at Croton, Metapontum, Heraclea, or Tarentum. (*e*) Servius Tullius, or Tarquinius Superbus reigned in Rome at that time; which abſolutely refutes the opinion of thoſe who imagined that Numa Pompilius,

(*d*) Diog. Laert. in vit. Pythag. (*e*) Liv. l. i. n. 18.

Pompilius, the ſecond king of the Romans, who lived upwards of an hundred years before, had been Pythagoras's diſciple; an opinion that very probably was grounded on the reſemblance of their manners, diſpoſition, and principles. ARTAXI. LONGIM.

* The whole country ſoon felt very happy effects from the preſence of this excellent philoſopher. An inclination for ſtudy, and a love of wiſdom diffuſed themſelves almoſt univerſally in a very ſhort time. Multitudes flocked from all the neighbouring cities to get a ſight of Pythagoras, to hear him, and to improve by his ſalutary counſels. The ſeveral princes of the country took a pleaſure in inviting him to their courts, which they thought honoured by his preſence; and all were delighted with his converſation, and glad to learn from him the art of governing nations with wiſdom. His ſchool became the moſt famous that had ever been till that age. He had no leſs than four or five hundred diſciples. Before he admitted them in that quality, they were probationers five years, during which time he obliged them to keep the ſtricteſt ſilence; thinking it proper for them to be inſtructed, before they ſhould attempt to ſpeak. I ſhall take notice of his tenets and ſentiments, when I come to ſpeak of the various ſects of philoſophers; it was well known that the tranſmigration of ſouls was one of the chief of them. His diſciples had the greateſt reverence for every word he uttered; and, if he did but barely aver a thing, he was immediately believed without its being once examined; and to affirm the truth of any thing, they uſed to expreſs themſelves in this manner, *(f) The maſter ſaid it.* However, the diſciples carried their deference and docility too far, in thus waving all enquiry, and in ſacrificing implicitly their reaſon and underſtanding; a ſacrifice that ought to be made only to the divine authority, which is infinitely ſuperior to our reaſon and all our knowledge; and

(f) Αὐτὸς ἔφα.

* Pythagoras, cùm in Italiam & publicè, præſtantiſſimis & inſtiveniſſet, exornavit eam Græciam, tutis, & artibus. *Cic. Tuſcul.* quæ magna dicta eſt, & privatim *Quæſt.* l. v. n. 10.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. and which, conſequently, is authoriſed to preſcribe laws to us, and dictate abſolute obedience.

The ſchool of Pythagoras bred a great number of illuſtrious diſciples, who did infinite honour to their maſter; as wiſe legiſlators, great politicians, perſons ſkilled in all the ſciences, and capable of governing ſtates, and being the miniſters of the greateſt princes *. A long time after his death, that part of Italy which he had cultivated and improved by his inſtructions, was ſtill conſidered as the nurſery and ſeat of men ſkilled in all kinds of literature, and maintained that glorious character for ſeveral ages. (*g*) The Romans certainly entertained a high opinion of Pythagoras's virtue and merit, ſince the oracle of Delphos having commanded that people, during the war of the Samnites, to erect two ſtatues in the moſt conſpicuous part of Rome, the one to the wiſeſt, and the other to the moſt valiant among the Greeks, they accordingly ſet up two in the *Comitium*, repreſenting Pythagoras and Themiſtocles. Hiſtorians are not exact with reſpect to the time and place of Pythagoras's death.

II. CROTON. SYBARIS. THURIUM.

A. M. 3295. Ant. J. C. 709. (*h*) Croton was founded by Myſcellus, chief of the Achaians, the third year of the ſeventeenth Olympiad. This Myſcellus being come to Delphos to conſult the oracle of Apollo, about the ſpot on which he ſhould build his city, met Archias the Corinthian there, who was arrived upon the ſame account. The god gave him a favourable audience, and after having determined them with regard to the place that would beſt ſuit their new ſettlements, he propoſed different advantages to them, and left them, among other particulars, the choice of riches or health. The offer of riches ſtruck Archias, but Myſcellus deſired health; and, if hiſtory

(*g*) Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 6. (*h*) Strab. l. vi. p. 262, & 269. Dionyſ. Halicarn. Antiq. Rom. l. ii. p. 121.

* Pythagoras tenuit magnam illam Græciam cum honore, & diſciplina, tum etiam auctoritate, multaque ſecula poſtea ſic viguit Pythagoreorum nomen, ut nulli alii docti viderentur. *Tuſc. Quæſt.* l. i. n. 38.

hiſtory is to be credited, Apollo performed his promiſe faithfully to both. Archias founded Syracuſe, which ſoon became the moſt opulent city of Greece. (*i*) Myſcellus laid the foundations of Croton, which became ſo famous for the long life and innate ſtrength of its inhabitants, that its name was uſed proverbially, to ſignify a very healthy ſpot, whoſe air was extremely pure. The people of it ſignaliſed themſelves in a great number of victories in the Grecian games; and Strabo relates, that in the ſame Olympiad, ſeven Crotonians were crowned in the Olympick games, and carried off all the prizes of the ſtadium. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

(*k*) Sybaris was ten leagues (two hundred ſtadia) from Croton, and had alſo been founded by the Achaians, but before the other. This city became afterwards very powerful. Four neighbouring ſtates, and twenty-five cities, were ſubject to it, ſo that it was, alone, able to raiſe an army of three hundred thouſand men. The opulence of Sybaris was ſoon followed by luxury, and ſuch a diſſoluteneſs as is ſcarcely credible. The citizens employed themſelves in nothing but banquets, games, ſhows, parties of pleaſure, and carouſals. Publick rewards and marks of diſtinction were beſtowed on thoſe who gave the moſt magnificent entertainments, and even to ſuch cooks as were beſt ſkilled in the important art of making new diſcoveries in the dreſſing diſhes, and invented new refinements to tickle the palate. The Sybarites carried their delicacy and effeminacy to ſuch a height, that they carefully removed from their city all ſuch artificers whoſe work was noiſy, and would not ſuffer any cocks in it, leſt their ſhrill piercing crow ſhould diſturb their balmy ſlumbers.

(*l*) All theſe evils were heightened by diſſenſion and diſcord, which at laſt proved their ruin. Five hundred of the wealthieſt in the city having been expelled by the faction of one Telys, fled to Croton. Telys demanded to have them ſurrendered to him; and, on the A. M. 3474. Ant. J. C. 530.

(*i*) Κρότωνος ὑγιεινότερον. (*k*) Strab. l. vi. p. 263. Athen. l. xii. p. 518—520. (*l*) Diod. l. xxii. p. 76—85.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. the refuſal of the Crotonians to deliver them up, (prompted to this generous reſolution by Pythagoras who then lived among them) war was declared. The Sybarites marched three hundred thouſand men into the field, and the Crotonians only an hundred thouſand; but then they were headed by Milo, the famous champion, (of whom we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to ſpeak) over whoſe ſhoulders a lion's ſkin was thrown, and himſelf armed with a club, like another Hercules. The latter gained a complete victory, and made a dreadful havock of thoſe who fled, ſo that very few eſcaped, and their city was depopulated. About threeſcore years after ſome Theſſalians came and ſettled in it; however, they did not long enjoy peace, being driven out by the Crotonians. Being thus reduced to the moſt fatal extremity, they implored the ſuccour of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. The latter moved to compaſſian at their deplorable condition, after cauſing proclamation to be made in Peloponneſus, that all who were willing to aſſiſt that colony were at liberty to do it, ſent the Sybarites a fleet of ten ſhips, under the command of Lampon and Xenocrates.

A. M. 3560. Ant. J. C. 444. (*m*) They built a city near the ancient Sybaris, and called it Thurium. Two men, greatly renowned for their learning, the one an orator, and the other an hiſtorian, ſettled in this colony. The firſt was Lyſias, at that time but fifteen years of age. He lived in Thurium, till the ill fate which befel the Athenians in Sicily, and then went to Athens. The ſecond was Herodotus. Though he was born in Halicarnaſſus, a city of Caria, he was however conſidered as a native of Thurium, becauſe he ſettled there with that colony. I ſhall ſpeak more largely of him hereafter.

Diviſions ſoon broke out in the city, on occaſion of the new inhabitants, whom the reſt would exclude from all publick employments and privileges. But as theſe were much more numerous, they repulſed all the

(*m*) Dionyſ. Halicarn. in vit. Lyſ. p. 82. Strab. l. xiv. p. 656.

the ancient Sybarites, and got the ſole poſſeſſion of the city. Being ſupported by the alliance they made with the people of Croton, they ſoon grew vaſtly powerful; and having ſettled a popular form of government in their city, they divided the citizens into ten tribes, which they called by the names of the different nations whence they ſprung. ARTAX. LONGIM.

III. CHARONDAS, *the legiſlator.*

They now bent their whole thoughts to the ſtrengthning of their government by wholeſome laws, for which purpoſe they made choice of Charondas, who had been educated in Pythagoras's ſchool, to digeſt and draw them up. I ſhall quote ſome of them in this place.

1. He excluded from the ſenate, and all publick employments, all ſuch as ſhould marry a ſecond wife, in caſe any children by their firſt wife were living; being perſuaded, that any man who was ſo regardleſs of his children's intereſt, would be equally ſo of his country's, and be as worthleſs a magiſtrate as he had been a father.

2. He ſentenced all falſe accuſers to be carried through every part of the city crowned with heath or broom, as the vileſt of men; an ignominy which moſt of them were not able to ſurvive. The city thus delivered from thoſe peſts of ſociety, was reſtored to its former tranquillity. And indeed, * from calumniators generally ariſe all feuds and conteſts, whether of a publick or private nature; and yet, according to Tacitus's obſervation, they are too much tolerated in moſt governments.

3. He enacted a new kind of law againſt another ſpecies of peſts, which in a ſtate generally firſt occaſions depravity of manners; by ſuffering all thoſe to be proſecuted who ſhould form a correſpondence, or contract a friendſhip with wicked men, and by laying a heavy fine upon them.

4. He

* Delatores, genus hominum nis quidem nunquam ſatis coerpublico exitio repertum, & pœcitum. *Tacit. Annal.* l. iv. c. 30.

Retax. Longima. 4. He required all the children of the citizens to be educated in the Belles-Lettres; the effect of which is to poliſh and civilize the minds of men, inſpiring them with gentleneſs of manners, and inclining them to virtue; all which conſtitute the felicity of a ſtate, and are equally neceſſary to citizens of all conditions. In this view he appointed ſalaries (paid by the ſtate) for maſters and preceptors, in order that learning, by being communicated *gratis*, might be acquired by all. He conſidered ignorance as the greateſt of evils, and the ſource whence all vices flowed.

5. He made a law with reſpect to orphans which appears ſufficiently judicious, by intruſting the care of their education to their relations by the mother's ſide, as their lives would not be in danger from them; and the management of their eſtates to their paternal relations, it being the intereſt of theſe to make the greateſt advantage of them, ſince they would inherit them, in caſe of the demiſe of their wards.

6. Inſtead of putting deſerters to death, and thoſe who quitted their ranks and fled in battle, he only ſentenced them to make their appearance during three days, in the city, dreſſed in the habit of women, imagining, that the dread of ſo ignominious a puniſhment would produce the ſame effect as putting to death; and being, at the ſame time, deſirous of giving ſuch cowardly citizens an opportunity of atoning for their fault.

7. To prevent his laws from being too raſhly or eaſily abrogated, he impoſed a very ſevere and hazardous condition on all perſons who ſhould propoſe to alter or amend them in any manner. Theſe were ſentenced to appear in the publick aſſembly with a halter about their necks; and, in caſe the alteration propoſed did not paſs, they were to be immediately ſtrangled. There were but three amendments ever propoſed, and all of them admitted.

Charondas did not long ſurvive his own laws. Returning one day from purſuing ſome thieves, and finding a tumult in the city, he came armed into the aſſembly,

aſſembly, though he himſelf had prohibited this by an expreſs law. A certain perſon objected to him in ſevere terms, that he violated his own laws; *I do not violate them*, ſays he, *but thus ſeal them with my blood*; ſaying which, he plunged his ſword into his boſom, and expired. ARTAX. LONGIM.

IV. ZALEUCUS, *another lawgiver.*

(*n*) At the ſame time there aroſe among the Locrians another famous legiſlator, Zaleucus by name; who, as well as Charondas, had been Pythagoras's diſciple. There is now ſcarce any thing extant of his, except a kind of preamble to his laws, which gives a moſt advantageous idea of them. He requires, above all things, of the citizens, to believe and be firmly perſuaded, that there are gods; and adds, that the bare caſting up our eyes to the heavens, and contemplating their order and beauty, are ſufficient to convince us, that it is impoſſible ſo wonderful a fabrick could have been formed by mere chance or human power. As the natural conſequence of this belief, he exhorts men to honour and revere the gods, as the authors of whatever is good and juſt among mortals; and to honour them, not merely by ſacrifices and ſplendid gifts, but by a ſage conduct, and by purity and innocence of manners; theſe being infinitely more grateful to the immortals, than all the ſacrifices that can be offered.

After this religious exordium, in which he deſcribes the Supreme Being, as the ſource whence all laws flow, as the chief authority which commands obedience to them, as the moſt powerful motive for our faithful obſervance of them, and as the perfect model to which mankind ought to conform; he deſcends to the particulars of thoſe duties which men owe to one another; and lays down a precept which is very well adapted to preſerve peaceand unity in ſociety, by enjoining the individuals of itnot to make their hatred and diſſenſions perpetual, which would argue

(*n*) Diod. l. xii. p. 79—85.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. argue an unſociable and ſavage diſpoſition; but to treat their enemies as men who would ſoon be their friends. This is carrying morality to as great a perfection as could be expected from heathens.

With regard to the duty of judges and magiſtrates, after repreſenting to them, that, in pronouncing ſentence, they ought never to ſuffer themſelves to be biaſſed by friendſhip, hatred, or any other paſſion; he only exhorts them not to behave with the leaſt haughtineſs or ſeverity towards the parties engaged in law, ſince ſuch are but too unhappy, in being obliged to undergo all the toils and fatigues inſeparable from law-ſuits. The office indeed of judges, how laborious ſoever it may be, is far from giving them a right to uſe the contending parties with ill-nature; the very form and eſſence of their employment requiring them to behave with impartiality, and to do juſtice on all occaſions; and when they diſtribute this even with mildneſs and humanity, it is only a debt they pay, and not a favour they grant.

To baniſh luxury from his republick, which he looked upon as the certain deſtruction of a government, he did not follow the practice eſtabliſhed in ſome nations, where it is thought ſufficient, for the reſtaining it, to puniſh, by pecuniary mulcts, ſuch as infringe the laws made on that occaſion, but he acted, ſays the hiſtorian, in a more artful and ingenious, and at the ſame time more effectual manner. He prohibited women from wearing rich and coſtly ſtuffs, embroidered robes, precious ſtones, ear-rings, neck-laces, bracelets, gold rings, and ſuch like ornaments; excepting none from this law but common proſtitutes. He enacted a like law with regard to the men; excepting, in the ſame manner, from the obſervance of it, ſuch only as were willing to paſs for debauchees and infamous wretches. By theſe regulations he eaſily, and without violence, preſerved the citizens from the leaſt approaches to luxury and effeminacy *. For no perſon was

* More inter veteres recepto, qui ſatis pœnarum adverſùs impudicas in ipſa profeſſione flagitii crederent. *Tacit. Annal.* l. ii. c. 85.

was ſo abandoned to all ſenſe of honour, as to be willing to wear the badges of his ſhame, under the eye, as it were, of all the citizens; ſince this would make him the publick laughing-ſtock, and reflect eternal infamy on his family. ARTAX. LONGIN.

V. MILO, *the champion.*

We have ſeen him at the head of an army obtain a great victory. However, he was ſtill more renowned for his athletick ſtrength, than for his military bravery. He was ſurnamed *Crotonienſis*, from Croton the place of his birth. It was his daughter, whom, as was before related, Democedes the famous phyſician, and Milo's countryman, married, after he had fled from Darius's court to Greece, his native country.

(*o*) Pauſanias relates, that Milo, when but a child, was ſeven times victorious in one day at the Pythian games; that he won ſix victories (at wreſtling) in the Olympick games, one of which was alſo gained in his childhood; and that challenging a ſeventh time, (in Olympia) any perſon to wreſtle with him, he could not engage for want of an opponent. He would hold a pomegranate in ſuch a manner, that without breaking it, he would graſp it ſo faſt in his hand, that no force could poſſibly wreſt it from him. He would ſtand ſo firm on a * *diſcus*, which had been oiled to make it the more ſlippery, that it was impoſſible to move him on theſe occaſions. He would bind his head with a cord, after which holding his breath ſtrongly, the veins of his head would ſwell ſo prodigiouſly as to break the rope. When Milo, fixing his elbow on his ſide, ſtretched forth his right hand quite open, with his fingers held cloſe one to the other, his thumb excepted, which he raiſed, the utmoſt ſtrength of man could not ſeparate his little finger from the other three.

All this was only a vain and puerile oſtentation of his ſtrength. Chance, however, gave him an oppor-

(*o*) Lib. vi. 369, 370.

* *This diſcus was a kind of quoit, flat and round.*

ARTAX. LONGIMA. tunity of making a much more laudable uſe of it. (*p*) One day as he was attending the lectures of Pythagoras (for he was one of his moſt conſtant diſciples) the pillar which ſupported the cieling of the ſchool in which the pupils were aſſembled, being ſhaken by ſome accident, Milo ſupported it by his ſingle ſtrength, gave the auditors time to get away, and afterwards he eſcaped himſelf.

What is related of the voracious appetite of the Athletæ is almoſt incredible. (*q*) Milo's appetite was ſcarce ſatiated with twenty minæ (pounds) of meat, the ſame quantity of bread, and three * *congii* of wine every day. Athenæus relates, that this champion having run the whole length of the ſtadium, with a bull of four years old on his ſhoulders, he afterwards knocked him down with one ſtroke of his fiſt, and eat the whole beaſt that very day. I will take it for granted, that all the other particulars related of Milo are true; but is it probable, that one man could devour a whole ox in ſo ſhort a time?

(*r*) We are told that Milo, when advanced to a very great age, ſeeing the reſt of the champions wreſtling, and gazing upon his own arms which once were ſo vigorous and robuſt, but were then very much enfeebled by time, he burſt into tears and cried, *Alas! theſe arms are now dead.*

(*s*) And yet he either forgot or concealed his weakneſs from himſelf; the ſtrong perſuaſion he entertained of his own ſtrength, and which he preſerved to the laſt, proving fatal to him. Happening to meet, as he was travelling, an old oak, which had been opened by ſome wedges that were forced into it, he undertook to ſplit it in two by his bare ſtrength. But, after forcing out the wedges, his arms were catched in the trunk of the tree, by the violence with which it cloſed; ſo that being unable to diſengage his hands, he was devoured by wolves.

An

(*p*) Strab. l. vi p. 263. (*q*) Athen. l. x. p. 412. (*r*) Cic. de Senect. n. 27. (*s*) Pauſan. l. vi. p. 370.

* *Thirty pounds or fifteen quarts.*

(*t*) An author has judiciouſly obſerved, that this ſurpriſingly robuſt champion, who prided himſelf ſo much in his bodily ſtrength, was the weakeſt of men with regard to a paſſion, which often ſubdues and captivates the ſtrongeſt; a courteſan having gained ſo great an aſcendent over Milo, that ſhe tyranniſed over him in the moſt imperious manner, and made him obey whatever commands ſhe laid upon him. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

CHAP. III.

The war of PELOPONNESUS.

THE Peloponneſian war, which I am now entering upon, began about the end of the firſt year of the eighty-ſeventh Olympiad, and laſted twenty-ſeven years. Thucydides has written the hiſtory of it to the twenty-firſt year incluſively. He gives us an accurate account of the ſeveral tranſactions of every year, which he divides into campaigns and winter-quarters. However, I ſhall not be ſo minute, and ſhall only extract ſuch parts of it as appear moſt entertaining and inſtructive. Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus will alſo be of great aſſiſtance to me on this occaſion. A. M. 3573. Ant. J. C. 431.

SECT. I. *The ſiege of Platæa by the Thebans. Alternate ravages of Attica and Peloponneſus. Honours paid to the Athenians who fell in the firſt campaign.*

THE FIRST YEAR OF THE WAR.

(*u*) THE firſt act of hoſtility by which the war began, was committed by the Thebans, who beſieged Platæa, a city of Bœotia, in alliance with Athens. They were introduced into it by treachery; but the citizens, falling upon them in the night, killed them, about two hundred excepted, who were taken priſoners, and who a little after were put to death

H 2 The

(*t*) Ælian. l. ii. c. 24. (*u*) Thucyd. l. ii. p. 99—122. Diod. l. xii. p. 97—100. Plut. in Pericl. p. 170.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. The Athenians, as ſoon as the news was brought of the action at Platææ, ſent ſuccours and proviſions thither, and cleared the city of all perſons who were incapable of bearing arms.

The truce being evidently broke, both ſides prepared openly for war; and ambaſſadors were ſent to all places to ſtrengthen themſelves by the alliance of the Greeks and Barbarians. Every part of Greece was in motion, ſome few ſtates and cities excepted, which continued neuter, till they ſhould ſee the event of the war. The majority were for the Lacedæmonians; as being the deliverers of Greece, and eſpouſed their intereſt very warmly, becauſe the Athenians, forgetting that the moderation and gentleneſs with which they commanded over others had procured them many allies, had afterwards alienated the greateſt part of them by their pride and the ſeverity of their government, and incurred the hatred, not only of thoſe who were then ſubject to them, but of all ſuch as were apprehenſive of becoming their dependents. In this temper of mind were the Greeks at that time.

The confederates of each of thoſe ſtates were as follow.

All Peloponneſus, Argos excepted, which ſtood neuter, had declared for Lacedæmonia. The Achaians, the inhabitants of Pellene excepted, had alſo joined them; but the latter alſo engaged inſenſibly in that war. Out of Peloponneſus were the people of Megara, Locris, Bœotia, Phocis, Ambracia, Leucadia, and Anactorium.

The confederates of the Athenians were, the people of Chios, Leſbos, Platææ, the Meſſenians of Naupactus; the greateſt part of the Acarnanians, Corcyrans, Cephalenians, and Zacynthians, beſides the ſeveral tributary countries, as maritime Caria, Doria which lies near it, Ionia, the Helleſpont; and the cities of Thrace, Chalcis and Potidæa excepted; all the iſlands between Crete and Peloponneſus, eaſtward; and the Cyclades, Melos and Thera excepted.

Immediately after the attempt on Platææ, the Lacedæmonians had ordered forces to be levied both within

within and without Peloponneſus; and made all the preparations neceſſary for entering the enemy's country. All things being ready, two-thirds of the troops marched to the Iſthmus of Corinth, and the reſt were left to guard the country. Archidamus, king of Lacedæmonia, who commanded the army, aſſembled the generals and chief officers, and calling up the remembrance of the great actions performed by their anceſtors, and thoſe they themſelves had done, or been eye-witneſſes to, he exhorted them to ſupport, with the utmoſt efforts of their valour, the priſtine glory of their reſpective cities, as well as their own fame. He declared, that the eyes of all Greece were upon them; and that, in expectation of the iſſue of a war which would determine its fate, they were inceſſantly addreſſing heaven in favour of a people, who were as dear to them as the Athenians were become odious: That, however, he could not deny, but that they were going to march againſt an enemy, who, though greatly inferior to them in numbers and in ſtrength, were nevertheleſs very powerful, warlike, and daring; and whoſe courage would doubtleſs be ſtill more inflamed by the ſight of danger, and the laying waſte of their territories *: That therefore they muſt exert themſelves to the utmoſt, to ſpread an immediate terrour in the country they were going to enter, and inſpire the allies with new vigour. The whole army anſwered in the loudeſt acclamations of joy, and aſſured their generals that they would do their duty. ARTAX. LONGIM.

The aſſembly breaking up, Archidamus, ſtill zealous for the welfare of Greece, and meditating how he might beſt prevent a rupture, the dreadful conſequences of which he foreſaw, ſent a Spartan to Athens, to endeavour, before they ſhould come to hoſtilities, to prevail, if poſſible, with the Athenians to lay aſide their deſigns; ſince otherwiſe an army would ſoon march into Attica. But the Athenians,

* Gnarus primis eventibus metum aut fiduciam gigni. *Tacit. Ann.* l. xiii. c. 31.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. ſo far from admitting him to audience, or hearing his reaſons, would not ſo much as ſuffer him to come into their city: Pericles having prevailed with the people to make an order, that no herald or ambaſſador ſhould be received from the Lacedæmonians, till they had firſt laid down their arms. In conſequence of this, the Spartan was commanded to leave the country that very day; and an eſcort was ſent to guard him to the frontiers, and to prevent his ſpeaking to any perſon by the way. At his taking leave of the Athenians, he told them, that from that day great calamities would enſue to all Greece. Archidamus, ſeeing no hopes of a reconciliation, marched for Attica, at the head of ſixty thouſand choſen forces.

Pericles, before the Lacedæmonians had entered this country, declared to the Athenians, that ſhould Archidamus, when he was laying waſte their territories, ſpare his (Pericles) lands, either on account of the right of hoſpitality which ſubſiſted between them, or to furniſh his enemies, and thoſe who envied him, with a handle to ſlander him, as holding intelligence with him, he declared, that from that day he made over all his lands and houſes to the city of Athens. He remonſtrated to the Athenians, that it was their intereſt to conſume the enemy's troops, by protracting the war; and that, for this purpoſe they muſt immediately remove all their effects out of the country, retire to the city, and ſhut themſelves up in it without ever hazarding a battle. The Athenians, indeed, had not forces enough to take the field and oppoſe the enemy. Their troops, excluſive of thoſe in garriſon, amounted but to thirteen thouſand heavy-armed ſoldiers, and ſixteen thouſand inhabitants, including the young and old, the citizens as well as others, who were appointed to defend Athens: And beſides theſe, twelve hundred troopers, including the archers, who rode on horſeback, and ſixteen hundred foot archers. This was the whole army of the Athenians. But their chief ſtrength conſiſted in a fleet of three hundred gallies, part of which were ordered to lay waſte the enemy's country,

country, and the reſt to awe the allies, on whom contributions were levied, without which the Athenians could not defray the expences of the war. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

The Athenians, animated by the warm exhortations of Pericles, brought from the country their wives, their children, their moveables, and all their effects, after which they pulled down their houſes, and even carried off the timber of them. With regard to the cattle of all kinds, they conveyed them into the iſland of Eubœa, and the neighbouring iſles. However, they were deeply afflicted at the ſad and precipitate migration, and it even forced tears from their eyes. From the time the Perſians left their country, that is, for near fifty years, they had enjoyed the ſweets of peace, wholly employed in cultivating their lands, and feeding their flocks. But now (ſad fate of war!) they were obliged to abandon every thing. They took up their habitations in the city, as conveniently as they could in the midſt of ſuch confuſion; retiring either to their relations or friends; and ſome withdrew even to the temples and other publick places.

In the mean time the Lacedæmonians, being ſet out upon their march, entered the country, and encamped at Œnoe, which is the firſt fortreſs towards Bœotia. They employed a long time in preparing the attack, and raiſing the batteries; for which reaſon complaints were made againſt Archidamus, as if he carried on the war indolently, becauſe he had not approved of it. He was accuſed of being too ſlow in his marches, and of encamping too long near Corinth. He was alſo charged with having been too dilatory in raiſing the army, and having deſired to give the Athenians opportunity to carry off all their effects out of the country; whereas (they ſaid) had he marched ſpeedily into it, all they had might have been plundered and deſtroyed. His deſign, however, was to engage the Athenians, by theſe delays, to agree to an accommodation, and to prevent a rupture, the conſequences of which he foreſaw would be pernicious to all Greece. Finding, after making ſeveral aſſaults

ARTAX. LONGIMA. that it would be impoſſible for him to take the city, he raiſed the ſiege, and entered Attica in the midſt of the harveſt. Having laid waſte the whole country, he advanced as far as Acharnæ, one of the greateſt towns near Athens, and but fifteen hundred paces from the city. He there pitched his camp, in hopes that the Athenians, exaſperated to ſee him advanced ſo near, would ſally out to defend their country, and give him an opportunity of coming to a battle.

It indeed was a great mortification to the Athenians, (haughty and imperious) to be braved and inſulted in this manner by an enemy, whom they did not think ſuperior to themſelves in courage. They were eye-witneſſes of the dreadful havock made of their lands, and ſaw all their houſes and farms in a blaze. This ſad ſpectacle was now ſo ſhocking, that they could not bear it any longer, and therefore demanded fiercely to be led out againſt the Lacedæmonians, be the conſequence what it would. Pericles ſaw plainly, that the Athenians would thereby hazard every thing, and expoſe their city to certain deſtruction, ſhould they march out to engage, under the walls of their city, an army of ſixty thouſand fighting men, compoſed of the choiceſt troops at that time in Bœotia and Peloponneſus. Beſides, he had made it its chief maxim, to ſpare the blood of the citizens, ſince that was an irreparable loſs. Purſuing inflexibly therefore the plan he had laid down, and ſtudious of nothing but how he might check the impatience and ardour of the Athenians, he was particularly careful not to aſſemble either the ſenate or the people; leſt they ſhould form ſome fatal reſolution, in ſpite of all the oppoſition in his power. His friends uſed all the intreaties imaginable, to make him change his conduct. His enemies, on the other ſide, endeavoured to ſtagger him by their menaces and ſlanderous diſcourſes. They ſtrove to rouſe him by ſongs and ſatires, in which they aſperſed him as a man of a cowardly, inſenſible caſt of mind, who baſely gave up his country to the ſword of the enemy. But no man ſhowed ſo much rancour againſt Pericles

Pericles as * Cleon. He was the ſon of a currier, and alſo followed that trade. He had raiſed himſelf by faction, and probably by a ſpecies of merit which thoſe muſt poſſeſs who would riſe in popular governments. He had a thundering, and at the ſame time a ſpecious voice; and beſides he poſſeſſed, in a wonderful manner, the art of gaining the people, and bringing them over to his intereſt. It was he who enacted a law, that three *oboli* (not two as before) ſhould be given to each of the ſix thouſand judges. The characteriſticks which more immediately diſtinguiſhed him were, an inſupportably vain opinion of his own abilities, a ridiculous perſuaſion of his uncommon merit; and a boldneſs of ſpeech, which he carried to ſo high a pitch of inſolence as to ſpare no man. But none of theſe things could move Pericles †. His great ſtrength of mind raiſed him above low, vulgar clamours. Like a good pilot in a raging ſtorm, who after he has given out the proper orders, and taken all the precautions neceſſary, is ſtudious of nothing but how to make the beſt uſe of his art, without ſuffering himſelf to be moved by the tears or intreaties of thoſe whom fear has diſtracted; Pericles, in like manner, after having put the city in a good poſture of defence, and poſted guards in all places to prevent a ſurpriſe, followed thoſe counſels which his prudence ſuggeſted, entirely regardleſs of the complaints, the taunts, and licentious diſcourſes of the citizens; from a firm perſuaſion, that he knew much better than they in what manner they were to be governed. (*x*) It then appeared evidently, ſays Plutarch, that Pericles was abſolute maſter of the minds of the Athenians, ſince he prevailed ſo far (at ſuch a juncture as this) ‡ as to keep them from ſallying out of the city, as if he had kept the keys of the city in his own poſſeſſion; and fixed, on

ARTAX. LONGIM.

(*x*) Plut. An Seni ger. ſit. reſp. p. 784.

* *It is he whom Ariſtophanes has inveighed ſo much againſt, in ſeveral of his comedies.*

† Spernendis rumoribus validus. *Tacit.*

‡ Διεκωλυσε, μονον τα ὅπλα τῦ δῆμυ καὶ τας κλεῖς τῶν πυλῶν ἐπισφραγισαμενος.

Artax. Longima. on their arms, the ſeal of his authority, to forbid their making uſe of them. Things happened exactly as Pericles had foretold; for the enemy, finding the Athenians were determined not to ſtir out of their city, and having advice that the enemy's fleet carried fire and ſword into their territories, they raiſed their camp, and, after making dreadful havock in the whole country through which they marched, they returned to Peloponneſus, and retired to their ſeveral homes.

It might here be aſked, why Pericles acted, on this occaſion, in a quite different manner from what Themiſtocles had done about fifty years before, when, at Xerxes's approach, he made the Athenians march out of their city, and abandon it to the enemy. But a little reflexion will ſhow, that the circumſtances differed widely. Themiſtocles, being invaded by all the forces of the Eaſt, juſtly concluded that it would be impoſſible for him to withſtand, in a ſingle city, thoſe millions of Barbarians who would have poured upon it like a deluge, and deprived him of all hopes of being ſuccoured by his allies. This is the reaſon given by Cicero. *Fluctum enim totius Barbariæ ferre urbs una non poterat.* It was therefore prudent in him to retire for ſome time, and to let the confuſed multitude of Barbarians conſume and deſtroy one another. But Pericles was not engaged in ſo formidable and oppreſſive a war. The odds were not very great, and he foreſaw it would allow him time to breathe. Thus, like a judicious man and an able politician, he kept cloſe in Athens, and could not be moved either by the remonſtrances or murmurs of the citizens. (*y*) Cicero, writing to his friend Atticus, condemns abſolutely the reſolution which Pompey formed and executed, to abandon Rome to Cæſar; whereas he ought, in imitation of Pericles, to have ſhut himſelf up in it with the ſenate, the magiſtrates, and the worthieſt of the citizens who had declared in his favour.

After

(*y*) Lib. vii. Epiſt. 11.

After the Lacedæmonians were retired, the Athenians put troops into all the important poſts both by ſea and land, purſuant to the plan they intended to follow as long as the war continued. They alſo came to a reſolution, to keep always a thouſand talents in reſerve *, and an hundred gallies; and never to uſe them, except the enemy ſhould invade Attica by ſea; at the ſame time making it death for any man to propoſe the employing them any other way. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

The gallies which had been ſent into Peloponneſus made dreadful havock there, which conſoled the Athenians, in ſome meaſure, for the loſſes they had ſuſtained. One day as the forces were going on board, and Pericles was entering his own ſhip, a ſudden and total eclipſe of the ſun enſued, and the earth was over-ſpread with the deepeſt gloom. This phænomenon filled the minds of the Atheneans with the utmoſt terrour, ſuperſtition, and the ignorance of natural cauſes, making them conſider ſuch events as fatal omens. Pericles ſeeing the pilot who was on board his ſhip aſtoniſhed, and incapable of managing the helm, threw his cloak over his face, and aſked him whether he ſaw: The pilot anſwering, that the cloak took away all objects from his ſight; Pericles then gave him to underſtand, that a like cauſe, *viz.* the interpoſition of the vaſt body of the moon between his eyes and the ſun, prevented his ſeeing its ſplendour.

(z) The firſt year of the war of Peloponneſus being now elapſed, the Athenians, during the winter, ſolemniſed publick funerals, according to ancient cuſtom (a practice truely humane, and expreſſive of a juſt gratitude) in honour of thoſe who had loſt their lives in that campaign, a ceremony they obſerved during the whole courſe of that war. For this purpoſe they ſet up, three days before, a tent, in which the bones of the deceaſed citizens were expoſed, and every perſon ſtrewed flowers, incenſe, perfumes, and things of the ſame kind upon thoſe remains. They afterwards

(z) Thucyd. l. ii. p. 122—130.

* *Three millions.*

ARTAX. LONGIMA. wards were put on a kind of chariots, in coffins made of cypreſs wood, every tribe having its particular coffin and chariot; but in one of the latter a large empty * coffin was carried, in honour of thoſe whoſe bodies had not been found. The proceſſion marched with a grave majeſtick, and religious pomp; a great number of inhabitants, both citizens and foreigners, aſſiſted at this mournful ſolemnity. The relations of the deceaſed officers and ſoldiers ſtood weeping at the ſepulchre. Theſe bones were carried to a publick monument, in the fineſt ſuburb of the city, called the Ceramicus; where were buried, in all ages, thoſe who loſt their lives in the field, except the warriors of Marathon, who, to immortaliſe their rare valour, were interred in the field of battle. Earth was afterwards laid over them, and then one of the citizens of the greateſt diſtinction pronounced their funeral oration. Pericles was now appointed to exerciſe this honourable office. When the ceremony was ended, he went from the ſepulchre to the tribunal, in order to be the better heard, and ſpoke the oration, the whole of which Thucydides has tranſmitted to us. Whether it was really compoſed by Pericles, or by the hiſtorian, we may affirm that it is truely worthy the reputation of both thoſe great men, as well for the noble ſimplicity of the ſtile, as for the juſt beauty of the thoughts, and the greatneſs of the ſentiments which ſhine in every part of it. (*a*) After having paid, in ſo ſolemn a manner, this double tribute of tears and applauſes, to the memory of thoſe brave ſoldiers who had ſacrificed their lives to defend the liberties of their country; the publick, who did not confine their gratitude to empty ceremonies and tears, maintained their widows, and all their infant orphans. This was a powerful † incentive to animate the courage of the citizens; for great men are formed, where merit is beſt rewarded.

About the cloſe of the ſame campaign, the Athenians concluded an alliance with Sitalces, king of the Odryſians

(*a*) Thucyd. l. ii. p. 130.

* *Theſe are called Cenotaphia.*

† Ἄθλα γὰρ οἷς κεῖται ἀρετῆς μεγίστα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἀνδρες ἄριστοι πολιτεύουσι.

Odryſians in Thrace; and, in conſequence of this treaty, his ſon was admitted a citizen of Athens. They alſo made an accommodation with Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, by reſtoring him the city of Thermæ; after which they joined their forces, in order to carry on the war in Chalcis. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

SECT. II. *The plague makes dreadful havock in Attica.* PERICLES *is diveſted of the command. The Lacedæmonians addreſs the Perſians for aid. Potidæa is taken by the Athenians.* PERICLES *is reſtored to his employment. His death, and that of* ANAXAGORAS.

SECOND AND THIRD YEARS OF THE WAR.

(*b*) IN the beginning of the ſecond campaign, the enemy made an incurſion into the country as before, and laid it waſte. But the plague made a much greater devaſtation in Athens; the like having never been known. It is related, that it began in Ethiopia, whence it deſcended into Egypt, from thence ſpread over Libya, and a great part of Perſia; and at laſt broke at once, like a flood, upon Athens. Thucydides, who himſelf was ſeiſed with that deadly diſeaſe, has deſcribed very minutely the ſeveral circumſtances and ſymptoms of it, in order, ſays he, that a faithful and exact relation of this calamity may ſerve as an inſtruction to poſterity, in caſe the like ſhould ever happen. (*c*) Hippocrates, who was employed to viſit the ſick, has alſo deſcribed it in a medical, and (*d*) Lucretius in a poetical way. This peſtilence baffled the utmoſt efforts of art; the moſt robuſt conſtitutions were unable to withſtand its attacks; and the greateſt care and ſkill of the phyſicians were a feeble help to thoſe who were infected. The inſtant a perſon was ſeiſed, he was ſtruck with deſpair, which quite diſabled him from attempting a cure. The aſſiſtance that was given them was ineffectual, and proved mortal to all ſuch of their relations as A. M. 3574. Ant. J. C. 430.

(*b*) Thucyd. l. ii. p. 130—147. Diod. p. 101, 102. Plut. in Pericl. p. 171. (*c*) Epidem. l. iii. §. 3. (*d*) Lib. ii. c. 47.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. as had the courage to approach them. The prodigious quantity of baggage, which had been removed out of the county into the city, proved very noxious. Moſt of the inhabitants, for want of lodging, lived in little cottages, in which they could ſcarce breathe, during the raging heat of the ſummer, ſo that they were ſeen either piled one upon the other (the dead, as well as thoſe who were dying) or elſe crawling through the ſtreets; or lying along by the ſide of fountains, to which they had dragged themſelves, to quench the raging thirſt which conſumed them. The very temples were filled with dead bodies, and every part of the city exhibited a dreadful image of death; without the leaſt remedy for the preſent, or the leaſt hopes with regard to futurity.

(*e*) The plague, before it ſpread into Attica, had made wild havock in Perſia. Artaxerxes, who had been informed of the mighty reputation of Hippocrates of Cos, the greateſt phyſician of that or any other age, cauſed his governors to write to him, to invite him into his dominions, in order that he might preſcribe to thoſe who were infected. The king made him the moſt advantageous offers; ſetting no bounds to his rewards on the ſide of intereſt, and, with regard to honours, promiſing to make him equal with the moſt conſiderable perſons in his court. The reader has already been told, the prodigious regard which was ſhown to the Grecian phyſicians in Perſia; and, indeed, was it poſſible that ſo uſeful a man as Hippocrates could be too well rewarded? However, all the glitter of the Perſian riches and dignities were not capable to corrupt him; nor ſtifle the hatred and averſion which was become natural to the Greeks for the Perſians, ever ſince the latter had invaded them. This great phyſician therefore ſent no other anſwer but this, that he was free from either wants or deſires: That he owed all his cares to his fellow-citizens and countrymen; and was under no obligation to Barbarians, the declared enemies of Greece.

(*e*) Hippocrat. in Epiſt.

Greece. Kings are not uſed to denials. Artaxerxes, therefore, in the higheſt tranſports of rage, ſent to the city of Cos, the native place of Hippocrates, and where he was at that time; commanding them to deliver up to him that inſolent wretch, in order that he might be brought to condign puniſhment; and threatening, in caſe they refuſed, to lay waſte their city and iſland in ſuch a manner, that not the leaſt footſteps of it ſhould remain. However, the inhabitants of Cos were not under the leaſt terrour. They made anſwer, that the menaces of Darius and Xerxes had not been able to prevail with them to give them earth and water, or to obey their orders; that Artaxerxes's threats would be equally impotent; that, let what would be the conſequence, they would never give up their fellow-citizen; and that they depended on the protection of the gods. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

Hippocrates had ſaid in one of his letters, that he owed himſelf entirely to his country. And indeed, the inſtant he was ſent for to Athens, he went thither, and did not once ſtir out of the city till the plague was quite ceaſed. He devoted himſelf entirely to the ſervice of the ſick; and to multiply himſelf, as it were, he ſent ſeveral of his diſciples into all parts of the country; after having inſtructed them in what manner to treat their patients. The Athenians were ſtruck with the deepeſt ſenſe of gratitude for this generous care of Hippocrates. They therefore ordained, by a publick decree, that Hippocrates ſhould be initiated in the moſt exalted myſteries, in the ſame manner as Hercules the ſon of Jupiter; that a crown of gold ſhould be preſented him, of the value of a thouſand ſtaters *, amounting to five hundred piſtoles French money; and that the decree by which it was granted him, ſhould be read aloud by a herald in the publick games, on the ſolemn feſtival of Panathenæa: That the freedom of the city ſhould be given him, and himſelf be maintained, at the publick charge, in the

* *The Attick ſtater was a gold coin weighing two drachms. It is in the original* χρυσῶν χιλίων.

Artax. Longima. the Prytaneum, all his life-time, in caſe he thought proper: In fine, that the children of all the people of Cos, whoſe city had given birth to ſo great a man, might be maintained and brought up in Athens, in the ſame manner as if they had been born there.

In the mean time the enemy having marched into Attica, came down towards the coaſt, and advancing ſtill forward, laid waſte the whole country. Pericles ſtill adhering to the maxim he had eſtabliſhed, not to expoſe the ſafety of the ſtate to the hazard of a battle, would not ſuffer his troops to ſally out of the city: However, before the enemy left the plains, he ſailed to Peloponneſus with an hundred gallies, in order to haſten their retreat by his making ſo powerful a diverſion; and after having made a dreadful havock, (as he had done the firſt year) he returned into the city. The plague was ſtill there as well as in the fleet, and it ſpread to thoſe troops that were beſieging Potidæa.

The campaign being thus ended, the Athenians, who ſaw their country depopulated by two great ſcourges, war and peſtilence, began to deſpond, and to murmur againſt Pericles; conſidering him as the author of all their calamities, as he had involved them in that fatal war. They then ſent a deputation to Lacedæmonia, to obtain, if poſſible, an accommodation by ſome means or other, firmly reſolved to make whatever conceſſions ſhould be demanded of them: However, the ambaſſadors returned back without being able to obtain any terms. Complaints and murmurs now broke out afreſh, and the whole city was in ſuch a trouble and confuſion, as ſeemed to prognoſticate the worſt of evils. Pericles, in the midſt of this univerſal conſternation, could not forbear aſſembling the people; and endeavoured to ſoften, and at the ſame time to encourage them, by juſtifying himſelf. "The reaſons," ſays he, "which "determined you to undertake this war, and which "you approved at that time, are ſtill the ſame; and "are not changed by the alteration of circumſtances,

"which

" which neither you nor myſelf could foreſee. Had it been left to your option to make choice of peace or war, the former would certainly have been the more eligible: But as there was no other means for preſerving your liberty, but by drawing the ſword, was it poſſible for you to heſitate? If we are citizens who truely love our country, will our private misfortunes make us neglect the common welfare of the ſtate? Every man feels the evil which afflicts him, becauſe it is preſent; but no one is ſenſible of the good which will reſult from it, becauſe it is not come. Have you forgot the ſtrength and grandeur of your empire? Of the two parts which form this globe of ours, *viz.* the land and ſea, you have abſolute poſſeſſion of the latter; and no king, or any other power, is able to oppoſe your fleets. It is now your duty to preſerve this glory and this empire, or to reſign it for ever. Be not therefore grieved becauſe you are deprived of a few country-houſes and gardens, which ought to be conſidered no otherwiſe than as the frame of the picture, though you would ſeem to make them the picture itſelf. Conſider, that if you do but preſerve your liberty, you will eaſily recover them; but that ſhould you ſuffer yourſelves to be deprived of this bleſſing, you will loſe every valuable poſſeſſion with it. Do not ſhow leſs generoſity than your anceſtors, who, for the ſake of preſerving it, abandoned even their city; and who, though they had not inherited ſuch a glory from their anceſtors, yet ſuffered the worſt of evils, and engaged in the moſt perilous enterpriſes, to tranſmit it to you. I will confeſs that your preſent calamities are exceedingly grievous, and I myſelf am duely ſenſible and deeply afflicted for them. But is it juſt in you to exclaim againſt your general, merely for an accident that was not to be diverted by all the prudence of man; and to make him reſponſible for an event, in which he has not the leaſt concern? We muſt ſubmit patiently to thoſe evils which Heaven inflicts upon us, and

ARTAX. LONGIMA.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. "vigorouſly oppoſe ſuch as ariſe from our fellow-creatures. As to the hatred and jealouſy which attend on your proſperity, they are the uſual lot of all who believe themſelves worthy of commanding. However, hatred and envy are not long-lived, but the glory that accompanies exalted actions is immortal. Revolve therefore perpetually in your minds, how ſhamefully and ignominious it is for men to bow the neck to their enemies, and how glorious it is to triumph over them; and then, animated by this double reflection, march on to danger with joy and intrepidity, and do not crouch ſo tamely in vain to the Lacedæmonians; and call to mind, that thoſe who diſplay the greateſt bravery and reſolution in dangers, acquire the moſt eſteem and applauſe."

The motives of honour and fame, the rememberance of the great actions of their anceſtors, the ſoothing title of ſovereigns of Greece, and above all, the jealouſy of Sparta, the antient and perpetual rival of Athens, were the uſual motives which Pericles employed to influence and animate the Athenians, and had hitherto never failed of ſucceſs. But on this occaſion, the ſenſe of the preſent evils prevailed over every other conſideration, and ſtifled all other thoughts. The Athenians indeed did not deſign to ſue the Lacedæmonians any more for peace, but the ſight and preſence only of Pericles was inſupportable to them. They therefore deprived him of the command of the army, and ſentenced him to pay a fine, which, according to ſome hiſtorians, amounted to fifteen talents*, and, according to others, fifty.

However, this publick diſgrace of Pericles was not to be very laſting. The anger of the people was appeaſed by the firſt effort, and had ſpent itſelf in this injurious treatment of him, as the bee leaves its ſting in the wound. But he was not now ſo happy with regard to his domeſtick evils; for, beſides his having loſt a great number of his friends and relations by the peſtilence, feuds and diviſions had long reigned in

* *Fifteen or fifty thouſand French crowns.*

in his family. Xanthippus his eldeſt ſon, who himſelf was extremely profuſe, and had married a young wife no leſs extravagant, could not bear his father's exact œconomy, who allowed him but a very ſmall ſum for his pleaſures. This made him borrow money in his father's name. When the lender demanded his debt of Pericles, he not only refuſed to pay, but even proſecuted him for it. Xanthippus was ſo enraged, that he inveighed in the moſt heinous terms againſt his father, exclaiming againſt him in all places, and ridiculing openly the aſſemblies he held at his houſe, and his conferences with the Sophiſts. He did not know that a ſon, though treated unjuſtly (which was far otherwiſe in his caſe) ought to ſubmit patiently to the injuſtice of his father, as a citizen is obliged to ſuffer that of his country. ARTAX. LONGIM.

The plague carried off Xanthippus, At the ſame time Pericles loſt his ſiſter, with many of his relations and beſt friends, whoſe aſſiſtance he moſt wanted in the adminiſtration. But he did not ſink under theſe loſſes; his ſtrength of mind was not ſhaken by them; and he was not ſeen to weep or ſhow the uſual marks of ſorrow at the grave of any of his relations, till the death of Paralus, the laſt of his legitimate children. That rude ſtroke quite amazed him, though he did his utmoſt to preſerve his uſual tranquillity, and not ſhow any outward ſymptoms of ſorrow. But when he was to put the crown of flowers upon the head of his dead ſon, he could not ſupport the cruel ſpectacle, nor ſtifle the tranſports of his grief, which forced its way in cries, in ſobs, and a flood of tears.

Pericles, miſled by the principles of a falſe philoſophy, imagined, that bewailing the death of his relations and children. would betray a weakneſs that no way ſuited the greatneſs of ſoul he had ever ſhown; and that on this occaſion, the ſenſibility of the father would ſully the glory of the conqueror. Exceeding errour, childiſh illuſion, which either makes heroiſm conſiſt in wild and ſavage cruelty; or leaving the ſame grief and confuſion in the mind, aſſumes a vain outſide

Artax. Longima. of conſtancy and reſolution, merely to be admired. But does martial bravery extinguiſh nature? Is a man dead to all humane ſentiments, becauſe he makes a conſiderable figure in the ſtate? Antoninus the emperor had a much juſter way of thinking, when, on occaſion of Marcus Aurelius's lamenting the death of the perſon who had brought him up, he ſaid; * *Suffer him to be a man, for neither philoſophy nor ſovereignty renders us inſenſible.*

Fickleneſs and inconſtancy were the prevailing characters of the Athenians; and as theſe carried them on a ſudden to the greateſt exceſſes, they ſoon brought them back again within the bounds of moderation and gentleneſs. It was not long before they repented the injury they had done Pericles, and earneſtly wiſhed to ſee him again in their aſſemblies. By dint of ſuffering, they began to bear patiently their domeſtick misfortunes, and to be fired more and more with a zeal for their country's glory; and in their ardour for re-inſtating its affairs, they did not know any perſon more capable than Pericles of the adminiſtration. Pericles, at that time, never ſtirred out of his houſe, and was in the utmoſt grief for the loſs he had ſuſtained. However, Alcibiades and the reſt of his friends intreated him to go abroad, and ſhow himſelf in publick. The people aſked him pardon for their ungrateful uſage of him; and Pericles, moved with their intreaties, and perſuaded that it did not become a good man to harbour the leaſt reſentment againſt his country, reſumed the government.

About the end of the ſecond campaign, ſome ambaſſadors had ſet out from Lacedæmon, in order to ſolicit the king of Perſia's alliance, and engage him to furniſh a ſum of money for maintaining the fleet: This reflected great ignominy on the Lacedæmonians, who called themſelves the deliverers of Greece, ſince they thereby retracted or ſullied the glorious actions they had formerly achieved in her defence againſt Perſia.

* Permitte illi ut homo ſit: imperium tollit affectus. neque enim vel philoſophia vel *Jul. Capitol. in vit. Antonini Pii.*

Perſia. They went by the way of Thrace, in order to diſengage, if poſſible, Sitalces from the alliances of the Athenians, and prevail with him to ſuccour Potidæa. But they here met with ſome Athenian ambaſſadors, who cauſed them to be arreſted as diſturbers of the publick peace, and afterwards to be ſent to Athens, where, without ſuffering them to be heard, they were put to death the ſame day; and their bodies thrown into the open fields, by way of repriſal on the Lacedæmonians, who treated all who were not of their party in the ſame inhuman manner. It is ſcarce poſſible to conceive how two cities, which, a little before, were ſo ſtrongly united, and ought to have ſhown a mutual civility and forbearance for each other, could contract ſo inveterate an hatred, and break into ſuch cruel acts of violence, as infringe all the laws of war, humanity, and nations; and prompted them to exerciſe greater cruelties upon one another, than if they had been at war with Barbarians. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

Potidæa had now been beſieged almoſt three years; when the inhabitants, reduced to extremities, and in ſuch want of proviſions that ſome fed on human fleſh, and not expecting any ſuccours from the Peloponneſians, whoſe attempts in Attica had all proved abortive, ſurrendered on conditions. The circumſtances which made the Athenians treat them with lenity, were, the ſeverity of the weather, which exceedingly annoyed the beſiegers; and the prodigious expence of the ſiege, which had already coſt * two thouſand talents †. They therefore came out of the city with their wives and children, as well citizens as foreigners, with each but one ſuit of clothes, and the women two, and only a little money to carry them home. The Athenians blamed their generals for granting this capitulation without their order; becauſe otherwiſe, as the citizens were reduced to the utmoſt

* *The army which beſieged Potidæa conſiſted of three thouſand men, excluſive of the ſixteen hundred who had been ſent under the command of Phormio. Every ſoldier received (daily) two drachms, or twenty-pence (French) for maſter and man; and thoſe of the gallies had the ſame pay.* Thucyd. l. iii. p. 182.

† *Six millions.*

ARTAX. LONGIMA. extremities, they would have ſurrendered at diſcretion. They ſent a colony thither.

A. M. 3575. Ant. J. C. 429. The firſt thing Pericles did, after his being re-elected generaliſſimo, was to propoſe the abrogating of that law, which he himſelf had cauſed to be enacted againſt baſtards, when there were legitimate children. It declared, that ſuch only ſhould be conſidered as true and legitimate Athenians, whoſe fathers and mothers were both natives of Athens; and it had been executed juſt before with the utmoſt rigour. For the * king of Egypt having ſent to Athens a preſent of forty thouſand meaſures of corn to be diſtributed among the people, the baſtards, on account of this new law, were involved in a thouſand difficulties, till then unpractiſed, and which had not been ſo much as thought of. Near five thouſand of them were condemned and ſold as ſlaves, whilſt fourteen thouſand and forty citizens were confirmed in their privileges, and recogniſed as true Athenians. It was thought very ſtrange, that the author and promoter of this law ſhould himſelf deſire to have it repealed. But the Athenians were moved to compaſſion at the domeſtick calamities of Pericles; ſo that they permitted him to enter his baſtard, in his own name, in the regiſter of the citizens of his tribe.

A little after he himſelf was infected with the peſtilence. Being extremely ill, and ready to breathe his laſt, the principal citizens, and ſuch of his friends as had not forſaken him, diſcourſing together in his bed-chamber about his rare merit, they ran over his exploits, and computed the number of his victories; for whilſt he was generaliſſimo of the Athenians, he had erected for the glory of their city nine trophies, in memory of as many battles gained by him. They did not imagine that Pericles heard what they were ſaying, becauſe he ſeemed to have loſt his ſenſes; but

* *Plutarch does not name this king. Perhaps it was Inarus, ſon to Pſammetichus king of Lybia, who had cauſed part of the Egyptians to take up arms againſt Artaxerxes, and to whom the Athenians, above thirty years before, had ſent ſuccours againſt the Perſians.* Thucyd. l. i. p. 68.

but it was far otherwiſe, for not a ſingle word of their diſcourſe had eſcaped him: when, breaking ſuddenly from his ſilence; "I am ſurpriſed," ſays he, "that "you ſhould treaſure up ſo well in your memories, "and extol ſo highly a ſeries of actions, in which "fortune had ſo great a ſhare, and which are common "to me, with ſo many other generals; and at the "ſame time ſhould forget the moſt glorious circum- "ſtance in my life; I mean, *my never having cauſed a "ſingle citizen to put on mourning.*" Excellent words! which very few in high ſtations can declare with truth. The Athenians were deeply afflicted at his death. ARTAX. LONGIM.

The reader has doubtleſs obſerved, from what has been ſaid of Pericles, that in him were united moſt qualities which conſtitute the great man; as thoſe of the admiral, by his great ſkill in naval affairs; of the great captain, by his conqueſts and victories; of the high-treaſurer, by the excellent order in which he put the finances; of the great politician, by the extent and juſtneſs of his views, by his eloquence in publick deliberations, and by the dexterity and addreſs with which he tranſacted the affairs of a miniſter of ſtate, by the methods he employed to increaſe trade and promote the arts in general; in fine, of father of his country, by the happineſs he procured to every individual, and which he always had in view, as the true ſcope and end of his adminiſtration.

But I muſt not omit another characteriſtick which was peculiar to him. He acted with ſo much wiſdom, moderation, diſintereſtedneſs, and zeal for the publick good; he diſcovered in all things, ſo great a ſuperiority of talents, and gave ſo exalted an idea of his experience, capacity, and integrity, that he acquired the confidence of all the Athenians; and fixed (in his own favour) during forty years that he governed the Athenians, their natural fickleneſs and inconſtancy. He ſuppreſſed that jealouſy, which an extreme fondneſs for liberty had made them entertain againſt all citizens diſtinguiſhed by their merit and great

ARTAX. LONGIMA. authority. But the moſt ſurpriſing circumſtance is, he gained this great aſcendant merely by perſuaſion, without employing force, mean artifices, or any of thoſe arts which a mean politician excuſes in himſelf, upon the ſpecious pretence, that the neceſſity of the publick affairs, and reaſons of ſtate, make them neceſſary.

(*b*) Anaxagoras died the ſame year as Pericles. Plutarch relates a circumſtance concerning him which happened ſome time before, which muſt not be omitted. He ſays, that this philoſopher, who had voluntarily reduced himſelf to exceſſive poverty, in order that he might have the greater leiſure to purſue his ſtudies; finding himſelf neglected, in his old age, by Pericles, who, in the multiplicity of the publick affairs, had not always time to think of him; * wrapped his cloak about his head, and threw himſelf on the ground, in the fixed reſolution to ſtarve himſelf. Pericles hearing of this accidentally, ran with the utmoſt haſte to the philoſopher's houſe, in the deepeſt affliction. He conjured him, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt moving terms, not to throw his life away; adding, that it was not Anaxagoras but himſelf that was to be lamented, if he was ſo unfortunate as to loſe ſo wiſe and faithful a friend; one who was ſo capable of giving him wholeſome counſels, with regard to the preſſing occaſions of the ſtate. Anaxagoras then, uncovering a little his head, ſpoke thus to him: *Pericles, thoſe who uſe a lamp take care to feed it with oil.* This was a gentle, and at the ſame time a ſtrong and piercing reproach. Pericles ought to have ſupplied his wants unaſked. Many lamps are extinguiſhed in this manner in a country, by the criminal negligence of thoſe who ought to ſupply them.

(*b*) Plut. in Pericl. p. 162.

* *It was the cuſtom for thoſe to who were reduced to deſpair, and cover their heads with their cloaks, reſolved to die.*

SECT.

SECT. III. *The Lacedæmonians beſiege Platææ. Mitylene is taken by the Athenians. Platææ ſurrenders. The plague breaks out again in Athens.*

FOURTH AND FIFTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

(*c*) THE moſt memorable tranſaction of the following years was the ſiege of Platææ by the Lacedæmonians. This was one of the moſt famous ſieges in antiquity, on account of the vigorous efforts of both parties; but eſpecially for the glorious reſiſtance made by the beſieged, and their bold and induſtrious ſtratagem, by which ſeveral of them got out of the city, and by that means eſcaped the fury of the enemy. The Lacedæmonians beſieged this place in the beginning of the third campaign. As ſoon as they had pitched their camp round the city, in order to lay waſte the places adjacent to it, the Platæans ſent ſome deputies to Archidamus, who commanded on that occaſion, to repreſent, that he could not attack them with the leaſt ſhadow of juſtice, becauſe that, after the famous battle of Platææ, Pauſanias, the Grecian general, offering up a ſacrifice in their city to Jupiter the Deliverer, in preſence of all the allies, had given them their freedom to reward their valour and zeal; and therefore, that they ought not to be diſturbed in the enjoyment of their liberties, ſince it had been granted them by a Lacedæmonian. Archidamus anſwered, that their demand would be very reaſonable, had they not joined with the Athenians, the profeſſed enemies to the liberty of Greece: but that, if they would diſengage themſelves from their preſent alliance, or at leaſt remain neuter, they then ſhould be left in the full enjoyment of their privileges. The deputies replied, that they could not poſſibly come to any agreement without firſt ſending to Athens, whither their wives and their children were retired. The Lacedæmonians permitted them to ſend thither; when the Athenians promiſing ſolemnly to ſuccour them to the utmoſt of their power, the Platæans

ARTAX. LONGIMA. A. M. 3576. Ant. J. C. 426.

(*c*) Thucyd. l. ii. p. 147—151. Diod. l. xxii. p. 102—109.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. Platæans reſolved to ſuffer the laſt extremities rather than ſurrender; and accordingly they informed the Lacedæmonians, from their walls, that they could not comply with what was deſired.

Archidamus then, after calling upon the gods to witneſs, that he did not firſt infringe the alliance, and was not the cauſe of the calamities which might befal the Platæans, for having refuſed the juſt and reaſonable conditions offered them prepared for the ſiege. He ſurrounded the city with a circumvallation of trees, which were laid long-ways, very cloſe together, with their boughs interwoven, and turned towards the city, to prevent any perſon from going out of it. He afterwards threw up a platform to ſet the batteries on; in hopes that, as ſo many hands were employed, they ſhould ſoon take the city. He therefore cauſed trees to be felled on mount Cithæron, and interwove them with faſcines, in order to ſupport the terra on all ſides; he then threw into it wood, earth, and ſtones; in a word, whatever could help to fill it up. The whole army worked night and day, without the leaſt intermiſſion, during ſeventy days; one half of the ſoldiers repoſing themſelves, whilſt the reſt were at work.

The beſieged obſerving that the work began to riſe, they threw up a wooden wall upon the walls of the city oppoſite to the platform, in order that they might always out-top the beſiegers; and filled the hollow of this wooden wall with the bricks they took from the rubbiſh of the neighbouring houſes; ſo that the wall of timber ſerved in a manner as a defence to keep the wall from falling, as it was carrying up. It was covered, on the outſide, with hides both raw and dry, in order to ſhelter the works and the workmen from the fires diſcharged againſt it. In proportion as it roſe, the platform was raiſed alſo, which in this manner was carried to a great height. But the beſieged made a hole in the oppoſite wall, in order to carry off the earth that ſuſtained the platform; which the beſiegers perceiving, they put large paniers filled with

with mortar, in the place of the earth which had been removed, becauſe theſe could not be ſo eaſily carried off. The beſieged therefore, finding their firſt ſtratagem defeated, made a mine under ground as far as the platform, in order to ſhelter themſelves, and to remove from it the earth and other materials of which it was compoſed, and which they gave from hand to hand, as far as the city. The beſiegers were a conſiderable time without perceiving this, till at laſt they found that their work did not go forward, and that the more earth they laid on, the weaker it grew. But the beſieged judging that the ſuperiority of numbers would at length prevail; without amuſing themſelves any longer at this work, or carrying the wall higher on the ſide towards the battery, they contented themſelves with building another within, in the form of a half-moon, both ends of which joined to the wall; in order that the beſieged might retire behind it when the firſt wall ſhould be forced; and ſo oblige the enemy to make freſh works. ARTAX. LONGIM.

In the mean time the beſiegers having ſet up their machines (doubtleſs after they had filled up the ditch, though Thucydides does not ſay this) ſhook the city wall in a very terrible manner, which, though it alarmed the citizens very much, did not however diſcourage them. They employed every art that fortification could ſuggeſt againſt the enemy's batteries. They prevented the effect of the battering rams, by ropes * which turned aſide their ſtrokes. They alſo employed another artifice; the two ends of a great beam were made faſt by long iron chains to two large pieces of timber, ſupported at due diſtance upon the wall in the nature of a balance; ſo that whenever the enemy played their machine, the beſieged lifted up this beam, and let it fall back on the head of the battering ram, which quite deaden'd its force, and conſequently made it of no effect.

The

* *The end (downward) of theſe ropes formed a variety of ſlip-knots, with which they catched the head of the battering ram, which they raiſed up by the help of the machine.*

ARTAX. LONGIMA. The beſiegers finding the attack did not go on ſucceſsfully, and that a new wall was raiſed againſt their platform, deſpaired of being able to ſtorm the place, and therefore changed the ſiege into a blockade. However, they firſt endeavoured to ſet fire to it, imagining that the town might eaſily be burnt down, as it was ſo ſmall, whenever a ſtrong wind ſhould riſe; for they employed all the artifices imaginable, to make themſelves maſters of it as ſoon as poſſible, and with little expence. They therefore threw faſcines into the intervals between the walls of the city and the entrenchment with which they had ſurrounded them; and filled theſe intervals in a very little time, becauſe of the multitude of hands employed by them; in order to ſet fire, at the ſame time, to different parts of the city. They then lighted the fire with pitch and ſulphur, which in a moment made ſuch a prodigious blaze, that the like was never ſeen. This invention was very near carrying the city which had baffled all others; for the beſieged could not make head at once againſt the fire and the enemy in ſeveral parts of the town; and had the weather favoured the beſiegers, as they flattered themſelves it would, it had certainly been taken: But hiſtory informs us, that an exceeding heavy rain fell, which extinguiſhed the fire.

This laſt effort of the beſiegers having been defeated as ſucceſsfully as all the reſt, they now turned the ſiege into a blockade, and ſurrounded the city with a brick wall, ſtrengthened on each ſide with a deep foſſé. The whole army was engaged ſucceſſively in this work, and when it was finiſhed, they left a guard over half of it; the Bœotians offering to guard the reſt, upon which the Lacedæmonians returned to Sparta, about the month of October. There were now, in Platææ, but four hundred inhabitants, and fourſcore Athenians; with an hundred and ten women to dreſs their victuals, and no other perſon, whether freeman or ſlave; all the reſt having been ſent to Athens before the ſiege.

During

During the campaign, ſome engagements were fought both by ſea and land, which I omit, becauſe of no importance. ARTAX. LONGIM.

(d) The next ſummer, which was the fourth year of the war, the people of Leſbos, the citizens of Methymne excepted, reſolved to break their alliance with the Athenians. They had deſigned to rebel before the war was declared, but the Lacedæmonians would not receive them at that time. The citizens of Methymne ſent advice of this to the Athenians, aſſuring them, that if an immediate ſuccour was not ſent, the iſland would be inevitably loſt. The affliction of the Athenians, who had ſuſtained great loſſes by the war and the plague, was greatly increaſed, when news was brought of the revolt of ſo conſiderable an iſland, whoſe forces, which were quite freſh, would now join the enemy, and re-inforce them on a ſudden by the addition of a powerful fleet. The Athenians therefore ſent forty gallies deſigned for Peloponneſus, which accordingly ſailed for Mitylene. The inhabitants, though in great conſternation becauſe they were quite unprepared, yet put on an appearance of bravery, and ſailed out of the port with their ſhips; however, being repulſed, they propoſed an accommodation, which the Athenians liſtened to, from an apprehenſion that they were not ſtrong enough to reduce the iſland to their allegiance. A ſuſpenſion of arms was therefore agreed upon, during which the Mitylenians ſent ambaſſadors to Athens. The fear of not obtaining their demands, made them ſend others to Lacedæmonia, to deſire ſuccours. This was not ill juged, the Athenians ſending them an anſwer which they had no reaſon to interpret in their favour.

The ambaſſadors of Mitylene, after a dangerous voyage, being arrived in Lacedæmonia, the Spartans deferred giving them audience, till the ſolemnization of the Olympick games, in order that the allies might hear the complaints they had to make. I ſhall repeat their whole ſpeech on that occaſion, as it may ſerve, at

(*d*) Thucyd. l. iii. p. 174—207. Diod. l. xii. p. 108. 109.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. at once, to give a juſt idea of Thucydides's ſtile, and of the ſeveral ſtates with regard to the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. "We are ſenſible," ſaid the ambaſſadors, "that it is the cuſtom to uſe deſerters well at "firſt, becauſe of the ſervice they do thoſe whom "they fly to; but to deſpiſe them afterwards as traitors "to their country and friends. This is far from "being unjuſt, when they have no inducement to "ſuch a change; when the ſame union ſubſiſts, and "the ſame aids reciprocally granted. But it is far "otherwiſe between us and the Athenians; and we "intreat you not to be prejudiced againſt us, be-"cauſe, after having been treated mildly by the "Athenians during the peace, we now renounce their "alliance when they are unfortunate. For being come "hither to demand admittance into the number of "your friends and allies, we ought to begin our own "juſtification, by ſhowing the juſtice and neceſſity of "our procedure; it being impoſſible for a true friend-"ſhip to be eſtabliſhed between individuals, or a "ſolid alliance between cities, unleſs both are founded "on virtue, and uniformity of principles and ſen-"timents.

"To come to the point: The treaty we concluded "with the Athenians was not to enſlave Greece, "but to free it from the yoke of the Barbarians; and "it was concluded after the retreat of the Perſians, "when you renounced the command. We adhered "to it with pleaſure, ſo long as the Athenians con-"tinued to entertain juſt deſigns; but, when we ſaw "that they diſcontinued the war they were carrying on "againſt the enemy, merely to oppreſs the allies, we "could not but ſuſpect their conduct. And as it "was extremely difficult, in ſo great a diverſity of "intereſts and opinions, for all of them to continue in "ſtrict union; and ſtill harder to make head againſt "them, when alone and ſeparated; they have ſub-"jected, by inſenſible degrees, all the allies, except "the inhabitants of Chios, and our people; and "uſed our own forces for this end. For, at the ſame

"time

" time that they left us ſeemingly at our liberty, ARTAX. LONGIMA.
" they obliged us to follow them; though we could
" no longer rely on their words, and had the ſtrongeſt
" reaſon to fear the like treatment. And indeed,
" what probability is there, after their enſlaving all
" the other ſtates, that they ſhould ſhow a regard to
" us only, and admit us upon the foot of equals, if
" they may become our maſters whenever they pleaſe;
" eſpecially as their power increaſes daily, in propor-
" tion as ours leſſens? A mutual fear between confe-
" derates, is a ſtrong motive to make an alliance
" laſting, and to prevent unjuſt and violent attempts,
" by its keeping all things in an equilibrium. Their
" leaving us the enjoyment of our liberties, was
" merely becauſe they could not intrench upon them
" by open force, but only by that equity and ſpecious
" moderation they have ſhown us. Firſt, they pre-
" tended to prove, from their moderate conduct in
" regard to us, that as we are free, we ſhould not
" have marched in conjunction with them againſt the
" other allies, had they not given them juſt grounds
" for complaint. Secondly, by attacking the weakeſt
" firſt, and ſubduing them one after another, they
" enabled themſelves, by their ruin, to ſubject the
" moſt powerful without difficulty, who at laſt would
" be left alone and without ſupport: Whereas, had
" they begun by invading us, at the time that the
" allies were poſſeſſed of all their troops, and were
" able to make ſome ſtand, they could not ſo eaſily
" have completed their deſigns. Beſides, as we had
" a large fleet, which would ſtrengthen conſiderably
" whatever party we ſhould declare for, this was a
" check upon them. Add to this, that the high
" regard we have always ſhown for their republick,
" and the endeavours we have uſed to gain the favour
" of thoſe who commanded it, have ſuſpended our ruin.
" But we had been undone had not this war broke
" out; which the fate of others leaves no room to
" doubt.

" What

ARTAX. LONGIMA. "What friendſhip then, what laſting alliance can "be concluded with thoſe who never are friends and "allies, but when force is employed to make them "continue ſuch? For, as they were obliged to careſs "us during the war, to prevent our joining with the "enemy; we were conſtrained to treat them with "the ſame regard in time of peace, to prevent their "falling upon us. That which love produces in other "places, was with us the effect of fear. It was this "circumſtance that made an alliance ſubſiſt ſome time, "which both parties were determined to break upon "the very firſt favourable occaſion: Let therefore no "one accuſe us for the advantage we now take. "We had not always the ſame opportunity to ſave, as "they had to ruin us; but were under a neceſſity "of waiting one, before we could venture to declare "ourſelves.

"Such are the motives which now oblige us to "ſolicit your alliance; the equity and juſtice of "which appear very ſtrong to us, and conſequently "call upon us to provide for our ſafety: We ſhould "have claimed your protection before, had you "been ſooner inclined to afford it us; for we offered "ourſelves to you, even before the war broke out: "We are now come at the perſuaſion of the "Bœotians your allies, to diſengage ourſelves from "the oppreſſors of Greece, and join our arms with "its defenders; and to provide for the ſecurity "of our ſtate, which is now in imminent danger. If "any thing can be objected to our conduct, it is, "our declaring ſo precipitately, with more generoſity "than prudence, and without having made the leaſt "preparations. But this alſo ought to engage you "to be the more ready in ſuccouring us; that you "may not loſe the opportunity of protecting the "oppreſſed, and avenging yourſelves on your enemies. "There never was a more favourable conjuncture "than that which now offers itſelf; a conjuncture, "when war and peſtilence have conſumed their "forces, and exhauſted their treaſure: Not to mention

"that

" that their fleet is divided, by which means they will ARTAX. " not be in a condition to reſiſt you, ſhould you invade LONGIMA. " them at the ſame time by ſea and land. For, they " either will leave us to attack you, and give us an op- " portunity of ſuccouring you; or they will oppoſe us " all together, and then you will have but half their " forces to deal with.

" For the reſt, let no one imagine that you will " expoſe yourſelves to dangers for a people incapable " of doing you ſervice. Our country indeed lies at a " conſiderable diſtance from you, but our aid is near " at hand. For the war will be carried on, not in " Attica, as is ſuppoſed, but in that country whoſe re- " venues are the ſupport of Attica, and we are not far " from it. Conſider, alſo, that in abandoning us, you " will increaſe the power of the Athenians by the " addition of ours; and that no ſtate will then dare to " take up arms againſt them. But in ſuccouring " us, you will ſtrengthen yourſelves with a fleet which " you ſo much want; you will induce many other " people, after our example, to join you; and you " will take off the reproach caſt upon you, of abandon- " ing thoſe who have recourſe to your protection, " which will be no inconſiderable advantage to you " during the courſe of the war.

" We therefore implore you, in the name of Jupiter " Olympius, in whoſe temple we now are, not to " fruſtrate the hopes of the Greeks, nor reject ſup- " pliants, whoſe preſervation may be highly advanta- " geous, and whoſe ruin may be infinitely pernicious " to you. Show yourſelves ſuch now, as the idea " entertained of your generoſity, and the extreme " danger to which we are reduced, may demand; that " is, the protectors of the afflicted, and the deliverers " of Greece."

The allies, ſtruck with theſe reaſons, admitted them into the alliance of Peloponneſus. An incurſion into the enemy's country was immediately reſolved, and that the allies ſhould rendezvous at Corinth with two thirds of their forces. The Lacedæmonians

Artax. Longima. arrived firſt, and prepared engines for tranſporting the ſhips from the gulf of Corinth into the ſea of Athens, in order to invade Attica both by ſea and land. The Athenians were no leſs active on their ſide; but the allies, being employed in their harveſt, and beginning to grow weary of the war, were a long time before they met.

During this interval, the Athenians, who perceived that all theſe preparations were made againſt them, from a ſuppoſition that they were very weak; to undeceive the world, and ſhow that they alone were able to ſupport a fleet without the aid of Leſbos, put to ſea a fleet of an hundred ſail, which they manned with citizens as well as foreigners; not exempting a ſingle citizen, except ſuch only as were obliged to ſerve on horſeback, or whoſe revenue amounted to five hundred meaſures of corn. After having ſhowed themſelves before the Iſthmus of Corinth, the more to diſplay their power, they made deſcents into whatever parts of Peloponneſus they pleaſed.

The world never ſaw a finer fleet. The Athenians guarded their own country, and the coaſts of Eubœa and Salamis with a fleet of an hundred ſhips. They cruiſed round Peloponneſus with another fleet of the like number of veſſels, without including their fleet before Leſbos and other places. The whole amounted to upwards of two hundred and fifty gallies. The expences of this powerful armament entirely exhauſted their treaſure, which had been very much drained before by that of the ſiege of Potidæa.

The Lacedæmonians, greatly ſurpriſed at ſo formidable a fleet, which they no ways expected, returned with the utmoſt expedition to their own country, and only ordered forty gallies to be fitted out for the ſuccour of Mitylene. The Athenians had ſent a re-inforcement thither, conſiſting of a thouſand heavy-armed troops, by whoſe aſſiſtance they made a contravallation, with forts of the moſt commodious places; ſo that it was blocked up, both by ſea and land, in the beginning of winter. The Athenians were

were in ſuch great want of money for carrying on this ſiege, that they were reduced to aſſeſs themſelves, which they had never done before, and by this means two hundred * talents were ſent to it. ANTAX. LONGIMA.

The people of Mitylene being in want of all things, and having waited to no purpoſe for the ſuccours which the Lacedæmonians had promiſed them, ſurrendered, upon condition that no perſon ſhould be put to death or impriſoned, till the ambaſſadors, whom they ſhould ſend to Athens, were returned; and that, in the mean time, the troops ſhould be admitted into the city. As ſoon as the Athenians had got poſſeſſion of the city, ſuch of the factious Mityleneans as had fled to the altars for refuge, were conveyed to Tenedos, and afterwards to Athens. There the affair of the Mityleneans was debated. As their revolt had greatly exaſperated the people, becauſe not preceded by any ill treatment, and it ſeemed a mere effect of their hatred for the Athenians, in the firſt tranſports of their rage, they reſolved to put all the citizens to death indiſcriminately, and to make all the women and children ſlaves; and immediately they ſent a galley to put the decree in execution. A. M. 3577. Ant J. C. 427.

But night gave them leiſure to make different reflexions. This ſeverity was judged too cruel, and carried farther than conſiſted with juſtice. They imaged to themſelves the fate of that unhappy city, entirely abandoned to ſlaughter, and repented their having involved the innocent with the guilty. This ſudden change of the Athenians gave the Mitylenean ambaſſadors ſome little glimmerings of hope; and they prevailed ſo far with the magiſtrates, as to have the affair debated a ſecond time. Cleon, who had ſuggeſted the firſt decree, a man of a fiery temper, and who had great authority over the people, maintained his opinion with great vehemence and heat. He repreſented, that it was unworthy a wiſe government to change with every wind, and to annul in the morning what they had decreed the night before;

* *Two hundred thouſand crowns, about* 45,000l. *ſterling.*

ARTAX. LONGIMA. and that it was highly important to take an exemplary vengeance of the Mityleneans, in order to awe the reſt of their allies who were every where ready to revolt.

Diodorus, who had contradicted Cleon in the firſt aſſembly, now oppoſed his reflexions more ſtrongly than before. After deſcribing, in a tender and pathetick manner, the deplorable condition of the Mityleneans, whoſe minds (he ſaid) muſt neceſſarily be on the rack, whilſt they were expecting a ſentence that was to determine their fate; he repreſented to the Athenians, that the fame of their mildneſs and clemency had always reflected the higheſt honour on them, and diſtinguiſhed them glorioufly from all other nations: He obſerved, that the citizens of Mitylene had been drawn involuntarily into the rebellion, a proof of which was, their ſurrendering the city to them the inſtant it was in their power to do it: They therefore, by this decree, would murther their benefactors, and conſequently be both unjuſt and ungrateful, in puniſhing the innocent with the guilty. He obſerved further, that ſuppoſing the Mityleneans in general were guilty, it would however be for the intereſt of the Athenians to diſſemble, in order that the rigorous puniſhment they had decreed might not exaſperate the reſt of the allies; and that the beſt way to put a ſtop to the evil would be to leave room for repentance, and not plunge people into deſpair, by the abſolute and irrevocable refuſal of a pardon. His opinion therefore was, that they ſhould examine very deliberately the cauſe of thoſe factious Mityleneans who had been brought to Athens, and pardon all the reſt.

The aſſembly was very much divided, ſo that Diodorus carried it only by a few votes. A ſecond galley was therefore immediately fitted out. It was furniſhed with every thing that might accelerate its courſe; and the ambaſſadors of Mitylene promiſed a great reward to the crew, provided they arrived time enough. They therefore did not quit their oars, even when they took ſuſtenance, but eat and drank

as

as they rowed, and took their reſt alternately; and, very happily for them the wind was favourable. The firſt galley had got a day and night's ſail before them; but as thoſe on board carried ill news, they did not make great haſte. Its arrival before the city had ſpread the utmoſt conſternation in every part of it: But it increaſed infinitely, when the decree, by which all the citizens were ſentenced to die, was read in a full aſſembly. Nothing was now heard in all places but cries and loud laments. The moment that the ſentence was going to be put in execution, advice came that a ſecond galley was arrived. Immediately the cruel maſſacre was ſuſpended. The aſſembly was again convened; and the decree, which granted a pardon, was liſtened to with ſuch a ſilence and joy, as is much eaſier conceived than expreſſed. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

All the factious Mityleneans, though upwards of a thouſand, were put to death. The city was afterwards diſmantled, the ſhips delivered up; and the whole iſland, the city of Methymne excepted, was divided into three thouſand parts or portions, three hundred of which were conſecrated to the ſervice of the gods; and the reſt divided by lot, among ſuch Athenians as were ſent thither, to whom the natives of the country gave a revenue of two * minæ for every portion; on which condition they were permitted to keep poſſeſſion of the iſland, but not as proprietors. The cities which belonged to the Mityleneans on the coaſt of Aſia, were all ſubjected by the Athenians.

(*b*) During the winter of the preceding campaign, the inhabitants of Platææ, having loſt all hopes of ſuccour, and being in the utmoſt want of proviſions, formed a reſolution to cut their way through the enemy: But half of them, ſtruck with the greatneſs of the danger, and the boldneſs of the enterpriſe, entirely loſt courage when they came to the execution; but the reſt (who were about two hundred and twenty

(*b*) Thucyd. l. iii. p. 185—188.

* *The Attick mina was worth an hundred drachms, that is, fifty French livres.*

ARTAX. LONGIMA. ſoldiers) perſiſted in their reſolution, and eſcaped in the following manner.

Before I begin the deſcription of their eſcape, it will be proper to inform my readers, in what ſenſe I uſe certain expreſſions I ſhall employ in it. In ſtrictneſs of ſpeech, the line or fortification which is made round a city when beſieged, to prevent ſallies, is called *contravallation*; and that which is made to prevent any ſuccours from without, is named *circumvallation*. Both theſe fortifications were uſed in this ſiege; however, for brevity ſake, I ſhall uſe only the former term.

The contravallation conſiſted of two walls, at ſixteen feet diſtance one from the other. The ſpace between the two walls being a kind of platform or terraſs, ſeemed to be but one ſingle building, and compoſed a range of cazerns or barracks, where the ſoldiers had their lodgings. Lofty towers were built around it at proper diſtances, extending from one wall to the other, in order that they might be able to defend themſelves at the ſame time againſt any attack from within and without. There was no going from one cazern to another without croſſing thoſe towers; and on the top of the wall was a parapet on both ſides, where a guard was commonly kept; but in rainy weather, the ſoldiers uſed to ſhelter themſelves in the towers, which ſerved in the nature of guard-houſes. Such was the contravallation, on both ſides of which was a ditch, the earth of which had been employed in making the bricks of the wall.

The beſieged firſt took the height of the wall, by counting the rows of bricks which compoſed it; and this they did at different times, and employed ſeveral men for that purpoſe, in order that they might not miſtake in the calculation. This was the eaſier, becauſe as the wall ſtood but at a ſmall diſtance, every part of it was very viſible. They then made ladders of a proper length.

All things being now ready for executing the deſign, the beſieged left the city one night when there was no moon, in the midſt of a ſtorm of wind and rain.

rain. After croſſing the firſt ditch, they drew near to the wall undiſcovered, through the darkneſs of the night; not to mention that the noiſe made by the rain and wind prevented their being heard. They marched at ſome diſtance from one another, to prevent the claſhing of their arms, which were light, in order that thoſe who carried them might be the more active; and one of their legs was naked, to keep them from ſliding ſo eaſily in the mire. Thoſe who carried the ladders laid them in the ſpace between the towers, where they knew no guard was poſted, becauſe it rained. That inſtant twelve men mounted the ladders, armed with only a coat of mail and a dagger, and marched directly to the towers, ſix on each ſide. They were followed by ſoldiers armed only with javelins, that they might mount the eaſier; and their ſhields were carried after them to be uſed in the charge. ARTAX. LONGIM.

When moſt of theſe were got to the top of the wall, they were diſcovered by the falling of a tile, which one of their comrades, in taking hold of the parapet, had thrown down. The alarm was immediately given from the towers, and the whole camp approached the wall without diſcovering the occaſion of the outcry, from the gloom of the night, and the violence of the ſtorm. Beſides which, thoſe who had ſtaid behind in the city, beat an alarm at the ſame time in another quarter, to make a diverſion; ſo that the enemy did not know which way to turn themſelves, and were afraid to quit their poſts. But a corps de reſerve, of three hundred men, who were kept for any unforeſeen accident that might happen, quitted the contravallation, and ran to that part where they heard the noiſe; and torches were held up towards Thebes, to ſhow that they muſt run that way. B[illegible] thoſe in the city, to render the ſignal of no uſe, m[illegible]ade others at the ſame time in different quarters, h[illegible]aving prepared them on the wall for that purpoſe.

In the mean time, thoſe who had mou[illegible]nted firſt having poſſeſſed themſelves of the two to[illegible]wers which flanked

Artax. Longima. flanked the interval where the ladders were ſet; and having killed thoſe who guarded them, poſted themſelves there to defend the paſſage, and keep off the beſiegers. Then ſetting ladders from the top of the wall againſt the two towers, they cauſed a good number of their comrades to mount, in order to keep off, by the diſcharge of their arrows, as well thoſe who were advancing to the foot of the wall, as the others who were haſtening from the neighbouring towers. Whilſt this was doing, they had time to ſet up ſeveral ladders, and to throw down the parapet, that the reſt might come up with greater eaſe. As faſt as they came up, they went down on the other ſide, and drew up near the foſsé on the outſide, to ſhoot at thoſe who appeared. After they were paſſed over, the men who were in the towers came down laſt, and made to the foſsé to follow after the reſt.

That inſtant the guard of three hundred, with torches, came up. However, as the Platæans ſaw their enemies by this light better than they were ſeen by them, they took a ſurer aim, by which means the laſt croſſed the ditch, without being attacked in their paſſage: However, this was not done without difficulty, becauſe the ditch was frozen over, and the ice would not bear, on account of the thaw and heavy rains. The violence of the ſtorm was of great advantage to them.

After all were paſſed, they took the road towards Thebes, the better to conceal their retreat; becauſe it was not likely that they had fled towards a city of the enemy's. Immediately they perceived the beſiegers, with torches in their hands, purſuing them in the road that led to Athens. After keeping that of Thebes about ſix or ſeven * ſtadia, they turned ſhort toward the mountain, and reſumed the route of Athens, whither two hundred and twelve arrived, out of two hundred and twenty who had quitted the place; the reſt having returned back to it through fear, one archer excepted, who was taken on the ſide of

* *Upwards of a quarter of a league.*

of the foſsé of contravallation. The beſiegers, after having purſued them to no purpoſe, returned to their camp. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

In the mean time, the Platæans who remained in the city, ſuppoſing that all their companions had been killed (becauſe thoſe who were returned, to juſtify themſelves, affirmed they were) ſent a herald to demand the dead bodies; but being told the true ſtate of the affair, he withdrew.

(c) About the end of the following campaign, which is that wherein Mitylene was taken, the Platæans being in abſolute want of proviſions, and unable to make the leaſt defence, ſurrendered upon condition that they ſhould not be puniſhed till they had been tryed and adjudged in form of juſtice. Five commiſſioners came for this purpoſe from Lacedæmon; and theſe, without charging them with any crime, barely aſked them whether they had done any ſervice to the Lacedæmonians and the allies in this war? The Platæans were much ſurpriſed, as well as puzzled at this queſtion; and were ſenſible, that it had been ſuggeſted by the Thebans, their profeſſed enemies, who had vowed their deſtruction. They therefore put the Lacedæmonians in mind of the ſervices they had done to Greece in general, both at the battle of Artemiſium, and that of Platææ; and particularly in Lacedæmonia, at the time of the earthquake, which was followed by the revolt of their ſlaves. The only reaſon (they declared) of their having joined the Athenians afterwards, was, to defend themſelves from the hoſtilities of the Thebans, againſt whom they had implored the aſſiſtance of the Lacedæmonians to no purpoſe: That if that was imputed to them for a crime, which was only their misfortune, it ought not however entirely to obliterate the rememberance of their former ſervices. "Caſt "your eyes, ſaid they, on the monuments of your "anceſtors which you ſee here, to whom we annually "pay all the honours which can be rendered to the "manes

(c) Thucyd. l. iii. p. 208—220. Diod. l. xii. p. 109.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. "manes of the dead. You thought fit to intruſt "their bodies with us, as we were eye-witneſſes of "their bravery: And yet you will now give up their "aſhes to their murtherers, in abandoning us to the "Thebans, who fought againſt them at the battle "of Platææ. Will you enſlave a province where "Greece recovered its liberty? Will you deſtroy the "temples of thoſe gods, to whom you owe the "victory? Will you aboliſh the memory of their "founders, who contributed ſo greatly to your ſafe-"ty? On this occaſion, we may venture to ſay, our "intereſt is inſeparable from your glory; and you "cannot deliver up your ancient friends and bene-"factors to the unjuſt hatred of the Thebans, with-"out eternal infamy to yourſelves."

One would conclude, that theſe juſt remonſtrances ſhould have made ſome impreſſions on the Lacedæmonians; but they were byaſſed more by the anſwer the Thebans made, and which was expreſſed in the moſt haughty and bitter terms againſt the Platæans; and beſides, they had brought their inſtructions from Lacedæmon. They ſtood therefore to their firſt queſtion, *Whether the Platæans had done them any ſervice ſince the war?* and making them paſs one after another, as they ſeverally anſwered No, he was immediately butchered, and not one eſcaped. About two hundred were killed in this manner; and twenty-five Athenians, who were among them, met with the ſame unhappy fate. Their wives, who had been taken priſoners, were made ſlaves. The Thebans afterwards peopled their city with exiles from Megara and Platææ; but the year after they demoliſhed it entirely. It was in this manner the Lacedæmonians, in the hopes of reaping great advantages from the Thebans, ſacrificed the Platæans to their animoſity, ninety-three years after their firſt alliance with the Athenians.

A.M. 3578. Ant. J. C. 426. (*d*) In the ſixth year of the war of Peloponneſus, the Plague broke out anew in Athens, and again ſwept away great numbers.

(*d*) Thucyd. l. viii. p. 232.

SECT.

SECT. IV. *The Athenians poſſeſs themſelves of Pylus, and are afterwards beſieged in it. The Spartans are ſhut up in the little iſland of Sphacteria.* CLEON *makes himſelf maſter of it.* ARTAXERXES *dies.*

THE SIXTH AND SEVENTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

I Paſs over ſeveral particular incidents of the ſucceeding campaigns, which differ very little from one another; the Lacedæmonians making regularly every year incurſions into Attica, and the Athenians into Peloponneſus: I likewiſe omit ſome ſieges in different places: (*e*) That of Pylus, a little city of Meſſenia, only four * hundred furlongs from Lacedæmon, was one of the moſt conſiderable. The Athenians, headed by Demoſthenes, had taken that city, and fortified themſelves very ſtrongly in it; this was the ſeventh year of the war. The Lacedæmonians left Attica immediately, in order to go and recover, if poſſible, that place, and accordingly they attacked it both by ſea and land. Braſides, one of their leaders, ſignaliſed himſelf here by the moſt extraordinary acts of bravery. Oppoſite to the city was a little iſland called Sphacteria, whence the beſieged might be greatly annoyed, and the entrance of the harbour ſhut up. They therefore threw a choſen body of Lacedæmonians into it; making, in all, four hundred and twenty, excluſive of the Helots. A battle was fought at ſea, in which the Athenians were victorious, and accordingly erected a trophy. They ſurrounded the iſland; and ſet a guard in every part of it, to prevent any of the inhabitants from going out, or any proviſions from being brought in to them.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. A. M. 3579. Ant. J. C. 425.

The news of the defeat being come to Sparta, the magiſtrate thought the affair of the utmoſt importance, and therefore came himſelf upon the ſpot, in order that he might be better able to take proper meaſures; when concluding that it would be impoſſible for

(*e*) Thucyd. l. iv. p. 253—280. Diod. l. xii. p. 112—114.

* *Twenty French leagues.*

ARTAX. LONGIMA. for him to ſave thoſe who were on the iſland, and that they at laſt muſt neceſſarily be ſtarved out, or be taken by ſome other means, he propoſed an accommodation. A ſuſpenſion of arms was concluded, in order to give the Lacedæmonians time to ſend to Athens; but upon condition that in the mean time they ſhould ſurrender up all their gallies, and not attack the place either by ſea or land, till the return of the ambaſſadors: That if they complied with theſe conditions, the Athenians would permit them to carry proviſions to thoſe who were in the iſland, at the * rate of ſo much for the maſter, and half for the ſervant; and that the whole ſhould be done publickly, and in ſight of both armies: That, on the other ſide, the Athenians ſhould be allowed to keep guard round the iſland, to prevent any thing from going in or out of it, but ſhould not attack it in any manner: That in caſe this agreement ſhould be infringed in the leaſt, the truce would be broke; otherwiſe, that it ſhould continue in full force till the return of the ambaſſadors, whom the Athenians obliged themſelves, by the articles, to convey backwards and forwards; and that then the Lacedæmonians ſhould have their ſhips reſtored, in the ſame condition in which they had been delivered up. Such were the articles of the treaty. The Lacedæmonians began to put it in execution, by ſurrendering about threeſcore ſhips; after which they ſent ambaſſadors to Athens.

Being admitted to audience before the people, they began by ſaying, that they were come to the Athenians to ſue for that peace, which they themſelves were, a little before, in a condition to grant: That they now might acquire the glory of having reſtored the tranquillity of all Greece, as the Lacedæmonians conſented to their being arbitrators in this treaty: That the danger to which their citizens were expoſed in the iſland, had determined them to take ſuch a ſtep as could not but be very grating to Lacedæmonians; However,

* *For the maſters, two Attick chœnices of flour, making about four pounds and a half, two cotyles, or half pints of wine, and a piece of meat: With half this quantity for the ſervants.*

However, that their affairs were far from being deſperate, and therefore, that now was the time to eſtabliſh between the two republicks, a firm and ſolid friendſhip; becauſe the affairs of both were ſtill fluctuating, and fortune had not yet declared abſolutely in favour of either: That the gods frequently abandoned thoſe whom ſucceſs makes proud, by ſhifting the ſcene, and rendering them as unfortunate as they before had been happy: That they ought to conſider, that the fate of arms is very uncertain; and that the means to eſtabliſh a laſting peace, is not to triumph over an enemy by oppreſſing him, but to agree to a reconciliation on juſt and reaſonable terms: For then, conquered by generoſity and not by violence, his future thoughts being all employed, not on revenge, but on gratitude, he is delighted, and thinks it his duty to obſerve his engagements with inviolable fidelity. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

The Athenians had now an happy opportunity for terminating the war, by a peace which would have been as glorious to them, as advantageous to all Greece. But Cleon, who had a great aſcendent over the people, prevented its taking effect. They therefore anſwered, by his advice, that thoſe who were in the iſland ſhould firſt ſurrender at diſcretion; and afterwards be carried to Athens, on the condition of being ſent back from it, as ſoon as the Lacedæmonians ſhould have reſtored the cities, *&c.* which the Athenians had been forced to give up by the laſt treaty; and that theſe things being done, a firm and laſting peace ſhould be concluded. The Lacedæmonians demanded that deputies ſhould be appointed, and that the Athenians ſhould engage to ratify what they ſhould conclude. But Cleon exclaimed againſt this propoſal, and ſaid, it was plain they did not deal fairly, ſince they would not tranſact with the people, but with particular men, whom they might eaſily bribe; and that, if they had any thing to offer, they ſhould do it immediately. The Lacedæmonians, finding there was no poſſibility for them to treat with the

Artax. Longima. the people, without adviſing with their allies, and that if any thing had been granted by them to their prejudice, they muſt be reſponſible for it, went away without concluding any thing; fully perſuaded that they muſt not expect equitable treatment from the Athenians, in the preſent ſtate of their affairs and diſpoſition from proſperity.

As ſoon as they were returned to Pylus, the ſuſpenſion ceaſed: But when the Lacedæmonians came to demand back their ſhips, the Athenians refuſed to give them up, upon pretence that the treaty had been infringed in ſome particulars of little conſequence. The Lacedæmonians inveighed ſtrongly againſt this refuſal, as being a manifeſt perfidy; and immediately prepared for war with greater vigour and animoſity than before. A haughty carriage in ſucceſs, and want of faith in the obſervation of treaties, never fail, at laſt, to involve a people in great calamities. This will appear by what follows.

The Athenians continued to keep a ſtrict guard round the iſland, to prevent any proviſions from being brought into it, and hoped they ſhould ſoon be able to ſtarve out the inhabitants. But the Lacedæmonians engaged the whole country in their intereſt by the views of gain, laying a heavy tax upon proviſions, and giving ſuch ſlaves their freedom as ſhould run any into it. Proviſions were therefore now brought, (at the hazard of mens lives) from all parts of Peloponneſus. There were even divers, who ſwam from the coaſt to the iſland, oppoſite to the harbour, and drew after them goats-ſkins filled with pounded linſeed, and poppies mixed with honey.

Thoſe who were beſieged in Pylus were reduced to almoſt the like extremities, being in want of both of water and proviſions. When advice was brought to Athens, that their countrymen, ſo far from reducing the enemy by famine, were themſelves almoſt ſtarved; it was feared, that as it would not be poſſible for the fleet to ſubſiſt during the winter, on a deſert coaſt which belonged to the enemy, nor to lie at anchor in ſo dangerous

dangerous a road, the iſland muſt by that means be leſs ſecurely guarded, which would give the priſoners an opportunity of eſcaping. But the circumſtance they chiefly dreaded was, leſt the Lacedæmonians, after their countrymen were once extricated from their danger, ſhould refuſe to hearken to any conditions of peace; ſo that they now repented their having refuſed it when offered them. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

Cleon ſaw plainly that theſe complaints would terminate in him. He therefore began by aſſerting, that it was all a falſe report concerning the extreme want of proviſions, to which the Athenians, both within and without Pylus, were ſaid to be reduced. He next exclaimed, in preſence of the people, againſt the ſupineneſs and inactivity of the leaders who beſieged the iſland, pretending, that were they to exert the leaſt bravery, they might ſoon take the iſland; and that had he commanded, he would ſoon have taken it. Upon this he was immediately appointed to command the expedition; Nicias, who was before elected, reſigning voluntarily that honour to him, either through weakneſs, for he was naturally timid, or out of a political view, in order that the ill ſucceſs, which is was generally believed Cleon would meet with in this enterpriſe, might loſe him the favour of the people. But now Cleon was greatly ſurpriſed as well as embarraſſed; for he did not expect that the Athenians would take him at his word, he being a finer talker than ſoldier, and much more able with his tongue than his ſword. However, he deſired leave to wave the honour they offered him, for which he alledged ſeveral excuſes: But finding that the more he declined the command, the more they preſſed him to accept it, he changed his note; and ſupplying his want of courage with rhodomontade, he declared before the whole aſſembly, with a firm and reſolute air, that he would bring, in twenty days, thoſe of the iſland priſoners, or loſe his life. The whole aſſembly, on hearing thoſe words, ſet up a laugh, for they knew the man.

Cleon

ARTAX. LONGIMA. Cleon however, contrary to the expectation of every body, made good his words. He and Demoſthenes (the other chief) landed in the iſland, attacked the enemy with great vigour, drove them from poſt to poſt, and gaining ground perpetually, at laſt forced them to the extremity of the iſland. The Lacedæmonians had ſtormed a fort that was thought inacceſſible. There they drew up in battle-array, faced about to that ſide only where they could be attacked, and defended themſelves like ſo many lions. As the engagement had held the greateſt part of the day, and the ſoldiers were oppreſſed with heat and wearineſs, and parched with thirſt, the general of the Meſſenians, directing himſelf to Cleon and Demoſthenes, ſaid, that all their efforts would be to no purpoſe, unleſs they charged their enemy's rear; and promiſed, if they would give him but ſome troops armed with miſſive weapons, that he would endeavour to find a paſſage. Accordingly, he and his followers climbed up certain ſteep and craggy places which were not guarded, when coming down unperceived into the fort, he appeared on a ſudden at the backs of the Lacedæmonians, which entirely damped their courage, and afterwards completed their overthrow. They now made but a very feeble reſiſtance; and being oppreſſed with numbers, attacked on all ſides, and dejected through fatigue and deſpair, they began to give way: But the Athenians ſeiſed on all the paſſes to cut off their retreat. Cleon and Demoſthenes, finding that ſhould the battle continue, not a man of them would eſcape, and being deſirous of carrying them alive to Athens, they commanded their ſoldiers to deſiſt; and cauſed proclamation to be made by a herald, for them to lay down their arms and ſurrender at diſcretion. At theſe words, the greateſt part lowered their ſhields, and clapped their hands in token of approbation. A kind of ſuſpenſion of arms was agreed upon; and their commander deſired leave might be granted him to deſpatch a meſſenger to the camp, to know the reſolution of the generals.

This

This was not allowed, but they called heralds from the coaſt; and after ſeveral meſſages, a Lacedæmonian advanced forward, and cried aloud, that they were permitted to treat with the enemy, provided they did not ſubmit to diſhonourable terms. Upon this they held a conference; after which they ſurrendered at diſcretion, and were kept till the next day. The Athenians then raiſing a trophy, and reſtoring the Lacedæmonians their dead, embarked for their own country, after diſtributing the priſoners among the ſeveral ſhips, and committing the guard of them to the captain of the gallies. ARTAX. LONGIMA.

In this battle an hundred and twenty-eight Lacedæmonians fell, out of four hundred and twenty, which was their number at firſt; ſo that there ſurvived not quite three hundred, an hundred and twenty of whom were Spartans, that is inhabitants of the city of Sparta. The ſiege of the iſland (to compute from the beginning of it, including the time employed in the truce) had laſted threeſcore and twelve days. They all now left Pylus; and Cleon's promiſe, though ſo vain and raſh, was found literally true. But the moſt ſurpriſing circumſtance was, the capitulation that had been made; for it was believed that the Lacedæmonians, ſo far from ſurrendering their arms, would die ſword in hand.

Being come to Athens, they were ordered to remain priſoners till a peace ſhould be concluded, provided the Lacedæmonians did not make any incurſions into their country, for that then they ſhould all be put to death. They left a garriſon in Pylus. The Meſſenians of Naupactus, who had formerly poſſeſſed it, ſent thither the flower of their youth, who very much infeſted the Lacedæmonians by their incurſions; and as theſe Meſſenians ſpoke the language of the country, they prevailed with a great number of ſlaves to join them. The Lacedæmonians, dreading a greater evil, ſent ſeveral deputations to Athens, but to no purpoſe; the Athenians being too much elated with their proſperity.

ARTAX. LONGIMA. sperity, and especially their late success, to listen to any terms.

(*f*) In the seventh year of the Peloponnesian war, Artaxerxes sent to the Lacedæmonians an ambassador named Artaphernes, with a letter written in the Assyrian language, in which he said, that he had received many embassies from them, but the purport of them all differed so widely, that he could not comprehend in any manner what it was they requested: That in this uncertainty, he had thought proper to send a Persian, to acquaint them that if they had any proposal to make, they should send a person in whom they could confide along with him, from whom he might be exactly informed in what they desired. This ambassador, arriving at Eion on the river Strymon in Thrace, was there taken prisoner, about the close of this year, by one of the admirals of the Athenian fleet, who sent him to Athens. He was treated with the utmost civility and respect; the Athenians being extremely desirous of recovering the favour of the king his master.

The year following, as soon as the season would permit, the Athenians to put to sea, they sent the ambassador back in one of their ships at the publick expence; and appointed some of their citizens to wait upon him to the court of Persia, in quality of ambassadors. Upon landing at Ephesus, they were informed that Artaxerxes was dead; whereupon the Athenian ambassadors, thinking it not adviseable to proceed farther after this news, took leave of Artaphernes, and returned to their own country.

(*f*) Thucyd. l. iv. p. 285, 286.

BOOK THE EIGHTH.

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

CHAP. I.

THIS chapter contains thirteen years of the Peloponneſian war, to the nineteenth incluſively. XERXES II.

SECT. I. *The very ſhort reigns of* XERXES II. *and* SOGDIANUS. *They are ſucceeded by* DARIUS NOTHUS. *He puts a ſtop to the inſurrection of Egypt, and that of Media. He beſtows on* CYRUS, *his youngeſt ſon, the ſupreme command of all Aſia Minor.*

(a) ARTAXERXES died about the beginning of the forty-ninth year of his reign. Xerxes, who ſucceeded him, was the only ſon which the queen his wife brought him: But he had ſeventeen others by his concubines, among whom was Sogdianus, (who is called Secondianus by Cteſias) Ochus and Arſites. Sogdianus, in concert with Pharnacias one of Xerxes's eunuchs, came inſidiouſly, one feſtival day, to the new king, who, after drinking too immoderately, was retired to his chamber, in order to give the fumes of the wine he had drank, time to evaporate; where he killed him without any difficulty, after he had reigned but forty-five days; and was declared king in his ſtead. A. M. 3579. Ant. J. C. 425. A. M. 3580. Ant. J. C. 424.

(a) Cteſ. c. xlvii.—li. Diod. l. xii. p. 115.

SOGDIANUS.

He was ſcarce on the throne, but he put to death Bagorazus, the moſt faithful of all his father's eunuchs. It was he who had been appointed to ſuperintend the interment of Artaxerxes, and of the queen, Xerxes's mother, who died the ſame day with her royal conſort. After having depoſited the two bodies in the mauſoleum were the kings of Perſia were interred, he found, at his return, Sogdianus on the throne, who did not receive him favourably, upon account of ſome difference with him in the life-time of his father. But the new king did not ſtop here: Not long after he took an opportunity to quarrel with him, on ſome trifling circumſtance relating to the obſequies of his father, and cauſed him to be ſtoned.

By theſe two murthers, that of his brother Xerxes and of Bagorazus, he became the horror of the army and nobility, ſo that he did not think himſelf ſafe on a throne, to which he had forced his way by ſuch horrid murthers. He ſuſpected that his brothers harboured the like deſign; and Ochus, to whom his father had left the government of Hyrcania, was the chief object of his ſuſpicion. Accordingly he ſent for him, with the intention of getting him murthered as ſoon as he arrived. However Ochus, who ſaw through his deſign, delayed coming upon various pretences; which he continued till he advanced at the head of a ſtrong army, which he openly declared he would employ to revenge the death of his brother Xerxes. This declaration brought over to him a great number of the nobility, and ſeveral governors of the provinces, they being juſtly diſſatisfied at Sogdianus's cruelty and ill-conduct. They put the tiara on Ochus's head, and proclaimed him king. Sogdianus, ſeeing himſelf abandoned in this manner, was as mean and cowardly in the ſlight defence he made to maintain his crown, as he had before been unjuſt and barbarous in uſurping it. Contrary to the advice of his beſt friends, and the wiſeſt perſons who ſtill adhered to him, he concluded a treaty with his brother, who getting him into his hands, cauſed him to be thrown into aſhes, where he

he died a cruel death. (*b*) This was a kind of punishment peculiar to the Perſians, and exerciſed only on great criminals. One of the largeſt towers was filled to a certain height with aſhes. The criminal then was thrown headlong from the top of the tower into them; after which the aſhes were by a wheel turned perpetually round him, till he was ſuffocated. Thus this wicked prince loſt his life and empire, which he enjoyed ſix months and fifteen days. SOGDIANUS.

Ochus, by the death of Sogdianus, now ſaw himſelf poſſeſſed of the empire. As ſoon as he was well ſettled in it, he changed his name from Ochus to that of Darius. To diſtinguiſh him, hiſtorians add the epithet Νόθος, ſignifying baſtard. He reigned nineteen years. DARIUS NOTHUS. A. M. 3581. Ant. J. C. 432.

Arſites, ſeeing in what manner Sogdianus had ſupplanted Xerxes, and had himſelf been dethroned by Ochus, meditated to ſerve the latter in the ſame manner. Though he was his brother by the father's as well as the mother's ſide he openly revolted againſt him, and was aſſiſted in it by Artyphius, ſon of Megabyzus. Ochus, whom hereafter we ſhall always call Darius, ſent Artaſyras, one of his generals, againſt Artyphius; and himſelf, at the head of another army, marched againſt Arſites. Artyphius, with the Grecian troops in his pay, defeated twice the general ſent againſt him. But, engaging a third time, the Greeks were corrupted, and he himſelf was beat, and forced to ſurrender, upon his being flattered with hopes that a pardon would be granted him. The king would have had him put to death, but was diverted from that reſolution by queen Paryſatis, Darius's ſiſter and queen. She alſo was the daughter of Artaxerxes, but not by the ſame mother as Darius: She was an intriguing, artful woman, and the king her huſband was governed by her on moſt occaſions. The counſel ſhe now gave was perfidious to the laſt degree. She adviſed him to exerciſe his clemency towards Artyphius, and ſhow him kind uſage, in order that his brother might hope,

(*b*) Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2. 2 Maccab. c. xiii. l. iii.

DARIUS NOTHUS.

when he heard of his treating a rebellious ſervant with ſo much generoſity, that he himſelf ſhould meet, at leaſt, with as mild treatment, and thereby be prompted to lay down his arms. She added, that when once he ſhould have ſeiſed that prince, he might diſpoſe of him and Artyphius as he pleaſed. Darius followed her counſel, which proved ſucceſsful. Arſites being informed of the gentle uſage which Artyphius met with, concluded that, as he was the king's brother, he ſhould conſequently meet with ſtill more indulgent treatment; and with this hope he concluded a treaty, and ſurrendered himſelf. Darius was very much inclined to ſave his life: But Paryſatis, by inculcating to him, that he ought to puniſh this rebel to ſecure himſelf, at laſt prevailed with him to put his brother to death, and accordingly he was ſuffocated in aſhes with Artyphius. However, Darius had a violent ſtruggle with himſelf, before he could give orders for this ſacrifice; having a very tender affection for his brother. He afterwards put ſome other perſons to death, which executions did not procure him the tranquillity he had expected from them; for his reign was afterwards diſturbed with ſuch violent commotions, that he enjoyed but little repoſe.

A. M. 3590. Ant. J. C. 414.

(c) One of the moſt dangerous commotions was occaſioned by the rebellion of Piſuthnes, who, being governor of Lydia, wanted to throw off his allegiance to the Perſian empire, and make himſelf king in his province. What flattered him with the hopes of ſucceeding in this attempt was his having raiſed a conſiderable body of Grecian troops, under the command of Lycon the Athenian. Darius ſent Tiſſaphernes againſt this rebel, and gave him, with a conſiderable army, the commiſſion of governor of Lydia, of which he was to diſpoſſeſs Piſuthnes. Tiſſaphernes, who was an artful man, and capable of acting in all characters, found means of tampering with the Greeks under Piſuthnes; and by dint of preſents and promiſes, brought over the troops with their general to his party.

Piſuthne

(c) Cteſ. c. ii.

Piſuthnes, who, by this deſertion, was unable to carry on his deſigns, ſurrendered, upon his being flattered with the hopes of obtaining his pardon; but the inſtant he was brought before the king, he was ſentenced to be ſuffocated in aſhes, and accordingly met with the ſame fate as the reſt of the rebels. But his death did not put an end to all troubles; (*d*) for Amorges his ſon, with the remainder of his army, ſtill oppoſed Tiſſaphernes; and for two years laid waſte the maritime provinces of Aſia Minor, till he at laſt was taken by the Greeks of Peleponneſus, in Iaſus, a city of Ionia, and delivered up by the inhabitants to Tiſſaphernes, who put him to death. DARIUS NOTHUS.

(*e*) Darius was involved in freſh troubles by one of his eunuchs. This kind of officers had, for many years, ingroſſed all power in the court of Perſia; and we ſhall find, by the ſequel of this hiſtory, that they always governed abſolutely in it. (*f*) We may know their character, and the danger to which they expoſe princes, by the picture which Diocleſian, after he had reſigned the empire, and reduced himſelf to a private ſtation of life, drew of freedom, who had gained a like aſcendent over the Roman emperors. "Four "or five Perſons," ſays he, "who are cloſely united, "and reſolutely determined to impoſe on a prince, "may do it very eaſily. They never ſhow things to "him but in ſuch a light as they are ſure will pleaſe. "They conceal whatever would contribute to en"lighten him: And as they only beſiege him conti"nually, he cannot be informed of any thing but "through their chanal, and does nothing but what "they think fit to ſuggeſt to him. Hence it is, that "he beſtows employments on thoſe he ought to ex"clude from them; and, on the other ſide, removes "from offices ſuch perſons as are moſt worthy of "filling them. In a word, the beſt prince is often "ſold by theſe men, though he be ever ſo vigilant, "and even ſuſpicious of them." *Quid multa? Ut*

(*d*) Thucyd. l. viii. p. 554—567, 568. (*e*) Cteſ. c. lii. (*f*) Vopiſ. in vit. Aurelian. Imper.

DARIUS NOTHUS.

Diocletianus ipſe dicebat, bonus, cautus, optimus venditur imperator.

In this manner was Darius's court governed. Three eunuchs had uſurped all power in it; * an infallible mark that a government is bad, and the prince of little merit. But one of thoſe three eunuchs, whoſe name was Artoxares, preſided over, and governed the reſt. He had found Darius's weak ſide, by which he inſinuated himſelf into his confidence. He had ſtudied all his paſſions, to know how to indulge them, and govern his prince by their means. He plunged him continually in pleaſures and amuſements, to engroſs his whole authority to himſelf. In fine, under the name and protection of queen Paryſatis, to whoſe will and pleaſure he was the moſt devoted of ſlaves, he diſpoſed of all the affairs of the empire, and nothing was tranſacted but by his orders. Intoxicated by the ſupreme authority which the favour of his ſovereign gave him, he reſolved to make himſelf king, inſtead of being prime miniſter; and accordingly formed a deſign to get Darius out of the way, and afterwards aſcend the throne. However, his plot being diſcovered, he was ſeiſed and delivered up to Paryſatis, who put him to a moſt ignominious and cruel death.

(*g*) But the greateſt misfortune which happened in Darius's reign, was the revolt of the Egyptians. This terrible blow fell out the ſame year with Piſuthnes's rebellion. But Darius could not reduce Egypt as he had done that rebel. (*h*) The Egyptians, weary of the Perſian government, flocked from all parts to Amyrtæus of Sais, who at laſt was come out of the fens where he had defended himſelf from the ſuppreſſion of the revolt of Inarus. The Perſians were drove out, and Amyrtæus proclaimed king of Egypt, where he reigned ſix years.

After having eſtabliſhed himſelf ſecurely on the throne, and entirely expelled the Perſians out of Egypt,

(*g*) Euſeb. in Chron. (*h*) Thucyd. l. i. p. 72. 73.

* Scis præcipuum eſſe indicium non magni principis, magnos libertos. *Plin. ad Trajan.*

Egypt, he prepared to purſue them as far as Phœnicia, and had already concerted meaſures with the Arabians, to attack them in that country. News of this being brought the king of Perſia, he recalled the fleet which he had promiſed the Lacedæmonians, to employ it in the defence of his own dominions. DARIUS NOTHUS.

Whilſt Darius was carrying on the war in Egypt and Arabia, the Medes rebelled; however they were defeated, and reduced to their allegiance by force of arms. To puniſh them for this revolt, their yoke (till then eaſy enough) was made heavier: A fate that rebellious ſubjects always experience, when the government, which they endeavoured to throw off, gains the upper hand.

(*i*) Darius's arms ſeem to have had the like ſucceſs againſt the Egyptians. Amyrtæus dying after he had reigned ſix years (he poſſibly was killed in a battle) Herodotus obſerves, it was by the aſſiſtance of the Perſians that Pauſiris his ſon ſucceeded him in the throne. To effect this, they muſt either have been maſters of Egypt, or their party the ſtrongeſt in that kingdom.

After having cruſhed the rebels in Media, and reſtored the affairs of Egypt to their former ſituation, Darius gave Cyrus, the youngeſt of his ſons, the ſupreme command of all the provinces of Aſia Minor: An important commiſſion, by which he commanded all the provincial governors in that part of the empire. A. M. 3597. Ant. J. C. 407.

I thought it neceſſary to anticipate times, and draw together the facts which relate to the kings of Perſia; to prevent my being often obliged to interrupt the hiſtory of the Greeks, to which I now return.

(*i*) Herod. l. iii. c. 15.

SECT.

SECT. II. *The Athenians make themſelves maſters of the iſland of Cythera. Expeditions of* BRASIDAS *into Thrace. He takes Amphipolis.* THUCYDIDES, *the hiſtorian, is baniſhed. A battle is fought near Delium, where the Athenians are defeated.*

THE EIGHTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

DARIUS NOTHUS.

THE three or four campaigns which followed the reduction of the ſmall iſland of Sphacteria were diſtinguiſhed by very few conſiderable events.

A. M. 3580. Ant. J. C. 424.

(*s*) The Athenians under Nicias took the little iſland of Cythera, ſituated on the coaſt of Lacedæmonia, near cape Malea, and from thence they infeſted the whole country.

(*t*) Braſidas, on the other ſide, marched towards Thrace. The Lacedæmonians were induced by more than one motive to undertake this expedition; imagining they ſhould oblige the Athenians, who had fallen upon them in their country, to divide their forces. The inhabitants of it invited them thither, and offered to pay the army. In fine, they were extremely glad to embrace that opportunity to rid themſelves of the Helots, whom they expected to riſe in rebellion, from the taking of Pylus. They had already made away with two thouſand of them in a moſt horrid manner. Upon the ſpecious pretence of rewarding merit even in ſlaves, but, in reality, to get rid of a body of men whoſe courage they dreaded, they cauſed proclamation to be made, that ſuch of the Helots as had done the greateſt ſervice to the ſtate in the laſt campaigns, ſhould enter their names in the publick regiſters, in order for their being made free. Accordingly two thouſand gave in their names. They were carried in proceſſion through the temples, with chaplets of flowers on their heads, as if they were really to be ſet at liberty. After this ceremony they all diſappeared, and were never heard of more. We have here an inſtance in what manner an umbrageous policy and power, when filled

(*s*) Thucyd. l. iv. p. 286.
(*t*) Ibid. p. 304 313. Diod. l. xii. p. 117, 118.

filled with jealouſy and diſtruſt, excite men to the commiſſion of the blackeſt crimes, without ſcrupling to make even religion itſelf, and the authority of the gods, ſubſervient to their dark deſigns. DARIUS NOTHUS.

They therefore ſent ſeven hundred Helots with Braſidas, whom they had appointed to head this enterprize. This general brought over ſeveral cities, either by force or intelligence, and ſtill more by his wiſdom and moderation. The chief of theſe were Acanthus and Stagyra, which were two colonies from Andros. (*u*) He alſo marched afterwards towards Amphipolis, an Athenian colony, on the river Strymon. The inhabitants immediately diſpatched a meſſenger to * Thucydides the Athenian general, who was then in Thaſus, a little iſland of the Ægæan ſea, half a day's journey from Amphipolis. He inſtantly ſet ſail with ſeven ſhips that were near him, to ſecure the place before Braſidas could ſeize it; or, at worſt, to get into Eion, which lay very near Amphipolis. Braſidas, who was afraid of Thucydides, from his great credit in all that country, where he was poſſeſſed of ſome gold-mines, made all the diſpatch imaginable to get thither before him; and offered ſuch advantageous conditions to the beſieged, who did not expect ſuccours ſo ſoon, that they ſurrendered. Thucydides arrived the ſame evening at Eion; and had he failed to come that day, Braſidas would have taken poſſeſſion of it the next morning by day-break. Although Thucydides had made all imaginable diſpatch, the Athenians however charged him with being the cauſe of the taking of Amphipolis, and accordingly baniſhed him.

The Athenians were greatly afflicted at the loſs of that city, as well becauſe they drew great revenues from it, and timber to build their ſhips, as becauſe it was a kind of gate for entering Thrace. They were afraid that all their allies in that neighbourhood would revolt; eſpecially as Braſidas diſcovered great moderation

(*u*) Thucyd. l. iv. p. 320—324.

* *The ſame who wrote the hiſtory of the Peloponneſian war.*

DARIUS NOTHUS.

ration and juſtice, and continually gave out, that he came with no other view but to free the country. He declared to the ſeveral nations, that at his leaving Sparta, he had taken an oath, in preſence of the magiſtrates, to leave all thoſe the enjoyment of their liberties who would conclude an alliance with him; and that he ought to be conſidered as the moſt abandoned of men, ſhould he employ oaths to enſnare their credulity. "For," according to Braſidas, "a fraud cloaked with a ſpecious pretence, reflects "infinitely greater diſhonour on perſons in high ſta- "tions, than open violence; becauſe the latter is the "effect of the power which fortune has put into our "hands; and the former is founded wholly on per- "fidy, which is the peſt of ſociety. Now I," ſaid he, "ſhould do a great diſſervice to my country, "beſides diſhonouring it eternally, if, by procuring "it ſome ſlight advantages, I ſhould ruin the repu- "tation it enjoys of being juſt and faithful to its "promiſes; which renders it much more powerful "than all its forces united together, becauſe it ac- "quires it the eſteem and confidence of other ſtates." Upon ſuch noble and equitable principles as theſe Braſidas always formed his conduct; believing, that the ſtrongeſt bulwark of a nation is juſtice, moderation, integrity, and the firm perſuaſion which their neighbours and allies entertain, that they are not ſo baſe as to harbour a deſign to uſurp their dominions, or deprive them of their liberty. By this conduct he brought over a great number of the enemy's allies.

(x) The Athenians, under the command of Demoſthenes and Hippocrates, had entered Bœotia, expecting that ſeveral cities would join them the moment they ſhould appear. The Thebans marched out to meet them near Delium. A conſiderable engagement enſued, in which the Athenians were defeated and put to flight. (y) Socrates was in this battle; and Laches, who accompanied that great man

(x) Thucyd. l. iv. p. 311—319. (y) Plat. in Lach. p. 181. In conviv. p. 221. Plut. in Alcib. p. 195.

man in it, gives the following teſtimony of him in Plato; that had the reſt of the army behaved as gallantly as Socrates, the Athenians would not have ſuſtained ſo great a loſs before Delium. He was borne away by the crouds who fled, and was on foot; Alcibiades, who was on horſeback, when he ſaw him, rode up to him, and did not ſtir from him, but defended him with the utmoſt bravery from the enemy who were purſuing him. DARIUS NOTHUS.

After the battle, the victors beſieged the city. Among other engines employed by them to batter it, they uſed one of a very extraordinary kind. This was a long piece of timber, cut into two parts, and afterwards made hollow and joined again, ſo that its ſhape reſembled very much that of a flute. At one of the ends was fixed a long iron tube, to which a cauldron hung; ſo that by blowing a large pair of bellows at the other end of the piece of timber, the wind being carried from thence into the tube, lighted a great fire, with pitch and brimſtone, that lay in the cauldron. This engine, being carried on carts as far as the rampart, to that part where it was lined with ſtakes and faſcines, threw out ſo great a flame, that the rampart being immediately abandoned, and the palliſades burnt, the city was eaſily taken.

SECT. III. *A twelve-month's truce is agreed upon between the two ſtates.* CLEON *and* BRASIDAS *die.* *A treaty of peace for fifty years concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians.*

NINTH, TENTH, AND ELEVENTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

(z) THE loſſes and advantages on both ſides were pretty equal; and the two nations began to grow weary of a war, which put them to great expence, and did not procure them any real advantage. A truce for a year was therefore concluded between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. The former reſolved A. M. 3581. Ant. J. C. 423.

(z) Thucyd. l. iv. p. 528—333. Diod. l. xii. p. 120.

DARIUS. NOTHUS.

reſolved on it, in order to check the progreſs of Braſidas's conqueſts; to ſecure their cities and fortreſſes; and afterwards to conclude a general peace, in caſe they judged it would be of advantage to them. The latter were induced to it, in order that by the ſweets of repoſe, peace might become deſirable to their enemy; and to get out of their hands ſuch of their citizens as the Athenians had taken priſoners in the iſland of Sphacteria; and which they could never expect to do, if Braſidas extended his conqueſts farther. The news of this accommodation ſenſibly afflicted Braſidas, as it ſtopped him in the midſt of his career, and diſconcerted all his projects. He could not even prevail with himſelf to abandon the city of Scione, which he had taken two days before, but without knowing that a truce was concluded. He went ſtill farther; and did not ſcruple to take Mende, a little city not far from Scione, that ſurrendered to him as the former had done, which was a direct violation of the treaty: But Braſidas pretended he had other infractions to object to the Athenians.

It will naturally be ſuppoſed, that they were far from being pleaſed with this conduct of Braſidas. Cleon, in all publick aſſemblies was for ever inflaming the minds of the Athenians, and blowing up the fire of war. (*a*) His great ſucceſs in the expedition of Sphacteria had raiſed his credit infinitely with the people: He now was grown inſupportably proud, and his audaciouſneſs was not to be reſtrained. He had a vehement, impetuous, and furious kind of eloquence, which prevailed over the minds of his auditors, not ſo much by the ſtrength of his arguments as by the boldneſs and fire of his ſtile and utterance. It was Cleon who firſt ſet the example of bawling in aſſemblies, where the greateſt decorum and moderation had till then been obſerved; of throwing his robe behind him, to give him the more liberty to diſplay his arms; of ſtriking his thigh; and of running up and down the roſtra whilſt he was making his ſpeech. In a word, he firſt introduced among the orators,

(*a*) Plut. in vit. Niciæ, p. 528.

orators, and all thoſe who were in publick employments, an ungovernable licentiouſneſs, and a contempt of decency; a licentiouſneſs and contempt, which ſoon introduced terrible irregularities and confuſion in publick affairs. DARIUS NOTHUS.

(*b*) Thus two men, each on his own ſide, oppoſed the tranquillity of Greece, and raiſed, but in a very different way, an invincible obſtacle to its peace. Theſe were Cleon and Braſidas. The former, becauſe the war ſcreened his vices and malverſations; and the latter, becauſe it added a new luſtre to his virtues. And indeed it gave Cleon an opportunity of committing enormous oppreſſions, and Braſidas of performing great and noble actions. But their death, which happened about the ſame time, made way for a new accommodation.

(*c*) The Athenians had appointed Cleon to command the troops which were to oppoſe Braſidas, and reduce thoſe cities that had revolted from their allegiance. The Athenians were ſollicitous for none of them ſo much as Amphipolis; and Braſidas threw himſelf into that city, in order to defend it. Cleon had written to Perdiccas king of Macedonia, and to the king of the Odomantes to furniſh him with as many troops as poſſible, and with the utmoſt expedition. He waited for them, and had reſolved not to march immediately towards the enemy: But finding his ſoldiers, who had followed him involuntarily and with regret, grow weary of continuing ſo long unactive, and begin to compare his cowardice and inexperience with the ability and valour of Braſidas, he could no longer bear their contempt and murmurs; and imagining himſelf a great captain by his taking Sphacteria, he now fancied the ſame good fortune would attend him at Amphipolis. He therefore approached it, as he ſaid, to take a view of the place, and till ſuch time as all his forces ſhould be come up; not that he thought he wanted them for carrying that city, A. M. 3582. Ant. J. C. 422.

(*b*) Plut. in vit. Niciæ, p. 528. (*c*) Thucyd. l. iii. p. 342—351. Diod. l. xii. p. 121, 122.

Darius Notus. city, or that he doubted in any manner his ſucceſs, (for he was purſuaded that no one would dare to oppoſe him) but only to enable him to inveſt the place on all ſides, and afterwards to take it by ſtorm. Accordingly he encamped before Amphipolis; when viewing very leiſurely its ſituation, he fondly ſuppoſed that it would be in his power to retire whenever he pleaſed, without drawing the ſword; for not a man came out or appeared on the walls; and all the gates of the city were kept ſhut, ſo that Cleon began to repent his not having brought the engines, imagining that he wanted only theſe to make himſelf maſter of the city. Braſidas, who was perfectly well acquainted with Cleon's diſpoſition and character, ſtudiouſly affected an air of fear and reſerve to increaſe his temerity, and the good opinion he had of himſelf: Beſides, he knew that Cleon had brought with him the flower of the Athenian forces, and the choiceſt troops of Lemnos and of Imbrus. Accordingly Cleon, deſpiſing an enemy who did not dare to appear before him, but ſhut himſelf up in a cowardly manner in the city, went boldly from place to place, without precaution or obſerving any diſcipline among his ſoldiers. Braſidas, whoſe intention was to attack him on a ſudden before all his forces ſhould be come up, thought this the critical juncture. He had concerted proper meaſures, and given the orders neceſſary. Accordingly he made a ſudden ſally on the Athenians, which ſurpriſed and diſconcerted them exceedingly. Immediately the left wing drew off from the main body and fled. Braſidas then turned the whole force of his arms againſt the right wing, which gave him a warm reception. Here he was wounded and diſabled, upon which his ſoldiers carried him off, unperceived by the Athenians. As for Cleon, not having reſolved to fight, he fled, and was killed by a ſoldier who happened to meet him. The troops he commanded defended themſelves for ſome time, and ſuſtained two or three attacks without giving ground, but at laſt they were univerſally

ſally broke and routed. Braſidas was then carried into the city, where he ſurvived his victory but a few moments. DARIUS NOTHUS.

The whole army being returned from the purſuit, ſtripped the dead, and afterwards ſet up a trophy. After which all the allies under arms ſolemniſed the funeral obſequies of Braſidas, in a publick manner; and the inhabitants of Amphipolis celebrated funeral honours every year to his memory, as to a hero, with games, combats, and ſacrifices. They conſidered him as their founder; and to ſecure this title the better to him, they demoliſhed all the monuments of him * who had really been ſo; ſo that they might not appear to owe their eſtabliſhment to an Athenian, and at the ſame time make their court to the Lacedæmonians, on whom they depended wholly for their ſecurity. The Athenians, after having carried off, with the conſent of the victors, their dead, returned to Athens, during which the Lacedæmonians ſettled the affairs of Amphipolis.

(*d*) A ſaying is aſcribed to the mother of Braſidas, which ſtrongly intimates the Spartan character. As ſome perſons were applauding, in her preſence, the fine qualities and exalted actions of her ſon, and declared him ſuperior to all other generals: *You are miſtaken*, ſays ſhe, *my ſon was a valiant man, but Sparta has many citizens braver than him.* A mother's generoſity, in thus preferring the glory of the ſtate to that of her ſon, was admired, and did not go unrewarded; for the Ephori paid her publick honours.

(*e*) After this laſt engagement, in which the two perſons who were the greateſt obſtacles to the peace loſt their lives, both nations ſeemed more inclined to an accommodation, and the war was ſuſpended in a manner on both ſides. The Athenians from the loſs of the battles of Delium and Amphipolis, which had very much brought down their haughtineſs, were undeceived

(*d*) Diod. l. xii. p. 122. (*e*) Thucyd. l. v. p. 351—354.

* *Agnon the Athenian.*

DARIUS NOTHUS. undeceived with regard to the opinion they had hitherto entertained of their own ſtrength, which had made them refuſe the advantageous offers of their enemies. Beſides, they were afraid of the revolt of their allies, who, being diſcouraged by their loſſes, might thereby be induced to abandon them, as ſeveral had already done. Theſe reflexions made them ſtrongly repent their not having concluded a treaty, after the advantages they had gained at Pylus. The Lacedæmonians, on the other ſide, no longer flattered themſelves with the hopes of being able to ruin the Athenians by laying waſte their country; and were beſides dejected and terrified by their loſs in the iſland, the greateſt they had ever ſuſtained. They alſo conſidered; that their country was depopulated by the garriſon of Pylus and Cythera; that their ſlaves deſerted; that they had reaſon to dread a more conſiderable revolt; and that as the truce they had concluded with the inhabitants of Argos was near expiring, they had reaſon to be apprehenſive of being abandoned by ſome of their allies of Peloponneſus, as they accordingly were. Theſe ſeveral motives, enforced by the deſire they had of recovering the priſoners, the greateſt part of whom were the moſt conſiderable citizens of Sparta, made them deſire a peace.

Thoſe who were moſt ſollicitous for having it concluded, and whoſe intereſt it was chiefly to wiſh it, were the chiefs of the two ſtates, *viz.* Pliſtonax king of Lacedæmonia, and Nicias general of the Athenians. The former was lately returned from baniſhment, to which he had been ſentenced, on account of his being ſuſpected to have received a bribe, in order to draw off his troops from the Athenian territories; and to this precipitate retreat was aſcribed ſeveral misfortunes which followed after it. He alſo was charged with having corrupted by gifts the prieſteſs of Delphos, who had commanded the Spartans, in the name of the god, to recall him from his exile. Pliſtonax was therefore deſirous of peace, in order to

put an end to the reproaches, which, on account of the perpetual calamities of the war, were daily revived. As for Nicias, the moſt fortunate general of his age, he was afraid leſt ſome unhappy accident ſhould eclipſe his glory; and he wiſhed to enjoy the fruits of peace in eaſe and tranquillity, and that his country might poſſeſs the ſame happineſs. DARIUS NOTHUS.

(f) Both ſtates began by agreeing to a ſuſpenſion of arms for twelve months, during which, being every day together, and taſting the ſweets of ſecurity and repoſe, and the pleaſure of correſponding with their friends and with foreigners, they grew paſſionately deſirous of leading an eaſy, undiſturbed life, remote from the alarms of war, and the horrours of blood and ſlaughter. They heard with the utmoſt demonſtrations of joy the choruſſes of their tragedies ſing, *May ſpiders henceforward weave their cobwebs on our lances and ſhields!* And they remembered with pleaſure him who ſaid, *Thoſe who ſleep in the arms of peace, do not ſtart from it at the ſound of the trumpet; and nothing interrupts their ſlumbers but the peaceful crowing of the cock.*

(g) The whole winter was ſpent in conferences and interviews, in which each party propoſed their rights and pretenſions. At laſt, a peace was concluded and ratified for fifty years; one of the chief articles of which was, that they ſhould reciprocally reſtore the priſoners on each ſide. This treaty was concluded ten years and ſome days from the firſt declaration of the war. The Bœotians and Corinthians were exceedingly diſguſted at it, and for that reaſon uſed their utmoſt endeavours to excite freſh troubles. (b) But Nicias perſuaded the Athenians and Lacedæmonians to give the laſt hand to this peace, by concluding an alliance offenſive and defenſive, which would render them more formidable to thoſe who ſhould deſire to break with them, and more aſſured with regard to A. M. 3583. Ant. J. C. 421.

(f) Thucyd. l. v. p. 354. Plut. in Nic. p. 528, 529. (g) Diod. l. xiii. p. 122. (b) Thucyd. l. v. p. 358, 359.

DARIUS NOTHUS.

each other. The Athenians, in conſequence of this treaty, at laſt reſtored the priſoners they had taken in the iſland of Sphacteria.

SECT. IV. ALCIBIADES *begins to appear. His character. He oppoſes* NICIAS *in every thing, and breaks the treaty he had concluded. The baniſhment of* HYPERBOLUS *puts an end to the Oſtraciſm.*

TWELFTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

(*k*) ALCIBIADES began now to advance himſelf in the ſtate, and appear in the publick aſſemblies. Socrates had attached himſelf to him for many years, and adorned his mind with a great variety of the nobleſt erudition.

The ſtrict intimacy between Alcibiades and Socrates is one of the moſt remarkable circumſtances in his life. This philoſopher obſerving excellent natural qualities in him, which were greatly heightened by the beauty of his perſon, beſtowed incredible pains in cultivating ſo valuable a plant, leſt being neglected, it ſhould wither as it grew, and abſolutely degenerate. And indeed Alcibiades was expoſed to numberleſs dangers; the greatneſs of his extraction, his vaſt riches, the authority of his family, the credit of his guardians, his perſonal talents, his exquiſite beauty, and, ſtill more than theſe, the flattery and complaiſance of all who approached him. One would have concluded, ſays Plutarch, that fortune had ſurrounded and inveſted him with all theſe pretended advantages as with ſo many ramparts and bulwarks, to render him inacceſſible and invulnerable to all the darts of philoſophy; thoſe ſalutary darts which ſtrike to the very heart, and leave in it the ſtrongeſt enticements to virtue and ſolid glory. But thoſe very obſtacles redoubled the zeal of Socrates.

Notwithſtanding the ſtrong endeavours that were uſed to divert this young Athenian from a correſpondence which alone was capable of ſecuring him from ſo

(*k*) Plut. in Alcib. p. 192. 194.

ſo many ſnares, he devoted himſelf entirely to it. As he had abundance of wit, he was fully ſenſible of Socrates's extraordinary merit; and could not reſiſt the charms of his ſweetly-inſinuating eloquence, which at that time had a greater aſcendant over him than the allurements of pleaſure. He was ſo zealous a diſciple of that great maſter, that he followed him wherever he went, took the utmoſt delight in his converſation, was extremely well pleaſed with his principles, received his inſtructions and even his reprimands with wonderful docility, and would be ſo moved with his diſcourſes, as even to ſhed tears and abhor himſelf; ſo weighty was the force of truth in the mouth of Socrates, and in ſo ugly and odious a light did he expoſe the vices to which Alcibiades abandoned himſelf. DARIUS NOTHUS.

Alcibiades, in thoſe moments when he liſtened to Socrates, differed ſo much from himſelf, that he appeared quite another man. However, his head-ſtrong, fiery temper, and his natural fondneſs for pleaſure, which was heightened and inflamed by the diſcourſes and advice of young people, ſoon plunged him into his former irregularities, and tore him, as it were, from his maſter; who was obliged to run after him as after a ſlave who had eſcaped. This viciſſitude of flights and returns of virtuous reſolutions, and relapſes into vice, continued a long time; but ſtill Socrates was not diſguſted by his levity, and always flattered himſelf with the hope of bringing him back to his duty. And hence certainly aroſe the ſtrong mixture of good and evil which always appeared in his conduct; the inſtructions which his maſter had given him, ſometimes prevailing; and at other times, the fire of his paſſions hurrying him, in a manner againſt his own will, into things of a quite oppoſite nature.

This intimacy, which continued as long as they lived, did not paſs uncenſured. But ſome perſons * of great learning pretend, that theſe cenſures and

* *Abbé Fraguier juſtifies Socrates in one of his diſſertations.* Mem. of the Academy of Belles Lettres, Tom. iv. p. 372.

DARIUS NOTHUS.

ſuſpicions, when duely examined, quite diſappear; and that they ought to be conſidered as the effect of the malice of the enemies of both. Plato, in one of his dialogues, gives us a converſation between Socrates and Alcibiades, by which the genius and character of the latter may be known, who henceforward will have a very great ſhare in the affairs of the republick of Athens. I ſhall make a very ſhort extract from it in this place, which I hope will not diſpleaſe my readers.

(*l*) In this dialogue, Socrates is introduced converſing with Alcibiades, who at that time was under the guardianſhip of Pericles. He was then very young, and had been educated like the reſt of the Athenians; that is, he had been taught polite literature, and to play on inſtruments, and had practiſed wreſtling and other bodily exerciſes. It does not appear that Pericles had hitherto taken much pains in Alcibiades's education (a fault too common in the greateſt men) ſince he had put him under the tutorage of Zopyrus, a Thracian, a man far advanced in years, and who, of all Pericles's ſlaves, both from his turn of mind and age, was the leaſt qualified to educate this young Athenian. And indeed Socrates told Alcibiades, that ſhould he compare him with the youths of Lacedæmonia, who diſplayed a ſpirit of valour, a greatneſs of ſoul, a ſtrong deſire of glory, a love of labour, attended with gentleneſs, modeſty, temperance, and a perfect obedience to the laws and diſcipline of Sparta, he would ſeem a mere child to them. Nevertheleſs, his high birth, his riches, the great families he was related to, and the authority of his guardian, all theſe things had conſpired to make him exceedingly vain and haughty. He was full of eſteem for himſelf, and of contempt for all others. He was preparing to enter upon the adminiſtration of the publick affairs, and promiſed himſelf no leſs than to eclipſe entirely the glory of Pericles, and to attack the king of Perſia even upon his throne. Socrates ſeeing him going to mount the roſtra, in order to give the people ſome advice

(*l*) Plut. in Alcib. I.

advice relating to the publick affairs, demonſtrates to him, by various queſtions, and by Alcibiades's anſwers, that he is quite ignorant of the affairs about which he is going to ſpeak, as he had never ſtudied them himſelf, nor been informed in them by others. After making Alcibiades confeſs this, he paints, in the ſtrongeſt colours, the abſurdity of his conduct, and makes him fully ſenſible of it. What, ſays Socrates, would Ameſtris (the mother of Artaxerxes, who then reigned in Perſia) ſay, where ſhe to hear, that there is a man now in Athens who is meditating war againſt her ſon, and even intends to dethrone him? She doubtleſs would ſuppoſe him to be ſome veteran general, a man of intrepid courage, of great wiſdom, and the moſt conſummate experience; that he is able to raiſe a mighty army, and march it wherever he pleaſes; and, at the ſame time, that he has long before taken the proper meaſures for putting ſo vaſt a deſign in execution. But were ſhe to hear that there are none of theſe circumſtances, and that the perſon in queſtion is not twenty years old; that he is utterly ignorant of publick affairs; has not the leaſt knowledge of war, and no credit with the citizens or the allies; would it be poſſible for her to refrain from laughing at the folly and extravagance of ſuch an enterpriſe? This nevertheleſs, ſays Socrates, (directing himſelf to Alcibiades) is your picture; and unhappily reſembles moſt of thoſe who thruſt themſelves into the publick employments. Socrates however excepts Pericles on this occaſion; his ſolid merit and exalted reputation being acquired by his cloſe ſtudy, during a long courſe of years, of every thing capable of forming his mind, and of qualifying him for publick employments. Alcibiades could not deny that this was his caſe; he was aſhamed of his conduct, and bluſhing to ſee himſelf ſo void of merit, he aſks how he muſt act for the attainment of it. Socrates, being unwilling to diſcourage his pupil, tells him, that as he is ſo young, theſe evils might be remedied, and afterwards continually gave him the wiſeſt counſels. He had entire

DARIUS NOTHUS.

DARIUS NOTHUS. leiſure to improve from them; as upwards of twenty years paſſed between this converſation, and his engaging in publick affairs.

Alcibiades was of a convertible genius, that would take any impreſſion which the difference of times and circumſtances might require, ſtill veering either to good or evil, with the ſame facility and ardour; and ſhifting almoſt in an inſtant from one extreme to its oppoſite, ſo that people applied to him what Homer obſerves of the land of Egypt, *That it produces a great number of very excellent medicinal drugs, and at the ſame time as many poiſons.* (*m*) It might be ſaid of Alcibiades, that he was not one ſingle man, but (if ſo bold an expreſſion might be uſed) a compound of ſeveral men; either ſerious or gay; auſtere or affable; an imperious maſter, or a groveling ſlave; a friend to virtue and the virtuous, or abandoned to vice and vicious men; capable of ſupporting the moſt painful fatigues and toils, or inſatiably deſirous of voluptuous delights.

(*n*) His irregularities and diſſolute conduct were become the talk of the whole city; and Alcibiades would very willingly have put a ſtop to theſe reports, but without changing his courſe of life, as appears from a ſaying of his. He had a very handſome dog, of a prodigious ſize, which had coſt him threeſcore and ten minæ, * or three thouſand five hundred French livres. By this we find that a fondneſs for dogs was of great antiquity. Alcibiades cauſed his tail, which was the greateſt beauty he had about him, to be cut off. His friends cenſured him very much on that account, and ſaid, that the whole city blamed him very much for ſpoiling the beauty of ſo handſome a creature. *This is the very thing I want*, replied Alcibiades with a ſmile. *I would have the Athenians diſcourſe about what I have done to my dog, that they*

(*m*) Quemvis hominem ſecum attulit ad nos. *Juvenal.* (*n*) Plut. in Alcib. p. 195.

* *About* 160*l. ſterling. The Attick drachmas, and the drachma tetmina was worth an hundred pence, French money.*

they may not entertain themſelves with ſaying worſe things of me. DARIUS NOTHUS.

(*o*) Among the various paſſions that were diſcovered in him, the ſtrongeſt and moſt prevailing was a haughty turn of mind, which would force all things to ſubmit to it, and could not bear a ſuperior or even an equal. Although his birth and uncommon talents ſmoothed the way to his attaining the higheſt employments in the republick; there was nothing however to which he was ſo fond of owing the credit and authority he wanted to gain over the people, as to the force of his eloquence, and the perſuaſive grace of his orations. To this his intimacy with Socrates might be of great ſervice.

(*p*) Alcibiades, with ſuch a caſt of mind as we have here deſcribed, was not born for repoſe, and had ſet every engine at work to traverſe the treaty lately concluded between the two ſtates; but not ſucceeding in his attempt, he endeavoured to prevent its taking effect. He was diſguſted at the Lacedæmonians, becauſe they directed themſelves only to Nicias, of whom they had a very high opinion; and, on the contrary, ſeemed to take no manner of notice of him, though his anceſtors had enjoyed the rights of hoſpitality among them. A. M. 3584. Ant. J. C. 420.

The firſt thing he did to infringe the peace was this; having been informed that the people of Argos only wanted an opportunity to break with the Spartans, whom they equally hated and feared, he flattered them ſecretly with the hopes that the Athenians would ſuccour them, by ſuggeſting to them that they were ready to break a peace which was no way advantageous to them.

And indeed the Lacedæmonians were not very careful to obſerve the ſeveral conditions of it religiouſly, having concluded an alliance with the Bœotians, in direct oppoſition to the deſign and tenor of the treaty; and having ſurrendered up the fort of Panacton to the

(*o*) Τὸ φιλόνεικον, καὶ τὸ φιλόπρωτον. Plut. in Alcib. p. 195, 196.

(*p*) Thucyd. l. v. p. 368—378. Plut. in Alcib. p. 197, 198.

Darius Nothus. the Athenians, not fortified and in the condition it was in at the concluding of the treaty, as they had ſtipulated to do, but quite diſmantled. Alcibiades, obſerving the Athenians to be extremely exaſperated at his breach of faith, did his utmoſt to widen the difference; and taking this opportunity to embarraſs Nicias, he made him odious to the people, by cauſing them to entertain a ſuſpicion of his being too ſtrongly attached to the Lacedæmonians; and by charging him with crimes which were not altogether improbable, though they were abſolutely falſe.

This new attack quite diſconcerted Nicias; but happily for him there arrived, at that very inſtant, ambaſſadors from Lacedæmonia, who were inveſted with full powers to put an end to all the diviſions. Being introduced into the council or ſenate, they ſet forth their complaints, and made their demands, which every one of the members thought very juſt and reaſonable. The people were to give them audience the next day. Alcibiades, who was afraid they would ſucceed with them, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to engage the ambaſſadors in a conference with him. He repreſented to them, that the council always behaved with the utmoſt moderation and humanity towards thoſe who addreſſed them; but that the people were haughty and extravagant in their pretenſions; that ſhould the ambaſſadors mention full powers, they (the people) would not fail to take advantage of this circumſtance, and oblige them to agree to whatever they ſhould take it into their heads to aſk. He concluded with aſſuring them, that he would aſſiſt them with all his credit, in order to get Pylus reſtored to them; to prevent the alliance with the people of Argos, and to get that with them renewed: And he confirmed all theſe promiſes with an oath. The ambaſſadors were extremely well pleaſed with this conference, and greatly admired the profound policy and vaſt abilities of Alcibiades, whom they looked upon as an extraordinary man; and, indeed, they were not miſtaken in their conjecture.

On

On the morrow, the people being aſſembled, the ambaſſadors were introduced. Alcibiades aſked them, in the mildeſt terms, the ſubject of their embaſſy, and the purport of the powers with which they were inveſted. They immediately anſwered, that they were come to propoſe an accommodation, but were not impowered to conclude any thing. Theſe words were no ſooner ſpoke, but Alcibiades exclaims againſt them; declares them to be treacherous knaves; calls upon the council as witneſs to the ſpeech they had made the night before; and deſires the people not to believe or hear men who ſo impudently advanced falſehoods, and ſpoke and prevaricated ſo unaccountably, as to ſay one thing one day, and the very reverſe the next. DARIUS NOTHUS.

Words could never expreſs the ſurpriſe and confuſion with which the ambaſſadors were ſeiſed, who, gazing wildly on one another, could not believe either their eyes or ears. Nicias, who did not know the treacherous ſtratagem of Alcibiades, could not conceive the motive of this change, and tortured his brain to no purpoſe to find out the reaſon of it. The people were that moment going to ſend for the ambaſſadors of Argos, in order to conclude the league with them; when a great earthquake came to the aſſiſtance of Nicias, and broke up the aſſembly. It was with the utmoſt difficulty he prevailed ſo far, in that of next day, as to have a ſtop put to the proceedings, till ſuch time as ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to Lacedæmon. Nicias was appointed to head them; but they returned without having done the leaſt good. The Athenians then repented very much their having delivered up, at his perſuaſion, the priſoners they had taken in the iſland, and who were related to the greateſt families in Sparta. However, though the people were highly exaſperated at Nicias, they did not proceed to any exceſſes againſt him, but only appointed Alcibiades their general; made a league with the inhabitants of Mantinea and Elis, who had quitted the party of the Lacedæmonians, in which the

Argives

DARIUS NOTHUS.

Argives were included, and ſent troops to Pylus, to lay waſte Laconia. In this manner they again involved themſelves in the war which they were ſo lately deſirous of avoiding.

(*a*) Plutarch, after relating the intrigue of Alcibiades, adds: "No one can approve the methods "he employed to ſucceed in his deſign; however, "it was a maſter-ſtroke, to diſunite and ſhake almoſt "every part of Peloponneſus in this manner, and "raiſe up, in one day, ſo many enemies againſt the "Lacedæmonians." In my opinon, this is too ſoft a cenſure of ſo knaviſh and perfidious an action, which, how ſucceſsful ſoever it might have been, was notwithſtanding horrid in itſelf, and of a nature never to be ſufficiently deteſted.

(*b*) There was in Athens a citizen, Hyperbolus by name, a very wicked man, whom the comick poets generally made the object of their raillery and invectives. He was hardened in evil, and become inſenſible to infamy, by renouncing all ſentiments of honour, which could only be the effect of a ſoul abandoned entirely to vice. Hyperbolus was not agreeable to any one; and yet the people made uſe of him to humble thoſe in high ſtations, and involve them in difficulties. Two citizens, Nicias and Alcibiades, engroſſed at that time all the authority in Athens. The diſſolute life of the latter ſhocked the Athenians, who beſides dreaded his audacity and haughtineſs. On the other ſide, Nicias, by always oppoſing, without the leaſt reſerve, their unjuſt deſires; and by obliging them to take the moſt uſeful meaſures, was become very odious to them. One would have imagined, that as the people were thus alienated from both, they would not have failed to put the oſtraciſm in force againſt one of them. Of the two parties which prevailed at that time in the city, one, which conſiſted of the young men who were eager for war, the other of the old men who were

(*a*) In Alcib. p. 198. (*b*) Plut. in Alcib. p. 196, 197. In Nic. p. 530, 531.

were desirous of peace; the former endeavoured to procure the banishment of Nicias, and the latter of Alcibiades. Hyperbolus, whose only merit was in impudence, in hopes of succeeding whichsoever of them should be removed, declared openly against them, and was eternally exasperating the people against both. However, the two factions being afterwards reconciled, he himself was banished by (and put an end to) the ostracism, which seemed to have been demeaned, it being employed against a man of so base a character; for hitherto there was a kind of honour and dignity annexed to this punishment. Hyperbolus was therefore the last who was sentenced by the ostracism; as Hipparchus, a near relation of Pisistratus the tyrant, had been the first. DARIUS NOTHUS.

SECT. V. ALCIBIADES *engages the Athenians in the war of Sicily.*

SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH YEARS OF THE WAR.

(c) I PASS over several inconsiderable events, to hasten to the relation of that of the greatest importance, the expedition of the Athenians into Sicily, to which they were especially excited by Alcibiades. This is the sixteenth year of the Peloponnesian war. A. M. 3588. Ant. J. C. 416.

(d) Alcibiades had gained a surprising ascendant over the minds of the people, though they were perfectly well acquainted with his character. For his great qualities were united with still greater vices, which he did not take the least pains to conceal. He passed his life in such an excess of luxury and voluptuousness, as was a scandal to that city. Nothing was seen in his house but festivals, rejoicings, and parties of pleasure and debauchery. He showed very little regard to the customs of his country, and less to religion and the gods. All persons of sense and judgement, besides the strong aversion they had for his

(c) Thucyd. l. viii. p. 350—409 (d) Plut. in Alcib. p. 198—200. In Nic. p. 531.

DARIUS NOTHUS.

his irregularities, dreaded exceedingly the conſequences of his audacity, profuſion, and utter contempt of the laws, which they conſidered as ſo many ſteps by which Alcibiades would riſe to tyrannical power.

Ariſtophanes, in one of his comedies*, ſhows admirably well, in a ſingle verſe, the diſpoſition of the people with regard to him: *They hate Alcibiades*, ſays he, *and yet cannot do without him.* And, indeed, the prodigious ſums he ſquandered on the people; the pompous games and ſhows he exhibited to pleaſe them; the magnificent and almoſt incredible preſents which he made the city; the grace and beauty of his whole perſon; his eloquence, his bodily ſtrength, joined to his courage and experience; in a word, this aſſemblage of great qualities made the Athenians wink at his faults, and bear them patiently, always endeavouring to leſſen and ſcreen them under ſoft and favourable names; for they called them ſports, polite paſtimes, and indications of his humanity and good nature.

Timon the man-hater, moroſe and ſavage as he was, formed a better judgement of this conduct of Alcibiades. Meeting him one day as he was coming out of the aſſembly, vaſtly pleaſed at his having been gratified in all his demands, and to ſee the greateſt honours paid him by the people in general, who were attending him in crouds to his houſe; ſo far fom ſhunning him as he did all other men, on the contrary he ran to meet him, and ſtretching out his hand to him in a friendly way; *Courage, my ſon*, ſays he, *thou doſt right in puſhing thy fortune, for thy advancement will be the ruin of all theſe people.* The war of Sicily will ſhow that Timon was not miſtaken.

The Athenians, from the time of Pericles, had meditated the conqueſt of Sicily. However, that wiſe guide had always endeavoured to check this ambitious and wild project. He uſed frequently to inculcate

* *The Frogs. Act.* 5. *Scene* 4.

DARIUS NOTHUS.

inculcate to them, that by living in peace, by ſupporting their fleet, by contenting themſelves with the conqueſts they had already gained, and by not engaging in hazardous enterpriſes, they would raiſe their city to a flouriſhing condition, and be always ſuperior to their enemies. The authority he had at that time over the people, though it kept them from invading Sicily, could not ſurpaſs the deſire they had to conquer it, and their eyes were continually upon that iſland. (*e*) Some time after Pericles's death, the Leontines, being invaded by the Syracuſans, had ſent a deputation to Athens to demand aid. They were originally of Chalcis, an Athenian colony. The chief of the deputies was Gorgis, a famous rhetorician, who was reputed the moſt eloquent man of his times. His elegant and florid diction, heightened by ſhining figures which he firſt employed, charmed the Athenians, who were prodigiouſly affected with the beauties and graces of eloquence. Accordingly the alliance was concluded, and they ſent ſhips to Rhegium to the aid of the Leontines. The year following they ſent a greater number. Two years after they ſent a new fleet, ſomething ſtronger than the former; but the Sicilians having put an end to all their diviſions, by the advice of Hermocrates, the fleet was ſent back; and the Athenians, not being able to prevail with themſelves to pardon their generals for not conquering Sicily, ſent two of them, Pythodorus and Sophocles into baniſhment; and ſentenced the third, Eurymedon, to pay a heavy fine; their proſperity having blinded them to ſo prodigious a degree, that they were perſuaded no power was able to reſiſt them. They made ſeveral attempts afterwards, and upon pretence of ſending from time to time arms and ſoldiers to ſuch cities as were unjuſtly treated or oppreſſed by the Syracuſans, they by that means were preparing to invade them with a greater force.

But the perſon who moſt inflamed this ardour was Alcibiades,

(*e*) Diod. l. xii. p. 99.

DARIUS NOTHUS.

Alcibiades, by his feeding the people with ſplendid hopes, with which he himſelf was for ever filled, or rather intoxicated. He was every night, in his dreams, taking Carthage, ſubduing Africa, croſſing from thence into Italy, and poſſeſſing himſelf of all Peloponneſus; looking upon Sicily not as the ſcope and end of this war, but as the beginning and the firſt ſtep of the exploits he revolved in his mind. All the citizens favoured his views, and without enquiring ſeriouſly into matters, were enchanted with the mighty hopes he gave them. This expedition was the only topick of all converſations. The young men, in the places where the publick exerciſes were performed, and the old men in their ſhops and elſewhere were employed in nothing but in drawing the plan of Sicily; in diſcourſing on the nature and quality of the ſea with which it is ſurrounded; on its good harbours, and flat ſhores towards Africa: For theſe people, infatuated by the ſpeeches of Alcibiades, were (like him) perſuaded that they ſhould make Sicily only their place of arms and their arſenal, from whence they ſhould ſet out for the conqueſt of Carthage, and make themſelves maſters of all Africa and the ſea, as far as the Pillars of Hercules.

(f) It is related that neither Socrates nor Methon the aſtronomer believed that this enterpriſe would be ſucceſsful; the former, being inſpired, as he inſinuated, by his familiar ſpirit, who always warned him of the evils with which he was threatened; and the other, directed by his reaſon and good ſenſe, which, pointing out what he had to apprehend in reſpect to the future, induced him to act the madman on this occaſion; and to demand, in conſideration of the unhappy condition to which he was reduced, that the Athenians would not force away his ſon, and would diſpenſe with his carrying arms.

(f) Plut. in Alcib. p. 199. In Nic. p. 532.

SECT.

SECT. VI. *Account of the ſeveral people who inhabited Sicily.*

BEFORE I enter on the relation of the war of Sicily, it will not be improper to give a plan of the country, and of the nations who inhabited it: Thucydides begins in the ſame manner. DARIUS NOTHUS.

(*g*) It was firſt inhabited by the Leſtrygones and the Cyclopes, of whom we do not know any particulars, except what we are told by the poets. The moſt ancient, after theſe, were the Sicani, who called themſelves the original inhabitants of this country, though they are thought to have come into it from the neighbourhood of a river in Spain, called Sicanus, whoſe name they gave to the iſland, which before was called Trinacria: Theſe people were afterwards confined to the weſtern part of the iſland. Some Trojans, after the burning of their city, came and ſettled near them, and built Erix and * Egeſta, who all aſſumed the name of Elymæi; and were afterwards joined by ſome inhabitants of Phocis, at their return from the ſiege of Troy. Thoſe who are properly called Sicilians came from Italy in very great numbers; and having gained a conſiderable victory over the Sicani, confined them to a corner of their iſland, about three hundred years before the arrival of the Greeks; and in Thucydides's time, they ſtill inhabited the middle part of the iſland and the northern coaſt. From them the iſland was called Sicily. The Phœnicians alſo ſpread themſelves along the coaſt, and in the little iſlands which border upon it, for the convenience of trade: But after the Greeks began to ſettle there, they retired into the country of the Elymæi, in order to be nearer Carthage, and abandoned the reſt. It was in this manner the Barbarians firſt ſettled in Sicily.

With regard to the Greeks, the firſt of them who croſſed into Sicily were the Chalcidians of Eubœa, under Theocles who founded Naxos. The year after, which, according to Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus, was the third of the ſeventeenth Olympiad, Archias the A. M. 3294. Ant. J. C. 710.

(*g*) Thucyd. l. vi. p. 410—413.

* *It is called Segeſta by the Romans.*

DARIUS NOTHUS.

Corinthian laid the foundations of Syracuſe. Seven years after, the Chalcidians founded Leontium and Catana, after having driven out the inhabitants of the country, who were Sicilians. Other Greeks, who came from Megara, a city of Achaia, about the ſame time, founded Megara, called Hyblæa, or barely Hybla, from Hyblon a Sicilian king, by whoſe permiſſion they ſettled in his dominions. It is well known that the Hyblæan honey was very famous among the ancients. An hundred years after, the inhabitants of that city built Selinonta. Gela, built on a river of the ſame name, forty-five years after the founding of Syracuſe, founded Agrigentum about an hundred and eight years after. Zancle, called afterwards Meſſana or Meſſene by Anaxilas tyrant of Rhegium, who was of Meſſene a city of Peloponneſus, had ſeveral founders, and at different periods. The Zanclians built the city of Himera; the Syracuſans built Acre, Caſmene, and Camarina. Theſe are moſt of the nations, whether Greeks or Barbarians, who ſettled in Sicily.

SECT. VII. *The people of Egeſta implore aid of the Athenians.* NICIAS *oppoſes, but to no purpoſe, the war of Sicily.* ALCIBIADES *carries that point. They both are appointed generals with* LAMACHUS.

A.M. 3578. Ant. J. C. 416.

(*b*) ATHENS was in the diſpoſition above related, when ambaſſadors were ſent from the people of Egeſta, who, in quality of their allies, came to implore their aid againſt the inhabitants of Selinunta, who were aſſiſted by the Syracuſans. It was the ſixteenth year of the Peloponneſian war. They repreſented, among other things, that ſhould they be abandoned, the Syracuſans, after ſeiſing their city as they had done that of Leontium, would poſſeſs themſelves of all Sicily, and not fail to aid the Peloponneſians who were their founders; and, that they might put them to as little charge as poſſible, they offered

(*b*) Thucyd. l. vi. p. 413—415. Diod. l. xii. p. 129, 130. Plut. in Alcib. p. 200. In Nic. p. 531.

I

offered to pay the troops that ſhould be ſent to ſuccour them. The Athenians, who had long waited for an opportunity to declare themſelves, ſent deputies to Egeſta to enquire into the ſtate of affairs, and to ſee whether there was money enough in the treaſury to defray the expence of ſo great a war. The inhabitants of that city had been ſo artful, as to borrow from the neighbouring nations a great number of gold and ſilver vaſes, worth an immenſe ſum of money; and of theſe they made a ſhow when the Athenians arrived. The deputies returned with thoſe of Egeſta, who carried threeſcore talents in ingots, as a month's pay for the gallies which they demanded; and a promiſe of larger ſums, which, they ſaid, were ready both in the publick treaſury and in the temples. The people, ſtruck with theſe fair appearances, the truth of which they did not give themſelves the leiſure to examine, and ſeduced by the advantageous reports which their deputies made in the view of pleaſing them, immediately granted the Egeſtans their demand, and appointed Alcibiades, Nicias and Lamachus to command the fleet; with full power, not only to ſuccour Egeſta, and reſtore the inhabitants of Leontium to their city; but alſo to regulate the affairs of Sicily, in ſuch a manner as might beſt ſuit the intereſts of the republick. DARIUS NOTHUS. A. M. 3589. Ant. J. C. 415.

Nicias was appointed one of the generals, to his very great regret; for, beſides other motives which made him dread that command, he ſhunned it, becauſe Alcibiades was to be his colleague. But the Athenians promiſed themſelves greater ſucceſs from this war, ſhould they not reſign the whole conduct of it to Alcibiades, but temper his ardour and audacity with the coldneſs and wiſdom of Nicias.

(*i*) Five days after, to haſten the execution of the decree, and make the neceſſary preparations, a ſecond aſſembly was held. Nicias, who had had time enough to reflect deliberately on the affair propoſed, and was ſtill better convinced of the difficulties and

(*i*) Thucyd. l. vi. p. 415—428.

DARIUS NOTHUS. dangers which would enſue from it; thought himſelf obliged to ſpeak with ſome vehemence againſt a project, the conſequences of which he foreſaw might be very fatal to the republick. He ſaid, "That it "was ſurpriſing ſo important an affair ſhould have "been determined, the moment almoſt it was taken "into deliberation: That without once enquiring into "matters, they had given credit to whatever was "told them by foreigners, who were very laviſh of "their promiſes; and whoſe intereſt it was to offer "mighty things, in order to extricate themſelves "from their imminent danger. After all, what ad-"vantage (ſays he) can accrue from thence to the "republick? Have we ſo few enemies at our doors, "that we need go in ſearch of others at a diſtance "from us? Will you act wiſely, to hazard your "preſent poſſeſſions, on the vain hopes of an uncer-"tain advantage? To meditate new conqueſts be-"fore you have ſecured your ancient ones? To ſtudy "nothing but the aggrandiſing of your ſtate, and "quite neglect your own ſafety? Can you depend in "any manner on a truce, which you yourſelves "know is very precarious; which you are ſenſible "has been infringed more than once; and which "the leaſt defeat on our ſide may ſuddenly change "into an open war? You are not ignorant how the "Lacedæmonians have always been, and ſtill con-"tinue diſpoſed with regard to us. They deteſt "our government as different from theirs; it is with "grief and diſdain they ſee us poſſeſſed of the empire "of Greece; they conſider our glory as their ſhame "and confuſion; and there is nothing they would not "attempt, to humble a power which excites their "jealouſy, and keeps them perpetually in fear. "Theſe are our real enemies, and it is they we ought "to guard againſt. Will it be a proper time to "make theſe reflexions, (when after having divided "our troops, and our arms will be employed elſe-"where, and unable to reſiſt them) we ſhall be "attacked at once by all the forces of Peloponneſus?

"We

"We do but juſt begin to breathe, after the calamities "in which war and the plague had plunged us; and "we are now going to plunge ourſelves into greater "danger. If we are ambitious of carrying our arms "into diſtant countries, would it not be more expe- "dient to march and reduce the rebels of Thrace, "and other nations who are ſtill wavering, and "unfixed in their allegiance, than to fly to the "ſuccour of the inhabitants of Egeſta, about whoſe "welfare we ought to be very indifferent? And will "it ſuit our intereſt, to attempt to revenge their "injuries, at a time that we do not diſcover the "leaſt reſentment for thoſe we ourſelves receive? Let "us leave the Sicilians to themſelves, and not "engage in their quarrels, which it is their buſineſs "to decide. As the inhabitants of Egeſta undertook "the war without us, let them extricate themſelves "from it as well as they can. Should any of our "generals adviſe you to this enterpriſe, from an "ambitious or ſelf-intereſted view; merely to make "a vain parade of his ſplendid equipages, or to raiſe "money to ſupport his extravagance; be not guilty "of ſo much imprudence as to ſacrifice the intereſt "of the republick to his, or to permit him to involve it "in the ſame ruin with himſelf. An enterpriſe of "ſo much importance ought not to be committed "wholly to the conduct of a young man. Remem- "ber it is prudence, not prejudice and paſſion, that "gives ſucceſs to affairs." Nicias concluded with declaring it his opinion, that it would be proper to deliberate again on the affair, in order to prevent the fatal conſequences with which their taking raſh reſolutions might be attended. DARIUS NOTHUS.

It was plain he had Alcibiades in view, and that his enormous luxury was the object of his cenſure. And indeed he carried it to an incredible height; and laviſhed prodigious ſums of money on horſes, equipages, and moveables; not to mention the delicacy and ſumptuouſneſs of his table. He diſputed the prize in the Olympick games with ſeven ſets of chariot

DARIUS NOTHUS.

horſes, which no private man had ever done before him; and he was crowned more than once on that occaſion. Extraordinary reſources were neceſſary for ſupporting ſuch luxury; and as avarice often ſerves as a reſource to ambition; there were ſome grounds to believe, that Alcibiades was no leſs ſollicitous for conquering Sicily and Carthage (which he pretended to poſſeſs afterwards as his own) to enrich his family, than to render it glorious. It is natural to ſuppoſe that Alcibiades did not let this ſpeech of Nicias go unanſwered.

"This, ſays Alcibiades, is not the firſt time that "merit has excited jealouſy, and glory been made "the object of envy. That very thing which is "imputed to me for a crime, is, I will preſume to "ſay it, the honour of my country, and ought to "gain me applauſe. The ſplendour in which I live; "the great ſums I expend, particularly in the publick "aſſemblies; beſides their being juſt and lawful, at "the ſame time give foreigners a greater idea of the "glory of Athens; and ſhow, that it is not in ſuch "want of money as our enemies imagine. But this "is not our preſent buſineſs. Let the world form a "judgement of me, not from paſſion and prejudice, "but from my actions. Was it an inconſiderable "ſervice I did the republick, in bringing over (in "one day) to its alliance, the people of Elis, of "Mantinea, and of Argos, that is, the chief ſtrength "of Peloponneſus? Make uſe, therefore, to aggran-"diſe your empire, of Alcibiades's youth and folly, "(ſince his enemies give it that name) as well as of "the wiſdom and experience of Nicias; and do not "repent, from vain and idle fears, your engaging in "an enterpriſe publickly reſolved upon, and which "may redound infinitely both to your glory and "advantage. The cities of Sicily, weary of the unjuſt "and cruel government of their princes, and ſtill "more of the tyrannical authority which Syracuſe "exerciſes over them, wait only for a favourable "opportunity to declare themſelves; and are ready

to

" to open their gates to whomſoever ſhall offer to take off the yoke under which they have ſo long groaned. Though the citizens of Egeſta, in quality of your allies, ſhould not have a right to your protection; yet the glory of Athens ought to engage you to ſupport them. Republicks aggrandiſe themſelves by ſuccouring the oppreſſed, and not by living unactive. In the preſent ſtate of your affairs, the only way to diſpirit your enemies, and ſhow that you are not afraid of them, will be, to harraſs one nation, to check the progreſs of another, to keep them all employed, and carry your arms into diſtant countries. Athens was not formed for eaſe; and it was not by inactivity that your anceſtors raiſed it to the height in which we now ſee it. For the reſt, what hazards will you run by engaging in the enterpriſe in queſtion? If it ſhould be crowned with ſucceſs, you will then poſſeſs yourſelves of all Greece; and ſhould it not anſwer your expectations your fleet will give you an opportunity of retiring whenever you pleaſe. The Lacedæmonians indeed may make an incurſion into our country; but, beſides that it would not be in our power to prevent it, though we ſhould not invade Sicily, we ſtill ſhall preſerve the empire of the ſea, in ſpite of them; a circumſtance which makes our enemies entirely deſpair of ever being able to conquer us. Be not therefore biaſſed by Nicias's reaſons. The only tendency of them is to ſow the ſeeds of diſcord between the young and old men, who can do nothing without one another; ſince it is wiſdom and courage, counſel and execution, that give ſucceſs to all enterpriſes: And this in which we are going to embark, cannot but turn to your advantage."

DARIUS NOTHUS.

(*m*) The Athenians, flattered and pleaſed with Alcibiades's ſpeech, perſiſted in their firſt opinion. Nicias, on the other ſide, did not depart from his; but at the ſame time did not dare to oppoſe Alcibiades

(*m*) Plut. in præc de ger. rep. p. 802.

DARIUS NOTHUS.

any further. Nicias was naturally of a ſoft and timid diſpoſition. He was not, like Pericles, maſter of that lively and vehement eloquence, which, like a torrent, bears down all things in its way. And, indeed, the latter, on ſeveral occaſions and at ſeveral times, had never failed to check the wild ſtarts of the populace, who, even then, meditated the expedition into Sicily; becauſe he was always inflexible, and never ſlackened the reins of that authority and kind of ſovereignty which he had acquired over the people; whereas * Nicias, both by acting and ſpeaking in an eaſy, gentle manner, ſo far from winning over the people, ſuffered himſelf to be forcibly and involuntarily carried away: And accordingly he at laſt yielded to the people, and accepted the command in a war which he plainly foreſaw would be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences.

Plutarch makes this reflexion in his excellent treatiſe, where, ſpeaking of the qualities requiſite in a ſtateſman, he ſhows how very neceſſary eloquence and inflexible conſtancy and perſeverance are to him.

Nicias, not daring to oppoſe Alcibiades any longer openly, endeavoured to do it indirectly, by ſtarting a great number of difficulties, drawn eſpecially from the great expence of this expedition. He declared, that ſince they were reſolved upon war, they ought to carry it on in ſuch a manner as might ſuit the exalted reputation to which Athens had attained: That a fleet was not ſufficient to oppoſe ſo formidable a power as that of the Syracuſans and their allies: That they muſt raiſe an army, compoſed of good horſe and foot, if they deſired to act in a manner worthy of ſo grand a deſign: That beſides their fleet, which was to make them maſters at ſea, they muſt have a great number of tranſports, to carry proviſions perpetually to the army, which otherwiſe could not poſſibly ſubſiſt in an enemy's country: That they muſt carry vaſt ſums of money with them, without waiting for that promiſed them by the citizens of Egeſta, who

* Καθάπερ ἀμβλεῖ χαλινῷ τῷ λόγῳ πειθόμενον ἀπαγαγεῖν τὸν δῆμον ἐκ κατέχειν.

who perhaps were ready in words only, and very probably might break their promiſe: That they ought to weigh and examine the diſparity there was between themſelves and their enemies with regard to the conveniencies and wants of the army; the Syracuſans being in their own country, in the midſt of powerful allies, diſpoſed by inclination, as well as engaged by intereſt, to aſſiſt them with men, arms, horſes, and proviſions; whereas the Athenians would carry on the war in a remote country poſſeſſed by their enemies, where, in the winter, news could not be brought them in leſs than four months time; a country, where all things would oppoſe the Athenians, and nothing be procured but by force of arms: That it would reflect the greateſt ignominy on the Athenians, ſhould they be forced to abandon their enterpriſe, and thereby become the ſcorn and contempt of their enemies, by their neglecting to take all the precautions which ſo important a deſign required: That as for himſelf, he was determined not to go, unleſs he was provided with all things neceſſary for the expedition, becauſe the ſafety of the whole army depended on that circumſtance; and that he would not rely on caprice, or the precarious engagements of the allies. DARIUS NOTHUS.

(*n*) Nicias had flattered himſelf, that this ſpeech would cool the ardour of the people, whereas it only enflamed it the more. Immediately the generals had full powers given them to raiſe as many troops, and fit out as many gallies as they ſhould judge neceſſary; and the levies were accordingly carried on in Athens, and other places, with inexpreſſible activity.

(*n*) Diod. l. xiii. p. 134.

SECT.

SECT. VIII. *The Athenians prepare to ſet ſail. Iniſter omens. The Statues of Mercury are mutilated.* ALCIBIADES *is accuſed, and inſiſts upon his being tried, but his requeſt is not granted. Triumphant departure of the fleet.*

DARIUS NOTHUS. A.M. 3589. Ant. J. C. 415.

(o) WHEN all things were ready for their departure, and they were preparing to ſail, there happened ſeveral bad omens, which filled the minds of the people with trouble and diſquietude. The * women were at that time celebrating the feſtival of Adonis, during which, the whole city was in mourning, and full of images repreſenting dead perſons and funeral proceſſions; and every part echoed with the cries and groans of the women who followed thoſe ſtatues with lamentations of that kind. Whence it was feared, that this gay and magnificent armament would ſoon loſe all its ſplendour, and † wither away like a flower.

The general affliction was increaſed by another accident. The ſtatues of Mercury, which ſtood at the enterance of private houſes and temples, were all mutilated in one night, and particularly in the face; and although a great reward was promiſed to any perſon who ſhould diſcover the authors of ſo audacious a crime, no one was accuſed. The citizens could not forbear conſidering this uncommon event, not only as an unlucky omen, but as a contrivance of ſome factious men, who harboured very ill deſigns. Some young people had already been accuſed of committing much the like crime in the midſt of their cups; and particularly of having wantonly mimicked the ceremonies and myſteries of Ceres and Proſerpine; with Alcibiades, who repreſented the high-prieſt, at their head.

(o) Thucyd. l. vi. p. 428. Plut. in Alcib. p. 200, 201.

* *This ſuperſtitious rite had extended even to God's people.* And behold there ſat women weeping for Tammuz, *Ezek.* viii. 14. N. B. *The Latin verſion of the Bible, which Mr. Rollin follows, ſays,* weeping for Adonis; *which is the ſame as Tammuz, the Hebrews calling Adonis by that name.*

† *The hiſtorian alludes to the plants and flowers that were carried in that ceremony, and which went by the name of Adonis's gardens.*

head. (p) It highly concerns all thoſe in exalted ſta- DARIUS NOTHUS.
tions, to be extremely careful of every ſtep they take, and not to give the leaſt opportunity to the moſt inveterate malice to cenſure them. They ought to call to mind, ſays Plutarch, that the eyes of all men are upon their conduct, and that they are ever eagle-eyed on theſe occaſions; that not only their outward actions paſs the moſt ſevere ſcrutiny, but that they penetrate to their moſt private apartments, and there take the ſtricteſt notice of their diſcourſes, their diverſions, and the moſt ſecret things tranſacted by them. It was this dread of the piercing eye of the people, that kept Themiſtocles and Pericles perpetually on their guard, and obliged them to refrain from moſt of thoſe pleaſures in which others indulged themſelves.

As for Alcibiades, he did not know what it was to lay himſelf under any reſtraints; and accordingly as his character was ſo well known, people were perſuaded he very probably had been concerned in what had happened. His luxury, libertiniſm, and irreligion, gave an air of probability to this charge, and the accuſer was not afraid of telling his name. This attack ſtaggered the conſtancy and reſolution of Alcibiades; but hearing the ſoldiers and ſailors declare that they were induced to engage in this expedition by no other motive but their affection for Alcibiades; and that, ſhould the leaſt injury be done him, they would all leave the ſervice; he took heart, and appeared at his tryal on the day appointed for that purpoſe. His enemies, upon pretence that it was neceſſary for the fleet to ſet ſail, got the judgement ſuperſeded. It was to no purpoſe for Alcibiades to inſiſt upon being tryed, in caſe he was guilty, and not be ruined in his abſence; and to repreſent, that it would be the moſt ſhocking and barbarous injuſtice to oblige him to embark for ſo important an expedition, without firſt making due enquiry into the accuſations and horrid ſlanders which were caſt upon him,

(p) Plut. in præc. de rep. p. 800.

DARIUS NOTHUS.

him, the bare thoughts of which would keep him in perpetual fear and anxiety. However, none of these remonstrances proved effectual, and the fleet was ordered to set out.

(q) They accordingly prepared to set sail, after having oppointed Corcyra the rendezvous for most of the allies, and such ships as were to carry the provisions, &c. All the citizens, as well as foreigners in Athens, flocked by day-break to the port of Pyræus. The former attended their children, relations, friends or companions, with a joy overcast with a little sorrow, upon their bidding adieu to persons who were as dear to them as life, who were setting out on a far distant and very dangerous expedition, from which it was uncertain whether they ever would return, though they flattered themselves with the hopes that it would be successful. The foreigners came thither to feed their eyes with a sight which was highly worthy their curiosity; for no single city in the world had ever fitted out so gallant a fleet. Those indeed which had been sent against Epidaurus and Potidæa, were as considerable with regard to the number of soldiers and ships: but then they were not equipped with so much magnificence, neither was their voyage so long, nor their enterprise so important. Here were seen a land and a naval army, provided with the utmost care, and at the expence of particular persons as well as of the publick, with all things necessary, on account of the length of the voyage, and the duration of the war. The city furnished an hundred empty gallies, that is, threescore light ones, and forty to transport the soldiers heavily armed. Every mariner received daily a drachma, or ten-pence (French) for his pay, exclusively of what the captains of ships gave the * rowers of the first bench. Add to this, the pomp and magnificence that was displayed universally; every one striving to eclipse the rest, and each captain endeavouring

(q) Thucyd. p. 430–432. Diod. l. xiii. p. 135.

* *They were called* Θαλῖται. *They had longer oars than the rest, and consequently more trouble in rowing.*

deavouring to make his ſhip the lighteſt, and at the ſame time the gayeſt in the whole fleet. I ſhall not take notice of the choice of the ſoldiers and ſeamen, who were the flower of the Athenians; nor of their emulation with regard to the beauty and neatneſs of their arms and equipage; any more than of their officers who had laid out conſiderable ſums purely to diſtinguiſh themſelves, and to give foreigners an advantageous idea of their perſons and circumſtances; ſo that this ſight had the air of a tournament, in which the utmoſt magnificence is diſplayed, rather than of a warlike expedition. But the boldneſs and greatneſs of the deſign ſtill exceeded its expence and ſplendour. DARIUS NOTHUS.

When the ſhips were laden, and the troops got on board, the trumpet ſounded, and ſolemn prayers were offered up for the ſucceſs of the expedition; gold and ſilver cups were filling every where with wine, and the accuſtomed libations were poured out; the people who lined the ſhore ſhouting at the ſame time, and lifting up their hands to heaven, to wiſh their fellow-citizens a good voyage and ſucceſs. And now, the hymn being ſung, and the ceremonies ended, the ſhips ſailed one after another out of the harbour; after which they ſtrove to outſail one another, till the whole fleet met at Ægina. From thence it made for Corcyra, where the army of the allies was aſſembling with the reſt of the fleet.

SECT. IX. *Syracuſe is alarmed. The Athenian fleet arrives in Sicily.*

(r) ADVICE of this expedition coming to Syracuſe from all quarters, it was thought ſo improbable, that at firſt no body would believe it. But as it was more and more confirmed every day, the Syracuſans began to think ſeriouſly of making the neceſſary preparations; and ſent deputations to every part of the iſland, to aſk aſſiſtance of ſome, and ſend ſuccours to others. They garriſoned all the caſtles and forts in the country; reviewed all the ſoldiers

(r) Thucyd. l. vi. p. 432—445. Diod. l. xiii. p. 135, 136.

DARIUS NOTHUS. ſoldiers and horſes; examined the arms in the magazines; and ſettled and prepared all things, as if the enemy had been in their country.

In the mean time the fleet ſailed in three ſquadrons, each under the command of its particular general. It conſiſted of an hundred and thirty-ſix ſhips, an hundred whereof belonged to Athens, and the reſt to the allies. On board theſe ſhips were five thouſand heavy-armed ſoldiers, two thouſand two hundred of whom were Athenian citizens, *viz.* fifteen hundred of thoſe who had eſtates, and ſeven hundred * who had none, but were equally citizens; the reſt conſiſted of allies. With regard to the light infantry, there were eighty archers of Crete, and four hundred of other countries; ſeven hundred Rhodian ſlingers, and an hundred and twenty exiles of Megara. There was but one company of horſe, conſiſting of thirty troopers, who had embarked on board a veſſel proper for tranſporting cavalry. Both the fleet and the land-forces were afterwards increaſed conſiderably. Thirty veſſels carried the proviſions and cooks, with maſons, carpenters, and their ſeveral tools; the whole followed by an hundred ſmall veſſels for the ſervice, excluſive of merchant-ſhips, of which there were great numbers. All this fleet had ſailed together for Corcyra. Having met with but an indifferent reception from the people of Tarentum and Locris, they ſailed with a favourable wind for Rhegium, where they made ſome ſtay. The Athenians were very urgent with the inhabitants of Rhegium to ſuccour thoſe of Leontium, who came originally from Chalcis as well as themſelves: But theſe anſwered, that they were determined to ſtand neuter, and to undertake nothing but in concert with the reſt of Italy. Here they debated on the manner in which it was neceſſary to carry on the war, and waited for the coming up of thoſe ſhips that had been ſent out to make diſcoveries of a proper place for landing, and to enquire whether the citizens of Egeſta had got

* *Theſe were called* Ζευγῖται.

got their money ready. Upon their return they brought advice that they had but thirty talents in the treaſury. This Nicias had foreſeen, but no regard had been paid to his ſalutary counſels. DARIUS NOTHUS.

(s) He did not fail, the inſtant this news was brought, to expatiate on the counſel he had given in Athens; to ſhow the wrong ſtep they had taken in engaging in this war; and to amplify the fatal conſequences which might be expected from it: In all which he acted very imprudently. It was extremely judicious in Nicias to oppoſe it in the beginning, and to ſet every engine at work to cruſh if poſſible this ill-fated project. But as it was reſolved, and he himſelf had accepted of the command, he ought not to be perpetually looking backward, nor to have repeated inceſſantly, that this war had been undertaken in oppoſition to all the maxims of prudence; and, by that means, to cool the ardour of his two colleagues in the command, to diſpirit the ſoldiers, and blunt that edge of confidence and ardour, which aſſure the ſucceſs of great enterpriſes. The Athenians, on the contrary, ought to have advanced boldly towards the enemy; ſhould have attacked them with vigour, and have ſpread an univerſal terrour by a ſudden and unexpected deſcent.

But Nicias acted in a quite different manner. His opinion, in the coucil of war, was, that they ſhould ſail for Selinunta, whih had been the firſt occaſion of this expedition; and then, if the citizens of Egeſta performed their promiſe, and gave a month's pay to the army, to proceed forward; or otherwiſe, to oblige them to furniſh proviſions for the ſixty gallies they had demanded, and continue in that road till they ſhould have concluded a peace with the citizens of Selinunta, either by force of arms or ſome other way. He ſaid, that they afterwards ſhould return to Athens, after having thus made a parade of their forces, and the aſſiſtance they gave their allies; unleſs they ſhould have an opportunity of making ſome attempt

(s) Plut. in Nic. p. 532.

DARIUS NOTHUS. attempt in favour of the Leontines, or of bringing over ſome city into their alliance.

Alcibiades anſwered, that it would be inglorious, after their ſailing out with ſo noble a fleet, to return without doing any thing; and that they ſhould firſt endeavour to conclude an alliance with the Greeks and Barbarians, in order to divide them from the Syracuſans, and procure troops and proviſions from them; and eſpecially to ſend a deputation to Meſſina, which was a kind of key to Sicily, and its harbour capacious enough to hold all the fleet. He declared further, that after ſeeing who were their friends and who their enemies, and ſtrengthening themſelves by the addition of a new re-inforcement, they then ſhould attack either Selinunta or Syracuſe; in caſe the one ſhould refuſe to conclude a peace with Egeſta, and the other not permit the Leontines to return to their city.

Lamachus offered a third opinion, which perhaps was the moſt prudent; that was, to ſail directly for Syracuſe, before its citizens had time to recover from their ſurpriſe, or prepare for their defence. He obſerved, that the ſudden arrival of an armed force always ſtrikes the greateſt terrour; and that when enemies are allowed time to reflect and make preparations, it alſo revives their courage; whereas, when they are ſuddenly attacked, and ſtill in confuſion, they are generally overcome; that as they would be maſters of the open country, they ſhould not be in want of any thing, but on the contrary, would oblige the Sicilians to declare for them: That at laſt they ſhould ſettle in Megara, which was quite deſert and a near neighbour to Syracuſe, and there lay up their fleet in ſafety. However, his counſel not being followed, he agreed to that of Alcibiades: Accordingly they ſailed for Sicily, where Alcibiades took Catana by ſurpriſe.

SECT.

SECT. X. ALCIBIADES *is recalled. He flies, and is ſentenced to die as an outlaw. He retires to Sparta, Flexibility of his genius and diſpoſition.*

DARIUS NOTHUS.

(*t*) THIS was the firſt and laſt exploit performed by Alcibiades in this expedition, he being immediately recalled by the Athenians, in order to be tried upon the accuſation againſt him. For, from the departure of the fleet, his enemies, who had no regard to the welfare of their country; and who, upon the ſpecious pretence of religion, which is often made a cloak to cover the darkeſt deſigns, meditated nothing but ſatiating their hatred and revenge; his enemies, I ſay, taking advantage of his abſence, had proceeded in the affair with greater vigour than ever. All thoſe, againſt whom informations were lodged, were thrown into priſon, without ſo much as being ſuffered to be heard, and that too on the evidence of the moſt profligate and abandoned citizens; as if, ſays Thucydides, it was not as great a crime to puniſh the innocent, as to ſuffer the guilty to eſcape. One of the informers was proved to be perjured by his own words; having declared that he ſaw and knew one of the accuſed by moonlight; whereas it appeared, that there was no moon at that time. But notwithſtanding this manifeſt perjury the populace were as furious as ever. The remembrance of the tyranny of the Piſiſtratides made them apprehenſive of the like fate; and ſtrongly poſſeſſed with this fear they would not give ear to any thing.

At laſt they ſent out the * ſhip of Salamin, ordering the captain not to carry off Alcibiades by force for fear of raiſing a tumult in the army; but only to order him to return to Athens, to pacify the people by his preſence. Alcibiades obeyed the order, and went immediately on board his galley; but the inſtant he was arrived at Thurium, and had got on

(*t*) Thucyd. l. vi. p. 446–450. Plut. in Alcib. p. 202.

* *This was a ſacred veſſel appointed to fetch criminals.*

DARIUS NOTHUS.

ſhore, he diſappeared, and eluded the purſuit of thoſe who ſought after him. Being aſked, whether he would not rely on his country, with regard to the judgement it might paſs on him: "I would not," ſays he, "rely on my mother, for fear leſt ſhe ſhould inadvertently miſtake a * black bean for a white one." The galley of Salamin returned back without the commander, who was aſhamed of his having ſuffered his prey to eſcape him in that manner. Alcibiades was ſentenced to die for his contumacy. His whole eſtate was confiſcated, and all prieſts and prieſteſſes were commanded to curſe him. Among the latter was one Theano, who alone had the courage to oppoſe this decree, ſaying, † *That ſhe had been appointed prieſteſs, not to curſe but to bleſs.* Some time after, news being brought him that the Athenians had condemned him to die, *I ſhall make them ſenſible*, ſays he, *that I am alive.*

(*u*) Much about this time Diagoras of Melia was proſecuted at Athens. He had ſettled himſelf in the latter city, where he taught atheiſm, and was brought to a tryal for his doctrine. (*x*) Diagoras eſcaped the puniſhment which would have been inflicted on him, by flying from the city; but he could not wipe off the ignominy of the ſentence which condemned him to death. The Athenians had ſo great an abhorrence for the impious principles inculcated by him, that they even ſet a price upon his head, and promiſed a reward of a talent to any man who ſhould bring him dead or alive.

(*y*) About twenty years before a like affair had happened to Protagoras, for having only treated the ſame queſtion by way of problem. He had ſaid in the beginning of one of his books: "Whether the gods "do or do not exiſt is a queſtion which I know not "whether I ought to affirm or deny: For our under-"ſtandings

(*u*) Joſeph. contr. App. (*x*) Diod. l. xiii. p. 137. (*y*) Diog. Laert. in Protag. Joſeph. contr. App. Cic. l. i. de nat. deor. n. 62.

* *The judges made uſe of beans in giving their ſuffrages, and the black bean denoted condemnation.*

† Φάσκουσα ἐυχᾶν ἀ καταρᾶν ἱέρειαν γεγονέναι.

" ſtandings are too much clouded, and the life of " man is too ſhort, for the ſolution of ſo nice and " difficult a point." But the Athenians could not bear to have a ſubject of this nature made a doubt; and for this reaſon they ordered proclamation to be made by the publick cryer, for all perſons who had any copies of this book, to bring them to the magiſtrates: After which they were burnt as infamous pieces, and the author was baniſhed for ever from all the territories of the Athenians. DARIUS NOTHUS.

Diagoras and Protagoras had been the diſciples of Democritus, who firſt invented the philoſophy of atoms. I ſhall ſpeak of him in another place.

(z) From the departure of Alcibiades, Nicias had poſſeſſed the whole authority: For Lamachus his colleague, though a man of bravery and experience, was however in no credit, becauſe of his extreme poverty, for which he was deſpiſed by the ſoldiers. But the Athenians were not always in this way of thinking; for we have ſeen that Ariſtides, poor as he was, was not leſs eſteemed and reſpected on that account: But in this laſt expedition, the people in general had imbibed a paſſion for luxury and magnificence; the natural conſequence of which is a love of riches. As Nicias, therefore, governed all affairs ſolely, all his actions were of the ſame caſt with his diſpoſition, that is, of a ſlow and fearful kind: He ſuffered every thing to languiſh, ſometimes either by laying ſtill and undertaking nothing, ſometimes by only ſailing along the coaſt, or loſing time in conſulting and deliberating; all which ſoon ſuppreſſed, on one ſide, the ardour and confidence the troops expreſſed at firſt; and on the other, the fear and terrour with which the enemy had been ſeiſed, at the ſight of ſo terrible an armament. He beſieged Hybla; and though it was but a ſmall city, he was however obliged to raiſe the ſiege ſome days after, which brought him into the higheſt contempt. He retired at laſt to Catana, after having performed but one exploit, *viz.*

(z) Thucyd. p. 452, 453. Plut. in Nic. p. 533.

DARIUS NOTHUS. the ruining of Hyccara, a ſmall town inhabited by Barbarians, from which place, it is ſaid, that Lais the courteſan, at that time very young, was ſold with the reſt of the captives, and carried to Peloponneſus.

(*a*) In the mean time Alcibiades, having left Thurium, was arrived at Argos; and as he quite deſpaired of ever being recalled home, he ſent a meſſenger to the Spartans, deſiring leave to reſide among them, under their guard and protection. He promiſed in the moſt ſolemn manner, that if they would conſider him as their friend, he would perform greater ſervice for their ſtate, than he before had done injuries to it. The Spartans received him with open arms; and ſoon after his arrival in their city he gained the love and eſteem of all its inhabitants. He charmed, and even inchanted them, by his conforming himſelf ſo eaſily to their way of living. Such people as ſaw Alcibiades ſhave himſelf to the ſkin, bathe in cold water, eat of the coarſe, heavy cakes which were their uſual food, and be ſo well ſatisfied with their black broth; could not perſuade themſelves, that a man, who ſubmitted ſo chearfully to this kind of life, had ever kept cooks in his palace; had uſed eſſences and perfumes; had wore the rich ſtuffs of Miletus; in a word, that he had hitherto lived in the midſt of voluptuouſneſs and profuſion of all things. But flexibility was the characteriſtick that chiefly diſtinguiſhed Alcibiades. Cameleon like, he could aſſume all ſhapes and colours to win the favour of thoſe among whom he reſided. He immediately aſſumed their manners and adapted himſelf to their taſte, as if they had been natural in him; and though he inwardly had an averſion to them, he could however cover his diſguſt with an eaſy, ſimple, and unconſtrained air. With ſome he had all the graces and vivacity of the gayeſt youth, and with others all the gravity of old age. In Sparta, he was laborious, frugal, and auſtere; in Ionia, enjoyment, idleneſs, and

(*a*) Plut. in Alcib. p. 230.


15
64
APR

A PLAN OF THE CITY OF SYRACUSE
Besieged by the Athenians



The Fortifications of the Athenians and Syracusans

1 The fortified Camp of the Athenians
2 The Wall that faces Epipolæ in its whole extent built by the Syracusans to surround Temenos.
3 Contravallation which the Athenians attempt to carry from the Foot of Epipolæ along the Northern Wall of Tyche as far as Trogilus.
4 The traverse Wall drawn by the Syracusans to cut the Contravallation of the Athenians.
5 Western Contravallation of the Athenians from the hills of Epipolæ downwards calld the single Wall.
6 Continuation of the western Contravallation of the Athenians from the Plain to the great Harbour calld the double Wall.
7 The Foss lined with Palisados made by the Syracusans, to cut the Contravallation thro' the Fens.
8 The Wall carried on by the Syracusans, going upwards from the City towards Epipolæ against the single Wall built by the Athenians.

and pleaſure, made up his whole life: In Thrace, he was always on horſeback or carouſing; and when he reſided with Tiſſaphernes the ſatrap, he exceeded all the magnificence of the Perſians in luxury and profuſion. DARIUS. NOTHUS.

But he was not barely ſatisfied with gaining the eſteem of the Lacedæmonians. He inſinuated himſelf ſo far into the affection of Timea, the wife of king Agis, that he had a ſon by her, who, in publick, went by the name of Leotychides; though his mother, in private, and among her women and female friends, did not bluſh to call him Alcibiades; ſo violent was her paſſion for that Athenian. Agis was informed of this intrigue, and therefore refuſed to own Leotychides for his ſon; for which reaſon he was afterwards excluded the throne.

SECT. XI. *Deſcription of Syracuſe.*

AS the ſiege of Syracuſe is one of the moſt conſiderable in the Grecian hiſtory; the particular circumſtances of which I thought proper to relate for that reaſon, in order to give my readers an idea of the manner of beſieging by the ancients; I judged it neceſſary, before I enter into that detail, to give the reader a deſcription and plan of the city of Syracuſe; in which he will alſo find the different fortifications, both of the Athenians and Syracuſans, mentioned in this ſiege.

(*b*) Syracuſe ſtood on the eaſtern coaſt of Sicily. Its vaſt extent, its advantageous ſituation, the conveniency of its double harbour, its fortifications built with the utmoſt care and labour, and the multitude and wealth of its inhabitants, made it one of the greateſt, the moſt beautiful, and moſt powerful among the Grecian cities. * We are told its air was ſo pure and ſerene, that there was no day in the year, how

(*b*) Cic. Verr. 6. n. 117—119.

* Urbem Syracuſus elegerat, cujus hic ſitus atque hæc natura eſſe loci cœlique dicitur, ut nullus unquam dies tam magna turbulentaque tempeſtate fuerit, quin aliquo tempore ſolem ejus diei homines viderent. *Cic. Verr.* 7. *n.* 26.

Darius Nothus. how cloudy ſoever it might be, in which the ſun did not diſplay its beams.

A. M. 3295. Ant. J. C. 709. (*c*) It was built by Archias the Corinthian, a year after Naxos and Megara had been founded on the ſame coaſt.

When the Athenians beſieged this city it was divided into three parts, *viz.* the iſland, Achradina and Tyche. Thucydides mentions only theſe three diviſions. Two more, *viz.* Neapolis and Epipolæ, were afterwards added.

The ISLAND, ſituated to the ſouth, was called Νῆσος (Naſos) ſignifying, in Greek, an iſland, but pronounced according to the Dorick dialect; and Ortygia. It was joined to the continent by a bridge. (*d*) It was in this iſland that the Syracuſans afterwards built the citadel, and the palace for their kings. This quarter or diviſion of the city was of very great importance, becauſe it might render thoſe who poſſeſſed it, maſter of the two ports which ſurround it. It was for this reaſon the Romans, when they took Syracuſe, would not ſuffer any Syracuſans to inhabit the iſland.

(*e*) There was in this iſland a very famous ſpring, called Arethuſa. The ancients, or rather the poets, from reaſons which have not the leaſt ſhadow of probability, ſuppoſed that Alpheus, a river of Elis in Peloponneſus rolled its waters either through or under the waves of the ſea, without ever mixing with them, as far as the ſpring or fountain of Arethuſa. It was this fiction gave occaſion to the following lines of Virgil:

Extremum hunc, Arethuſa, mihi concede laborem ——
Sic tibi, cum fluctus ſubterlabêre Sicanos,
Doris amara ſuam non intermiſceat undam.

VIRG. *Eclog.* 10.

Thy

(*c*) Strab. l. vi. p. 269. (*d*) Cic. Verr. 7. n. 97. (*e*) Strab. l. vi. p. 270. Senec. Nat. Quæſt. l. iii. c. 26.

Thy ſacred ſuccour, Arethuſa, bring,
To crown my labour: 'Tis the laſt I ſing.——
So may thy ſilver ſtreams beneath the tide,
Unmix'd with briny ſeas ſecurely glide.

DRYDEN.

ACHRADINA, ſituated entirely on the ſea-ſide towards the eaſt, was the moſt ſpacious, the moſt beautiful, and beſt fortified quarter of the city.

TYCHE, ſo called from the temple of Fortune (Τύχη) which embelliſhed that part of the city, extended along Achradina weſtward from the north towards the ſouth, and was very well inhabited. It had a famous gate called Hexapylum, which led into the country, and was ſituated to the north of the city.

EPIPOLÆ was a hill without the city, which it commanded. It was ſituated between Hexapylum and the point of Euryelus, towards the north and weſt. It was exceedingly ſteep in ſeveral places, and for that reaſon of very difficult acceſs. At the time of the ſiege in queſtion, it was not ſurrounded with walls; and the Syracuſans defended it with a body of troops, againſt the attacks of the enemy. Euryelus was the paſs or enterance which led to Epipolæ. On the ſame hill of Epipolæ was a fort called Labdalon, or Labdalum.

It was not till long after (under Dionyſius the tyrant) that Epipolæ was ſurrounded with walls, and incloſed within the city, of which it formed a fifth part, but was thinly inhabited. A fourth diviſion had been added before, called NEAPOLIS, that is, the new city, which covered Tyche.

(f) The river Anapis ran at almoſt half a league diſtance from the city. The ſpace between them was a large and beautiful plain, terminated by two fens or moors, the one called Syraco, whence the city was named, and the other Lyſimela. This river emptied itſelf into the great harbour. Near its mouth, ſouthward, was a kind of caſtle called Olympia, from the

(f) Plut. in Dionyſ. vit. p. 970.

DARIUS NOTHUS.

temple of Jupiter Olympus ſtanding there, and in which were great riches. It was five hundred paces from the city.

Syracuſe had two harbours, very near one another, and ſeparated only by the iſle, *viz.* the great harbour, and the ſmall one, called otherwiſe Laccus. According to the * deſcription which the Roman orator gives of them, both were ſurrounded with buildings as parts of the city.

The greateſt harbour was a little above † five thouſand paces, or two leagues in circumference. It had a gulph called Daſcon. The enterance of this port was but five hundred paces wide. It was formed, on one ſide, by the point of the iſland Ortygia; and on the other, by the little iſland and cape of Plemmyrium, which was commanded by a fort or caſtle of the ſame name.

Above Achradina was a third port, called the harbour of Trogilus.

SECT. XII. NICIAS, *after ſome engagements, beſieges Syracuſe.* LAMACHUS *is killed in a battle. The city is reduced to the greateſt extremities.*

EIGHTEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

(g) AT the end of the ſummer news was brought Nicias that the Syracuſans, having reſumed courage, intended to march againſt him. Already their cavalry advanced with an air of inſolence to attack him even in his camp; and aſked with a loud laugh, whether he was come into Sicily to ſettle in Catana. Theſe ſevere reproaches rouſed him a little, ſo that he reſolved to ſail for Syracuſe. The enterpriſe was bold and dangerous. Nicias could not, without

(g) Thucyd. l. vi. p. 453—461. Plut. in Nic. p. 533, 534. Diod. l. cxxxvii, cxxxviii.

* Portus habet prope ædificatione aſpectuque urbis incluſos. *Cic. Verr.* 6. *n.* 117.

† *According to Strabo, it is eighty ſtadia in circumference, which is twice its real extent; a plain proof that this paſſage of Strabo is corrupt.* Cluver, p. 167.

without running the utmoſt hazard, attempt to land in preſence of an enemy who waited for him with the greateſt reſolution; and would not fail to charge him the inſtant he ſhould offer to make a deſcent. Nor was it ſafer for him to march his troops by land, becauſe, as he had no cavalry, that of the Syracuſans, which was very numerous, upon the firſt advice they ſhould have of their march, would come to blows, and overpower him by the ſuperiority of forces. DARIUS NOTHUS.

To extricate himſelf from this perplexity, and enable himſelf to ſeiſe without oppoſition upon an advantageous poſt, which a Syracuſan exile had diſcovered to him, Nicias had recourſe to ſtratagem. He cauſed a falſe piece of news to be given to the enemy, *viz.* that by means of a conſpiracy, which was to take effect on a certain day, they might ſeiſe on his camp, and poſſeſs themſelves of all the arms and baggage. The Syracuſans, on this promiſe, marched towards Catana, and pitched their camp near Leontium. The moment the Athenians had advice of this, they embarked with all their troops and ammunition; and in the evening ſteered for Syracuſe. They arrived by day-break in the great harbour; landed near Olympia, in the place which had been pointed out to them, and there fortified themſelves. The enemy, finding themſelves ſhamefully over-reached, returned immediately to Syracuſe; and, in the greateſt rage, drew up in battle-array, ſome days after, before the walls of the city. Nicias marched out of the trenches, and a battle was fought. Victory was a long time doubtful, but a very heavy ſhower of rain, accompanied with thunder and lightning, coming unexpectedly, the Syracuſans, who were unexperienced, and the greateſt part of them having never carried arms before, were frightened at the tempeſt, whilſt their enemies laughed at it, as the mere effect of the ſeaſon; and regarded nothing but the enemy, who were much more to be dreaded than the ſtorm. The Syracuſans, after making a long and vigorous reſiſtance, were forced to give way. The Athenians could not purſue them far, becauſe their horſe,

DARIUS NOTHUS. horſe, which was ſtill in a body and had not been defeated, covered their retreat. The Syracuſans retreated in good order into the city, after having thrown a body of troops into the temple of Olympia to prevent its being plundered.

This temple ſtood pretty near the camp of the Athenians, who were very deſirous of taking it, becauſe it abounded with gold and ſilver offerings, which the piety of kings and nations had conſecrated. Nicias having delayed ſending troops to ſeiſe it, loſt the opportunity, and gave the Syracuſans time to throw into it, as was before obſerved, a detachment to defend it. It was thought he did this on purpoſe, and out of reverence to the gods; becauſe, had the ſoldiers plundered this temple, the publick would not have reaped any benefit by it, and himſelf only had been accuſed of the ſacrilege.

After the battle, the Athenians, who were not yet in a condition to attack Syracuſe, retired with their fleet to Naxos and Catana to winter there, with deſign to return in the beginning of the next ſpring, and lay ſiege to the city. To do this they wanted money, proviſions, and particularly horſe, of which they were abſolutely deſtitute. The Athenians depended upon obtaining part of theſe ſuccours from the people of Sicily, whom they ſuppoſed would join them the inſtant they ſhould hear of their victory; and at the ſame time they ſent an expreſs to Athens, to ſolicit the like aid. They alſo addreſſed the Carthaginians for their alliance; and ſent deputies to ſome cities of Italy, ſituated on the coaſt of the Tuſcan ſea, which had promiſed to aſſiſt them.

The Syracuſans were far from deſponding. Hermocrates, who, of all their leaders, was moſt diſtinguiſhed for his valour, his judgement, and experience, repreſented to them, in order to raiſe their hopes, that they had not been wanting in courage but in conduct; that the enemies, though very brave, owed their victory to their good fortune rather than to their merit; that the having a multitude of leaders,

(they

(they were fifteen in number) from which confuſion and diſobedience are inſeparable, had done them prejudice; that it would be abſolutely neceſſary for them to chooſe experienced generals, to keep the reſt in their duty, and exerciſe their forces continually during the winter ſeaſon. This advice being followed, Hermocrates and two more were elected generals; after which they ſent deputies to Corinth and Lacedæmon to renew the alliance, and at the ſame time to engage them to make a diverſion, in order to oblige, if poſſible, the Athenians to recall their troops out of Sicily, or at leaſt to prevent their ſending a re-inforcement thither. The fortifying of Syracuſe was the chief object of their care. Accordingly they took into the city, by a wall, all the tract of land towards Epipolæ, from the northern extremity of Tyche, deſcending weſtward towards the quarter or diviſion of the city called afterwards Neapolis, in order to remove the enemy to a greater diſtance, and to give them more trouble in making their contravallation, by obliging them to give a larger extent to it. This part, in all probability, had been neglected, becauſe it ſeemed to be ſufficiently defended by its rugged and ſteep ſituation. They alſo garriſoned Megara and Olympia, and drove ſtakes into all thoſe parts of the ſea-ſhore, where the enemy might eaſily make a deſcent. Hearing afterwards that the Athenians were at Naxos, they went and burnt the camp of Catana, and retired, after laying waſte the country adjacent to it. DARIUS NOTHUS.

(*b*) The ambaſſadors of Syracuſe, being arrived among the Corinthians, aſked ſuccour of them as having been their founders, which was immediately granted; and at the ſame time they ſent an embaſſy to the Lacedæmonians, to invite them to declare in their favour. Alcibiades enforced their demand with all his credit and eloquence, which his reſentment againſt Athens inflamed prodigiouſly. He adviſed and exhorted the Lacedæmonians to appoint Gylippus their

(*b*) Thucyd. l. vi. p. 471—482. Plut. in Alcib. p. 203. In Nic. p. 534, 535. Diod. l. xiii. p. 138.

Darius Nothus. their general, and ſend him into Sicily; and at the ſame time to invade the Athenians, in order to make a powerful diverſion. In the third place, he counſelled them to fortify Decelia in Attica, which quite completed the ruin of the city of Athens, it not being able ever to recover that blow: For by this fort, the Lacedæmonians made themſelves maſters of the country, by which the Athenians were deprived of their ſilver mines of Laurium, and of the revenues of their lands; nor could they be ſuccoured by their neighbours, Decelia becoming the aſylum of all the malcontents and partizans of Sparta.

Nicias had received ſome ſuccours from Athens. It conſiſted of two hundred and fifty horſemen, whom the Athenians ſuppoſed would be furniſhtd with horſes in Sicily (the troops bringing only the furniture) and of thirty horſe-archers, with three hundred talents, that is, three hundred thouſand French crowns *. Nicias now began to prepare for action. He was accuſed of often letting ſlip opportunities, by his loſing time in deliberating, arguing, and concerting meaſures; however, when once he entered upon action, he was as bold and vigorous in executing, as he before had been ſlow and timorous in undertaking, as he ſhowed on the preſent occaſion.

The Syracuſans hearing that the Athenians had a re-inforcement of cavalry, and would ſoon march and lay ſiege to their city; and knowing they could not poſſibly approach it, or make a contravallation, unleſs they ſhould poſſeſs themſelves of the hill of Epipolæ which commanded Syracuſe, they reſolved to guard the avenue to it, which was the only paſs by which the enemy could get up to it, every other part being rugged and inacceſſible. Marching therefore down into the meadow or plain, bordered by the river Anapis, and reviewing their troops there, they appointed ſeven hundred foot, under the command of Diomilus, to guard that important poſt; and commanded them to repair to it, at the firſt ſignal which ſhould

* *About* 67,000l. *ſterling.*

ſhould be given for that purpoſe. But Nicias conducted his deſign with ſo much prudence, expedition, and ſecrecy, that they had not time to do this. He ſailed from Catana with all his fleet, without the enemy's having the leaſt ſuſpicion of his deſign. Being arrived at the port of Trogilus near Leontium, which is but a quarter of a league (ſix or ſeven furlongs) from Epipolæ, he put his land-forces on ſhore, after which he retired with his fleet to Thapſus, a ſmall peninſula of Syracuſe, the enterance to which he ſhut up with a ſtaccado. DARIUS NOTHUS.

The land-forces marched with the utmoſt expedition to ſeiſe on Epipolæ, by the paſs of Euryelus, before the enemy, who were in the plains of Anapis at above a league's diſtance, had the leaſt notice of their arrival. At the firſt news of this, the ſeven hundred ſoldiers, under the command of Diomilus, advanced forward in confuſion, but were eaſily defeated; and three hundred of them, with their leader, left dead in the field. The Athenians, after ſetting up a trophy, built a fort in Labdalon, on the ſummit of Epipolæ, in order to ſecure their baggage and moſt valuable effects in it, whenever they ſhould be forced to fight, or work at the contravallation.

Soon after, the inhabitants of Egeſta ſent the Athenians three hundred horſe, to which ſome of their Sicilian allies added a hundred more, that with the two hundred and fifty ſent before by the Athenians, and who had furniſhed themſelves with horſes in Sicily, made a body of ſix hundred and fifty horſe.

The plan laid down by Nicias, in order for taking Syracuſe, was, to ſurround all the city on the land-ſide with a ſtrong contravallation, in order to cut off all communication with the place from without, in hopes no doubt that his fleet would afterwards enable him to prevent the Syracuſans from receiving any ſuccours or proviſions by ſea.

Having left a garriſon in Labdalon, he came down from the hill, advanced towards the northern extremity of Tyche, and halting there, he employed the whole

Darius Nothus.

whole army in throwing up a line of contravallation, to ſhut up their city northward from Tyche as far as Trogilus, ſituate on the ſea-ſide. This work was carried on with ſuch a rapidity, as terrified the Syracuſans. They thought it abſolutely neceſſary to prevent the carrying on of this work, and accordingly made ſome ſallies and attacks, but always with diſadvantage, and even their cavalry was routed. The day after the action, the contravallation (northward) was continued by part of the army, during which the reſt carried ſtones and other materials towards Trogilus, in order to finiſh it.

The beſieged, by the advice of Hermocrates, thought it adviſeable not to venture a ſecond battle with the Athenians; and only endeavoured to put a ſtop to their works, at leaſt to render them uſeleſs, by running a line to cut that carried on by the Athenians. They imagined, that in caſe they ſhould be ſuffered to complete their wall, it would be impoſſible for the Athenians to make any farther progreſs in their work: Or that, ſhould they endeavour to prevent it, it would ſuffice for the Syracuſans to oppoſe them with a part of their forces, after having ſhut up ſuch avenues as were moſt acceſſible with ſtrong paliſades: And that the Athenians, on the contrary, would be obliged to ſend for all their forces, and entirely abandon their works.

Accordingly they came out of their city, and working with inexpreſſible ardour, they began to raiſe a wall; and, in order to carry it on with leſs moleſtation, they covered it with ſtrong paliſades, and flanked it with wooden towers, at proper diſtances, to defend it. The Athenians ſuffered the Syracuſans to carry on their works undiſturbed, becauſe, had they marched only part of their troops againſt them, they would have been too weak; and if they had brought them all, they then muſt have been obliged to diſcontinue their works, which they were reſolved not to do. The work being completed, the Syracuſans left

left a body of troops to defend the paliſade and guard the wall, and then returned into the city. DARIUS NOTHUS.

In the mean time the Athenians cut off the canals by which water was conveyed into the city; and obſerving the Syracuſan ſoldiers, who had been left to guard the wall, very negligent in their duty; ſome returning at noon either into the city or their tents, and the reſt not keeping a proper guard; they detached three hundred choſen ſoldiers, and ſome light infantry to attack this poſt; during which the reſt of the army marched towards the city, to prevent any ſuccours from coming out of it. Accordingly, the three hundred ſoldiers having forced the paliſade, purſued thoſe who guarded it as far as that part of the city wall which covered Temenos, were pouring in indiſcriminately with them, they were repulſed by the inhabitants with loſs. The whole army afterwards demoliſhed the wall, and pulled up the paliſades of the intrenchment, and carried them off.

After this ſucceſs, whereby the Athenians were maſters of the northern parts, they began the very next day, a ſtill more important work, and which would quite finiſh their encloſure of the city; *viz.* to carry a wall from the hills of Epipolæ, weſtward, through the plain and the fens as far as the great harbour. To prevent this, the beſieged beginning the ſame kind of work as they had carried on on the other ſide, ran a trench, lined with paliſades, from the city through the fens, to prevent the Athenians from carrying their contravallations as far as the ſea. But the latter, after finiſhing the firſt part of the wall on the hills of Epipolæ, reſolved to attack this new work. For this purpoſe, they ordered their fleet to ſail from Thapſus to the great harbour of Syracuſe, it having continued in that road hitherto; and the beſieged had always the ſea open to them, by which the beſiegers were obliged to get their proviſions from Thapſus by land. The Athenians came down therefore from Epipolæ into the plain before daybreak; when throwing planks and beams in that part where

Darius Nothus. where the fen was only ſlimy and more firm than in other places, they immediately carried the greateſt part of the foſsé lined with palliſades, and then the reſt, after having beaten the Syracuſans, who gave way and retired; ſuch as were on the right, towards the city, and the reſt towards the river. Three hundred choſen Athenians having attempted to cut off the paſſage of the latter, flew towards the bridge; but the enemy's cavalry, the greateſt part of which were drawn up in battle, repulſed them; and afterwards charged the right wing of the Athenians, and put the firſt battalions into diſorder. Lamachus perceiving this from the left wing, where he commanded, ran thither with the Argives and ſome archers; but having paſſed a trench and being abandoned by his ſoldiers, he was killed with five or ſix who followed him. The enemy immediately paſſed the river, and ſeeing the reſt of the army come up, they retired.

At the ſame time their right wing which had returned towards the city, reſumed courage from this ſucceſs, and drew up in order of battle before the Athenians; after having detached ſome troops to attack the fort on the hills of Epipolæ, which ſerved as a magazine to the enemy, and was thought to be unguarded. They forced an intrenchment that covered the fort, but Nicias ſaved it. He was ſick in this fort, and at that time in his bed, with only his domeſticks about him. Animated by the danger and the preſence of the enemy, he ſtruggles with his indiſpoſition, riſes up, and commands his ſervants to ſet fire immediately to all the timber, lying between the intrenchment and the fort for the military engines, and to the engines themſelves. This unexpected conflagration ſtopped the Syracuſans, ſaved Nicias, the fort, and all the rich effects of the Athenians, who made haſte to the relief of that general. At the ſame time, the fleet was ſeen ſailing into the great harbour, according to the orders given for that purpoſe. The Syracuſans, having perceived this from the hill, and fearing they ſhould be attacked from behind,

behind, and over-powered by the land-forces, they retired, and returned to the city with all their forces; now no longer expecting, after having loſt their foſſé lined with paliſades, that it would be poſſible for them to prevent the enemy from carrying on their contravallation as far as the ſea. Darius Nothus.

In the mean time the Athenians, who had contented themſelves with building a ſingle wall on the hills of Epipolæ, and through ſuch places as were craggy and of difficult acceſs, being come down into the plain, began to build, at the foot of the hills, a double wall intending to carry it as far as the ſea; *viz.* a wall of contravallation againſt the beſieged, and another of circumvallation againſt thoſe Syracuſan troops which were out of the city, and ſuch allies as might come to its aid.

From thenceforth Nicias, who was now ſole general, conceived great hopes; for ſeveral cities of Sicily, which hitherto had not declared for either ſide, came and joined him; and there arrived from all quarters veſſels laden with proviſions for his army, all parties being eager to go over to him, becauſe he had acquired the ſuperiority, and been exceedingly ſucceſsful in all his undertakings. The Syracuſans, ſeeing themſelves blocked up both by ſea and land, and loſing all hopes of being able to defend their city any longer, already propoſed an accommodation. Gylippus, who was coming from Lacedæmon to their aſſiſtance, having heard, in his paſſage, the extremity to which they were reduced, and looking upon the whole iſland as loſt, ſailed forward nevertheleſs; not in the view of defending Sicily, but only to preſerve to the nations of Italy, ſuch cities as were ſubject to them in that iſland, if it were not too late, and if this could be done. For fame had declared, in all places, that the Athenians had already poſſeſſed themſelves of the whole iſland; and were headed by a general, whoſe wiſdom and good fortune rendered him invincible. Nicias himſelf, now (contrary to his natural diſpoſition) confiding in his own ſtrength, and

Darius Nothus. elate from his ſucceſs; perſuaded alſo by the ſecret advices which were brought him daily from Syracuſe, and the meſſengers who were ſent to him, that the city would immediately capitulate; did not regard Gylippus's approach, and in conſequence took no precautions to prevent his landing, eſpecially when he heard that he brought but very few veſſels; terming him a trifling pyrate, not worthy, in any manner, his notice. But a general ought to be extremely careful not to abate his cares and vigilance upon account of ſucceſs, becauſe the leaſt negligence may ruin every thing. Had Nicias ſent the ſmalleſt detachment to oppoſe Gylippus's landing, he would have taken Syracuſe, and the whole affair had been ended.

SECT. XIII. *The Syracuſans reſolve to capitulate, but* GYLIPPUS's *arrival changes the face of affairs.* NICIAS *is forced by his colleagues to engage in a ſea-fight, and is overcome. His land forces are alſo defeated.*

NINTEEENTH YEAR OF THE WAR.

A. M. 3591. Ant. J. C. 413. (k) THE fortifications of the Athenians were now almoſt completed; and they had drawn a double wall, near half a league in length, along the plain and the fens towards the great port, and had almoſt reached it. There now remained, on the ſide towards Trogilus, only a ſmall part of the wall to be finiſhed. The Syracuſans were therefore on the brink of ruin, and had no hopes left, as they were no longer able to defend themſelves, and did not expect any ſuccours. For this reaſon they reſolved to ſurrender. Accordingly a council was held to ſettle articles of capitulation, in order to preſent them to Nicias; and ſeveral were of opinion, that it would be proper to capitulate ſoon, before the city ſhould be entirely inveſted.

It

(k) Thucyd. l. vii. p. 485——489. Plut. in Nic. p. 535, 536. Diod. l. xiii. p. 138, 139.

It was at that very inſtant, and in the moſt critical juncture, that an officer, Gongyles by name, arrived from Corinth on board a ſhip with three benches of oars. At his arrival all the citizens flocked round him. He informed them, that Gylippus would be with them immediately, and was followed by a great many other gallies, which came to their aid. The Syracuſans aſtoniſhed, or rather ſtupified, as it were, with this news, could ſcarce believe what they heard. Whilſt they were thus fluctuating and in doubt, a courier arrived from Gylippus to inform them of his approach, and order them to march out all their troops to meet him. He himſelf, after having taken a * fort in his way, marched in battle directly for Epipolæ; and aſcending by Euryelus, as the Athenians had done, he prepared to attack them from without, whilſt the Syracuſans ſhould charge them, on their ſide, with the forces of Syracuſe and his. The Athenians, exceedingly ſurpriſed by his arrival, drew up haſtily, and without order, under the walls. With regard to himſelf, laying down his arms when he approached, he ſent word by a herald, that he would allow the Athenians five days to leave Sicily. Nicias did not condeſcend to make the leaſt anſwer to this propoſal; and ſome of his ſoldiers burſting out a laughing, aſked the herald, *Whether the preſence of a Lacedæmonian privateer, and a trifling wand, could make any change in the preſent ſtate of the city?* Both ſides therefore prepared for battle. DARIUS NOTHUS.

Gylippus ſtormed the fort of Labdalon, and cut to pieces all who were found in it. The ſame day an Athenian galley was taken, as it ſailed into the harbour. The beſieged afterwards drew a wall from the city, towards Epipolæ, in order to cut (about the extremity of it) the ſingle wall of the Athenians; and to deprive them of all communication with the troops, poſted in the intrenchments which ſurrounded the city on the north ſide towards Tyche and Trogilus. The Athenians, after having finiſhed the wall, which

* *Segeſ.*

DARIUS NOTHUS. extended as far as the ſea towards the great harbour, were returned to the hills. Gylippus perceiving, in the ſingle wall which the Athenians had built on the hills of Epipolæ, a part that was weaker and lower than the reſt, marched thither in the night with his troops; but being diſcovered by the Athenians, who were encamped without, he was forced to retire, upon ſeeing them advance directly towards him. They raiſed the wall higher, and themſelves undertook the guard of it; after having fixed their allies in the ſeveral poſts of the remainder of the intrenchment.

Nicias, on the other ſide, thought proper to fortify the Cape of Plemmyrium, which, by its running into the ſea, ſtraitened the mouth of the great harbour; and his deſign thereby was, to procure proviſions, and all other things he might want, the more eaſily; becauſe the Athenians, by poſſeſſing themſelves of that poſt, drew near the little port, wherein lay the chief naval forces of the Syracuſans, and were the better able to obſerve the various motions of it; and that beſides, by having the ſea open, they would not be forced to have all their proviſions from the bottom of the great harbour; as they muſt have been, ſhould the enemy, by ſeiſing on the mouth of it, oblige them to keep cloſe in the harbour, in the manner they then did. For Nicias, from the arrival of Gylippus, had no hopes left but from the ſide next the ſea. Sending therefore his fleet and part of his troops thither, he built three forts, by which the ſhips were enabled to lie at anchor; he alſo ſecured there a great part of the baggage and ammunition. It was then that the troops on board the fleet ſuffered very much; for, as they were obliged to go a great way to fetch wood and water, they were ſurrounded by the enemy's horſe, the third part of which were poſted at Olympia, to prevent the garriſon of Plemmyrium from ſallying, and were maſters of the field. Advice being brought to Nicias, that the Corinthian fleet was advancing, he ſent twenty gallies

againſt it; ordering them to obſerve the enemy towards Locris, Rhegium, and the reſt of the avenues of Sicily. DARIUS NOTHUS.

In the mean time Gylippus, employing thoſe very ſtones which the Athenians had got together for their uſe, went on with the wall which the Syracuſans had begun to carry through Epipolæ; and drew up daily in battle-array before it, as did the Athenians. When he ſaw it was a proper time for engaging, he began the battle in the ſpot lying between the two walls. The narrowneſs of it having rendered his cavalry and archers uſeleſs, he came off with loſs, and the Athenians ſet up a trophy. Gylippus, to re-animate his ſoldiers, by doing them juſtice, had the courage to reproach himſelf for the ill ſucceſs they had met with; and to declare publickly, that he, not they, had occaſioned the late defeat; becauſe he had made them fight in too narrow a ſpot of ground. However, he promiſed ſoon to give them an opportunity of recovering both their honour and his; and accordingly, the very next day, he led them againſt the enemy, after having exhorted them, in the ſtrongeſt terms, to behave in a manner worthy of their ancient glory. Nicias perceiving, that though he ſhould not deſire to come to a battle, it would however be abſolutely neceſſary for him to prevent the enemy from extending their line beyond the contravallation, to which they were already very near; (becauſe otherwiſe this would be granting them a certain victory) he therefore marched againſt the Syracuſans. Gylippus brought up his troops beyond that place, where the walls terminated on both ſides, in order that he might leave the more room to extend his battle; when charging the enemy's left wing with his horſe, he put it to flight, and ſoon after defeated the right. We have here an inſtance of what the experience and abilities of a great captain are capable of producing: For Gylippus, with the ſame men, the ſame arms, the ſame horſes, and the ſame ground, by only changing his order of battle, defeated the

DARIUS NOTHUS. Athenians, and beat them quite to their camp. The following night, the victors carried on their wall beyond the contravallation of the Athenians, and thereby deprived them of all hopes of being ever able to ſurround them.

(*a*) After this ſucceſs, the Syracuſans, to whoſe aid the Corinthian fleet was arrived unperceived by that of the Athenians, reſumed courage, armed ſeveral gallies, and marching into the plains with their cavalry and other forces, took a great number of priſoners. They ſent deputies to Lacedæmonia and Corinth, to deſire a re-inforcement; Gylippus went in perſon to all the cities of Sicily, to ſolicit them to join him; and brought over the greateſt part of them, who accordingly ſent him powerful ſuccours. Nicias, finding his troops leſſen, and thoſe of the enemy increaſe daily, began to be diſcouraged; and not only ſent expreſſes to the Athenians, to acquaint them with the ſituation of affairs, but likewiſe wrote to them in the ſtrongeſt terms. I repeat his whole letter, both as it gives a clear and exact account of the ſtate of things at that time in Syracuſe, and may ſerve as a model for ſuch kind of relations.

"Athenians: I have already informed you, by "ſeveral expreſſes, of what paſſed here: But it is "neceſſary you ſhould know the preſent ſituation of "affairs, that you may reſolve accordingly. After "we had been victorious in ſeveral engagements, "and almoſt completed our contravallation, Gylip-"pus arrived in Syracuſe with a body of Lacedæmo-"nian and Sicilian troops; and, having been "defeated the firſt time, he was victorious the "ſecond, by means of his cavalry and archers. We "are in conſequence ſhut up in our intrenchments, "without daring to make any attempt, or complete "our works through the ſuperiority of the enemy's "forces; for part of our ſoldiers are employed in "guarding our forts, and conſequently we have not "an

(*a*) Thucyd. l. vii. p. 490—494. Plut. in Nic. p. 536 Diod. l. xiii. p. 139.

" an opportunity of employing all our forces in battle. Beſides, as the Syracuſans have cut our lines, by a wall, in that part where they were not complete, it will no longer be poſſible for us to inveſt the city, unleſs we ſhould force their intrenchments; ſo that inſtead of beſieging, we ourſelves are beſieged, and dare not ſtir out, for fear of their horſe. DARIUS: NOTABLE

" Not contented with theſe advantages, they are bringing new ſuccours from Peloponneſus, and have ſent Gylippus to force all the neutral cities of Sicily to declare for them; and the reſt to furniſh them with men and ſhips to attack us both by ſea and land. I ſay by ſea, which though very ſurpriſing, is however but too true. For our fleet, which before was conſiderable, from the good condition of the gallies and mariners, is now very deficient in thoſe very circumſtances, and prodigiouſly weakened.

" Our gallies leak every where; becauſe we cannot draw them on ſhore to careen them, for fear, leſt thoſe of the enemy, which are more numerous, and in better condition than ours, ſhould attack us on a ſudden, which they ſeem to threaten every moment. Beſides, we are under a neceſſity of ſending many backwards and forwards to guard the convoys which we are forced to fetch from a great diſtance, and bring along in ſight of the enemy; ſo that ſhould we be ever ſo little negligent in this point, our army would be ſtarved.

" With regard to the ſhips crews, they decreaſe ſenſibly every day; for as great numbers of them diſperſe to maraud, or to fetch wood and water, they are often cut to pieces by the enemy's horſe. Our ſlaves, allured by the neighbourhood of the enemy's camp, deſert very faſt to it. The foreigners which we forced into the ſervice, diminiſh daily; and ſuch as have been raiſed with money, who came for plunder rather than fighting, finding

DARIUS NOTHUS. "themſelves baulked, go over to the enemy, who "are ſo near us, or elſe hide themſelves in Sicily, "which they may eaſily do in ſo large an iſland. "A great number of citizens, though long uſed to, "and well ſkilled in working of ſhips, by bribing "the captains, put others in their room, who are "wholly unexperienced, and incapable of ſerving, "and by that means have quite ſubverted all diſci-"pline. I am now writing to men perfectly well "verſed in naval affairs; and who are very ſenſible, "that, when order is neglected, every thing grows "worſe and worſe, and a fleet muſt inevitably be "ruined.

"But the moſt unhappy circumſtance is, that though "I am generaliſſimo, I cannot put a ſtop to theſe "diſorders. For (Athenians) you are very ſenſible "that ſuch is your diſpoſition, that you do not eaſily "brook reſtraint; beſides I do not know where "to furniſh myſelf with ſeamen, whilſt the enemy "get numbers from all quarters. It is not in the "power of our Sicilian allies to aid us; and ſhould "the cities of Italy, from whence we have our pro-"viſions (hearing the extremity to which we are "reduced, and your not taking the leaſt care to ſend "us any ſuccour) join the Syracuſans, we are undone; "and the enemy will have no occaſion to fight "us.

"I could write of things which would be more "agreeable, but of none that could be more advan-"tageous to you, nor which could give you a more "juſt idea of the ſubjects on which you are to delibe-"rate. I am ſenſible that you love to have ſuch "advices only ſent you as are pleaſing; but then I "know, on the other ſide, that when affairs turn out "otherwiſe than you expected and hoped for, you "accuſe thoſe who deceived you; which induced me "to give you a ſincere and genuine account of things, "without concealing a ſingle circumſtance. By the "way I am to inform you, that no complaints can be

"juſtly

" juſtly made either againſt the officers or common ſoldiers, both having done their duty very well. DARIUS NOTHUS.

" But now that the Sicilians join all their forces againſt us, and expect a new army from Peloponneſus; you may lay this down as the foundation for your deliberations, that our preſent troops are not ſufficient; and, therefore, we either muſt be recalled, or elſe a land and naval force, equal to the firſt, muſt be ſent us, with money in proportion. You muſt alſo think of appointing a perſon to ſucceed me; it being impoſſible for me, through my nephritick diſorder, to ſuſtain any longer the weight of the command. I imagine that I deſerve this favour at your hands, on account of the ſervices I have done you, in the ſeveral commands conferred upon me, ſo long as my health would permit me to act.

" To conclude; whatever reſolution you may come to, the requeſt I have to make, is, that you would execute it ſpeedily, and in the very beginning of the ſpring. The ſuccours which our enemies meet with in Sicily are all ready; but thoſe which they expect from Peloponneſus may be longer in coming. However, fix this in your minds, that if you do not exert yourſelves, the Lacedæmonians will not fail, as they have already done, to be beforehand with you."

The Athenians were ſtrongly affected with this letter, which made as great an impreſſion on them as Nicias expected. However, they did not think proper to appoint him a ſucceſſor; and only nominated two officers who were under him, *viz.* Menander and Euthydemus, to aſſiſt him till other generals ſhould be ſent. Eurymedon and Demoſthenes were choſen to ſucceed Lamachus and Alcibiades. The former ſet out immediately with ten gallies, and ſome money*, about the winter ſolſtice, to aſſure Nicias that a ſpeedy ſuccour ſhould be ſent him; during which, the latter was

* 120 *talents.*

DARIUS NOTHUS. was raiſing troops and contributions, in order to ſet ſail early in the ſpring.

A. M. 3591. Ant. J. C. 423. (*b*) The Lacedæmonians, on the other ſide, being ſupported by the Corinthians, were very induſtrious in preparing re-inforcements to ſend into Sicily, and to enter Attica, in order to keep the Athenian fleet from ſailing to that iſland. Accordingly they entered Attica early, under the command of king Agis; and after having laid waſte the country, they fortified Decelia; having divided the work among all the forces, to make the greater deſpatch. This poſt is about a hundred and twenty furlongs from Athens, that is, about ſix French leagues, and the ſame diſtance from Bœotia. Alcibiades was perpetually ſolliciting the Lacedæmonians; and could not be eaſy, till he had prevailed with them to begin that work. This annoyed the Athenians moſt of all: For hitherto the enemy, retiring after they had laid waſte the Athenian territories, the latter were unmoleſted all the reſt of the year; but from the fortifying of Decelia, the garriſon left in it was continually making incurſions, and alarming the Athenians, Athens being now become a kind of frontier town; for, in the day-time, a guard was mounted at all the gates; and in the night, all the citizens were either on the walls, or under arms. Such veſſels as brought proviſions from the iſland of Eubœa, and which before had a much ſhorter paſſage by Decelia, were forced to go round about, in order to double the cape of Sunium; by which means proviſions, as well as goods imported, grew much dearer. To heighten the calamity, upwards of twenty thouſand ſlaves, the greateſt part of whom were artificers, went over to the enemy, to fly from the extreme miſery with which the city was afflicted. The cattle of all kinds died. Moſt of the horſes were lamed, being continually upon guard, or upon parties. Every thing being laid waſte in this manner, and the Athenians enjoying no longer the revenues

(*b*) Thucyd. l. vii. p. 494–496, and 502–504. Diod. l. xiii. p. 140.

revenues which aroſe from the produce of their lands, there was a prodigious ſcarcity of money; ſo that they were forced to take the twentieth part of all the imports, to ſupply their uſual ſubſidies. DARIUS NOTHUS.

(*u*) In the mean time Gylippus, who had made the tour of Sicily, returned with as many men as he could raiſe in the whole iſland; and prevailed with the Syracuſans to fit out the ſtrongeſt fleet in their power, and to hazard a battle at ſea, upon the preſumption that the ſucceſs would anſwer the greatneſs of the enterpriſe. This advice was ſtrongly enforced by Hermocrates, who exhorted the Syracuſans not to abandon to their enemies the empire of the ſeas. He obſerved, that the Athenians themſelves had not received it from their Anceſtors, nor been always poſſeſſed of it: That the Perſian war had in a manner forced them into the knowledge of naval affairs, notwithſtanding two great obſtacles, their diſpoſition, and the ſituation of their city, which ſtood at a conſiderable diſtance from the ſea: That they had made themſelves formidable to other nations, not ſo much by their real ſtrength, as by their courage and intrepidity: That they ought to copy them; and ſince they had to do with enemies who were ſo enterpriſing it was fit they ſhould be equally daring.

This advice was approved, and accordingly a large fleet was equipped. Gylippus led out all his land-forces in the night-time, to attack the forts of Plemmyrium. Thirty-five gallies of Syracuſe which were in the great harbour, and forty-five in the leſſer, where was an arſenal for ſhips, were ordered to advance towards Plemmyrium, to amaze the Athenians, who would ſee themſelves attacked both by ſea and land at the ſame time. The Athenians, at this news, went on board alſo; and, with twenty-five ſhips, ſailed to fight the thirty-five Syracuſan veſſels which were ſailing out againſt them from the great harbour; and oppoſed thirty-five more to the forty-five of the enemy,

(*u*) Thucyd. l. vii. p. 497—500. Plut. in Nic. p. 536. Diod. p. 140.

DARIUS NOTHUS. enemy, which were come out of the little port. A ſharp engagement was fought at the mouth of the great harbour; one part endeavouring to force their way into it, and the other to keep them out.

Thoſe who defended the forts of Plemmyrium, having flocked to the ſhore to view the battle, Gylippus attacked the forts unexpectedly by day-break; and having carried the greateſt of them by ſtorm, the ſoldiers who defended the other two were ſo terrified, that they abandoned them in a moment. After this advantage the Syracuſans ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs; for ſuch of their veſſels as fought at the enterance of the harbour (after having forced the Athenians) bulged furiouſly one againſt the other as they entered it in diſorder; and by this means ſhifted the victory to their enemies, who were not contented with purſuing, but alſo gave chaſe to thoſe who were victorious in the great harbour. Eleven Syracuſan gallies were ſunk, and great numbers of the ſailors in them killed. Three were taken; but the Athenians likewiſe loſt three, and after towing off thoſe of the enemy, they raiſed a trophy in a little iſland lying before Plemmyrium, and retired to the centre of their camp.

The Syracuſans alſo raiſed three trophies for their taking of the three forts; and after raſing one of the ſmaller, they repaired the fortifications of the other two, and put garriſons into them. Several Athenians had been either killed or made priſoners there; and great ſums of money were taken, the property of the publick, as well as of merchants and captains of gallies, beſides a large quantity of ammunition; this being a kind of magazine for the whole army. They likewiſe loſt the ſtores and rigging of forty gallies, with three ſhips that lay in the dock. But a more conſiderable circumſtance was, Gylippus thereby prevented Nicias from getting proviſions and ammunition ſo eaſily; for, whilſt the latter was poſſeſſed of Plemmyrium, they procured theſe ſecurely and expeditiouſly; whereas, after their being diſpoſſeſſed of it,

it

it was equally difficult and hazardous, becauſe they could not bring in any thing without fighting; the enemy lying at anchor juſt off their fort. Thus the Athenians could have no proviſions but from the point of their ſwords; which diſpirited the ſoldiers very much, and threw the whole army into a great conſternation. DARIUS NOTHUS.

(o) There afterwards was a little ſkirmiſh in defending a ſtaccado which the inhabitants had made in the ſea, at the enterance of an old harbour, to ſecure the ſhipping. The Athenians having raiſed towers and parapets on a large ſhip, made it advance as near as poſſible to the ſtaccado, in order that it might ſerve as a bulwark to ſome ſhips which carried military engines, with which they drew up ſtakes by the help of pullies and ropes, excluſive of thoſe which the divers ſawed in two; the beſieged defending themſelves with their harbour, and the enemies with their tower. Such ſtakes as had been driven in, level with the ſurface of the water, in order to ſtrand thoſe veſſels that ſhould come near them, were the hardeſt to force away. The divers alſo bribed the enemy, and moſt of the ſtakes were torn up; but then others were immediately driven in their places. The utmoſt efforts were uſed on both ſides, in the attack as well as the defence.

(p) One circumſtance, which the beſieged conſidered of the greateſt importance, was to attempt a ſecond engagement both by ſea and land, before the fleet, and other ſuccours ſent by the Athenians, ſhould arrive. They had concerted freſh meaſures for a battle at ſea, by improving from the errors they had committed in the laſt engagement. The change made in the gallies was, their prows were now ſhorter, and at the ſame time ſtronger and more ſolid than before. For this purpoſe they fixed great pieces of timber, projecting forward, on each ſide of the prows; and to theſe pieces they joined beams by way

(o) Thucyd. l. vii. p. 500, 501. (p) Ibid. p. 509—513. Plut. in Nic. p. 536. Diod. p. 140, 141.

DARIUS NOTHUS.

way of props. Theſe beams extended to the length of ſix cubits on each ſide of the veſſel, both within and without. By this they hoped to gain the advantage over the gallies of the Athenians, which did not dare, becauſe of the weakneſs of their prows, to attack an enemy in front, but only in flank; not to mention, that ſhould the battle be fought in the harbour, they would not have room to ſpread themſelves, nor to paſs between two gallies, in which lay their greateſt art; nor to tack about, after they ſhould have been repulſed, in order to return to the charge; whereas the Syracuſans, by their being maſters of the whole extent of the harbour, would have all theſe advantages, and might reciprocally aſſiſt one another. On theſe circumſtances the latter founded their hopes of victory.

Gylippus therefore firſt drew all the infantry out of the camp, and advanced towards that part of the contravallation of the Athenians which faced the city; whilſt the troops of Olympia marched towards the other, and their gallies ſet ſail.

Nicias did not care to venture a ſecond battle, ſaying, that as he expected a freſh fleet every moment, and a great re-inforcement under Demoſthenes, it would betray the greateſt want of judgement, ſhould he, as his troops were inferior in number to thoſe of the enemy, and already fatigued, hazard a battle without being forced to it. On the contrary, Menander and Euthydemus, who had juſt before been appointed to ſhare the command with Nicias till the arrival of Demoſthenes, fired with ambition, and jealous of thoſe generals, were eager to perform ſome great exploit, to bereave the one of his glory, and, if poſſible, eclipſe that of the other. The pretence they alledged on this occaſion was the fame and reputation of Athens; and they aſſerted with ſo much vehemence, that it would be entirely deſtroyed ſhould they ſhun the battle, as the Syracuſans offered it them, that they at laſt forced Nicias to a compliance.

ance. The Athenians had ſeventy-five gallies, and the Syracuſans eighty. DARIUS NOTHUS.

The firſt day the fleets continued in ſight of each other, in the great harbour, without engaging; and only a few ſkirmiſhes paſſed, after which both parties retired; and it was juſt the ſame with the land-forces. The Syracuſans did not make the leaſt motion the ſecond day. Nicias, taking advantage of this inactivity, cauſed the tranſports to draw up in a line, at ſome diſtance from one another, in order that his gallies might retire behind them with ſafety, in caſe he ſhould be defeated. On the morrow, the Syracuſans came up ſooner than uſual, when a great part of the day was ſpent in ſkirmiſhing, after which they retired. The Athenians did not ſuppoſe they would return, but imagined that fear had made them fly: But having refreſhed themſelves in great diligence, and returning on board their gallies, they attacked the Athenians, who were far from expecting them. The latter being now forced to return immediately on board their ſhips, they entered them in great diſorder, ſo that they had not time to draw them up in a line of battle, and moſt of the ſailors were faſting. Victory did not long continue in ſuſpence. The Athenians, after making a ſhort and ſlight reſiſtance, retired behind their line of tranſport ſhips. The enemy purſued them thither, and were ſtopped by the ſailyards of thoſe ſhips, to which were fixed * dolphins of lead, which, being very heavy, had they fallen on the enemy's gallies, would have ſunk them at once. The Athenians loſt ſeven gallies in this engagement, and a great number of ſoldiers were either killed or taken priſoners.

(q) This loſs threw Nicias into the utmoſt conſternation. All the misfortunes he had met with, ever ſince the time he had firſt enjoyed the ſupreme command, came into his mind; and he now is involved in

(q) Thucyd. l. vii. p. 513—518. Plut. in Nic. p. 537. Diod. p. 141, 142.

* *This engine, ſo violent was its motion, broke through a galley from the deck to the hold.*

DARIUS NOTHUS. in a greater than any of them, by his complying with the advice of his colleagues. Whilſt he was revolving theſe gloomy ideas, Demoſthenes's fleet was ſeen coming forward in great pomp, and with ſuch an air as ſhould fill the enemy with dread: It was now the day after the battle. This fleet conſiſted of ſeventy-three gallies, on board of which were five thouſand fighting men, and about three thouſand archers, ſlingers, and bowmen. All theſe gallies were richly trimmed; their prows being adorned with ſhining ſtreamers, manned with ſtout rowers, commanded by good officers, and echoing with the ſound of clarions and trumpets; Demoſthenes having affected an air of pomp and triumph, purpoſely to ſtrike terrour into the enemy.

This gallant fight alarmed them indeed beyond expreſſion. They did not ſee any end, or even the leaſt ſuſpenſion of their calamities: All they had hitherto done or ſuffered was as nothing, and their work was to begin again. What hopes could they entertain of being able to weary out the patience of the Athenians, ſince, though they had a camp intrenched in the middle of Attica, they were however able to ſend a ſecond army into Sicily, as conſiderable as the former; and that their power, as well as their courage, ſeemed, notwithſtanding all their loſſes, inſtead of diminſhing to increaſe daily?

Demoſthenes having made an exact enquiry into the ſtate of things, imagined that it would not be proper for him to loſe time as Nicias had done, who, having ſpread an univerſal terrour at his firſt arrival, became afterwards the object of contempt, for his having wintered in Catana, inſtead of going directly to Syracuſe; and had afterwards given Gylippus an opportunity of throwing troops into it. He flattered himſelf with the hopes, that he ſhould be able to carry the city at the firſt attack, by taking advantage of the alarm which the news of his arrival would ſpread in every part of it, and by that means ſhould immediately put an end to the war: Otherwiſe he intended

intended to raiſe the ſiege, and no longer harraſs and leſſen the troops by fighting battles never deciſive; nor quite exhauſt the city of Athens, by employing its treaſures in needleſs expenſes. DARIUS NOTHUS.

Nicias, terrified by this bold and precipitate reſolution of Demoſthenes, conjured him not to be ſo haſty, but to take time to weigh things deliberately, that he might have no cauſe to repent of what he ſhould do. He obſerved to him, that the enemy would be ruined by delays; that their proviſions as well as money were entirely exhauſted; that their allies were going to abandon them; that they muſt ſoon be reduced to ſuch extremity, for want of proviſions, as would force them to ſurrender, as they had before reſolved: For there were certain perſons in Syracuſe who held a ſecret correſpondence with Nicias, and exhorted him not to be impatient, becauſe the Syracuſans were tired with the war and with Gylippus; and that ſhould the neceſſity to which they were reduced be ever ſo little increaſed, they would ſurrender at diſcretion.

As Nicias did not explain himſelf clearly, and would not declare in expreſs terms, that ſure and certain advices were ſent him of whatever was tranſacted in the city, his remonſtrances were conſidered as an effect of the timidity and ſlowneſs with which he had always been reproached. "Such," ſaid they, "are his uſual protraction, delays, diſtruſts, and fearful precaution, whereby he has deadened all the vivacity, and extinguiſhed all the ardour of the troops, in not marching them immediately againſt the enemy; but, on the contrary, by deferring to attack them, till his own forces were weakened and deſpiſed." This made the reſt of the generals and all the officers come over to Demoſthenes's opinion, and Nicias himſelf was at laſt forced to acquieſce with it.

Demoſthenes, after having attacked to no purpoſe the wall which cut the contravallation of the beſiegers, confined himſelf to the attack of Epipolæ, from a

DARIUS NOTHUS. ſuppoſition that ſhould he once be maſter of it, the wall would be quite undefended. He therefore took proviſions for five days, with workmen, implements, and every thing neceſſary for him to defend that poſt after he ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of it. As there was no going up to it in the day-time undiſcovered, he marched thither in the night with all his forces, followed by Eurymedon and Menander; Nicias ſtaying behind to guard the camp. They went up by the way of Euryelus, as before, unperceived by the ſentinels; attack the firſt intrenchment, and ſtorm it, after killing part of thoſe who defended it. Demoſthenes, not ſatisfied with this advantage, to prevent the ardour of his ſoldiers from cooling, and not delay the execution of his deſign, marches forward. During this interval, the forces of the city, ſuſtained by Gylippus, march under arms out of the intrenchments. Being ſeiſed with aſtoniſhment, which the darkneſs of the night increaſed, they were immediately repulſed and put to flight. But as the Athenians advanced in diſorder, to force whatever might reſiſt their arms, leſt the enemy might rally again, ſhould time be allowed them to breathe and recover from their ſurpriſe, they are ſtopped on a ſudden by the Bœotians, who make a vigorous ſtand, and marching againſt the Athenians with their pikes preſented, they repulſe them with great ſhouts, and make a dreadful ſlaughter. This ſpreads an univerſal terrour through the reſt of the army. Thoſe who fled either force along ſuch as were advancing to their aſſiſtance, or elſe, miſtaking them for enemies, turn their arms againſt them. They now were all mixed indiſcriminately, it being impoſſible to diſcover objects in the horrours of a night, which was not ſo gloomy as entirely to make objects imperceptible, nor yet light enough to diſtinguiſh thoſe which were ſeen. The Athenians ſought for one another to no purpoſe; and from their often aſking the *word*, by which only they were able to know one another, a ſtrange confuſion of ſounds was heard, which occaſioned

occaſioned no little diſorder; not to mention that they, by this means, divulged the word to the enemy, and could not learn theirs; becauſe by their being together and in a body, they had no occaſion to repeat it. In the mean time, thoſe who were purſued threw themſelves from the top of the rocks, and many were daſhed to pieces by the fall; and as moſt of thoſe who eſcaped ſtraggled from one another up and down the fields and woods, they were cut to pieces the next day by the enemy's horſe, who purſued them. Two thouſand Athenians were ſlain in this engagement, and a great number of arms were taken; thoſe who fled having thrown them away, that they might be the better able to eſcape over the precipices. DARIUS NOTHUS.

SECT. XIV. *The conſternation with which the Athenians are ſeiſed. They again hazard a ſea-fight, and are defeated. They reſolve to retire by land. Being cloſe purſued by the Syracuſans, they ſurrender.* NICIAS *and* DEMOSTHENES *are ſentenced to die, and executed. The effect which the news of the defeat of the army produces in Athens.*

(r) THE Athenian generals, after ſuſtaining ſo great a loſs, were in a prodigious dilemma, and did not know how to act in the preſent diſcouragement and deſpair of the troops who died daily, either by the diſeaſes of the autumn, or by the bad air of the fens near which they were encamped. Demoſthenes was of opinion that it would be proper for them to leave the country immediately, ſince they had been unſucceſsful in ſo important an enterpriſe; eſpecially as the ſeaſon was not too far advanced for ſailing; and that they had ſhips enough to force a paſſage, in caſe the enemy ſhould diſpute it with them. He declared, that it would be of much greater advantage to oblige the enemy to raiſe their blockade of Athens, than for them to continue that of Syracuſe, by which they exhauſted themſelves to no purpoſe;

(r) Thucyd. l. vii. p. 511—520. Plut. in Nic. p. 538—542. Diod. p. 142.

DARIUS NOTHUS. purpoſe; that he was certain they would not be reinforced by a new army; and that they could not hope to overcome the enemy with the weak one under their command.

Nicias was ſenſible that the arguments his colleague uſed were very juſt, and he himſelf was of his opinion: But at the ſame time he was afraid, leſt ſo publick a confeſſion of the weak condition to which they were reduced, and their reſolution to leave Sicily (the report of which would certainly reach the enemy) ſhould complete the ruin of their affairs; and perhaps make them unable to execute their reſolution when they ſhould attempt it. Beſides, they had ſome little hopes left that the beſieged, being themſelves reduced to great extremity by their abſolute want of proviſions and money, would at laſt be inclined to ſurrender upon honourable terms. Thus, although he was in reality uncertain and wavering, he inſinuated, that he did not care to quit Sicily, till the Athenians ſhould have firſt ſent orders for that purpoſe; and that otherwiſe they would be highly diſpleaſed: That as thoſe who were to judge them had not been eye-witneſſes of the ſtate of things, they would be of a different opinion; and, at the inſtigation of ſome orator, certainly condemn them: That moſt of thoſe men, who now exclaimed with the greateſt vehemence againſt the difficulties they laboured under, would then change their note, and accuſe them of having been bribed to raiſe the ſiege: That knowing ſo well, as he did, the diſpoſition and character of the Athenians, he choſe to die glorioufly by the enemy's ſword, rather than be ignominiouſly condemned by his fellow-citizens.

Theſe reaſons, though they appeared very ſtrong, were not yet able to convince Demoſthenes; and it was ſtill his opinion, that the only good choice they could make would be to retire. However, as he had been unſucceſsful in his former opinion, he was afraid of inſiſting upon this; and he was the more inclined to come into that of Nicias, from imagining, with

with many others, that this general might have some ſecret reſource, as he was ſo firmly reſolved to ſtay. DARIUS NOTHUS.

(s) Gylippus, after having made the tour of Sicily, had brought a great body of troops with him. This new re-inforcement terrified the Athenians exceedingly, whoſe army diminiſhed daily by ſickneſs; and they now began to repent their not having raiſed the ſiege, eſpecially as the beſieged were preparing to attack them both by ſea and land. Beſides Nicias no longer oppoſed this reſolution, and only deſired to have it kept ſecret. Orders were therefore given, as privately as poſſible, for the fleet to prepare for ſetting ſail with the utmoſt expedition.

When all things were ready, the moment they were going to ſet ſail (wholly unſuſpected by the enemy, who were far from ſurmiſing they would leave Sicily ſo ſoon) the moon was ſuddenly eclipſed in the middle of the night, and loſt all its ſplendour; which terrified Nicias and the whole army, who, from ignorance and ſuperſtition, were aſtoniſhed at ſo ſudden a change, the cauſes of which they did not know, and therefore dreaded the conſequences of it. They then conſulted the ſoothſayers; and who being equally unacquainted with the reaſons of this phænomenon, only augmented their conſternation. It was the cuſtom, after ſuch accidents had happened, to ſuſpend their enterpriſe but for three days. The ſoothſayers pronounced, that he muſt not ſet ſail till three times nine days were paſt (theſe are Thucydides's words) which doubtleſs was a myſterious number in the opinion of the people. Nicias ſcrupulous to a fault, and full of a miſtaken veneration for theſe blind interpreters of the will of the gods, declared that he would wait a whole revolution of the moon, and not return till the ſame day of the next month; as if he had not ſeen the planet very clearly, the

(s) Thucyd. l. vii. p. 521—548. Plut. in Nic. p. 538. Diod. l. xiii. p. 142—161.

DARIUS NOTHUS.

inſtant it had emerged from that part which was darkened by the interpoſition of the earth's body.

But he was not allowed time for this. The news of the intended departure of the Athenians being ſoon ſpread over the city, a reſolution was taken to attack the beſiegers both by ſea and land. The Syracuſans began the firſt day by attacking the intrenchments, and gained a ſlight advantage over the enemy. On the morrow they made a ſecond attack; and at the ſame time ſailed with ſeventy-ſix gallies againſt eighty-ſix of the Athenians. Eurymedon, who commanded the right of the Athenian fleet, having ſpread along the ſhore to ſurround them, this movement proved fatal to him: For, as he was detached from the body of the fleet, the Syracuſans, after forcing the main battle, which was in the centre, attacked him; drove him vigorouſly into the gulf called Daſcon, and there defeated him entirely. Eurymedon loſt his life in the engagement. They afterwards gave chaſe to the reſt of the gallies, and run them againſt the ſhore. Gylippus, who commanded the land-army, ſeeing the Athenian gallies were forced aground, and not able to return into their ſtaccado, landed with part of his troops, in order to charge the ſoldiers, in caſe they ſhould be forced to run aſhore; and to give his friends the more room to tow ſuch gallies as they ſhould have taken. However, he was repulſed by the Tyrrhenians, who were poſted on that ſide; and obliged by the Athenians, who flew to ſuſtain them, to retire with ſome loſs as far as the moor called Lyſimelia, which lay near it. The latter ſaved moſt of their ſhips, eighteen excepted, which were taken by the Syracuſans, and their crews cut to pieces by them. After this, reſolving to burn the reſt, they filled an old veſſel with combuſtible materials; and having ſet fire to it, they drove it by the help of the wind againſt the Athenians, who nevertheleſs extinguiſhed the fire, and drove off that ſhip.

Each

Each ſide erected trophies: The Syracuſans for the defeat of Eurymedon, and the advantage they had gained the day before: And the Athenians for their having driven part of the enemy into the moor, and put the other part to flight. But the minds of the two nations were very differently diſpoſed. The Syracuſans, who had been thrown into the utmoſt conſternation at the arrival of Demoſthenes with his fleet, ſeeing themſelves victorious in a naval engagement, reſumed freſh hope, and aſſured themſelves of a complete victory over their enemies. The Athenians, on the contrary, fruſtrated of their only reſource, and overcome by ſea ſo contrary to their expectations, entirely loſt courage, and had no thoughts but of retiring. DARIUS NOTHUS.

The enemy, to deprive them of all reſource and prevent their eſcaping, ſhut the mouth of the great harbour, which was about five hundred paces wide, with gallies placed croſswiſe, and other veſſels fixed with anchors and iron chains; and at the ſame time made the requiſite preparation for the battle, in caſe they ſhould have courage to engage again. When the Athenians ſaw themſelves thus hemmed in, the generals and principal officers aſſembled, in order to deliberate on the preſent ſtate of affairs. They were in abſolute want of proviſions, which was owing to their having forbid the people of Catana to bring any, from the hopes they entertained of their being able to retire; and they could not procure any from other places, unleſs they were maſters of the ſea. This made them reſolve to venture a ſea-fight. In this view they were determined to leave their old camp, and their walls, which extended to the temple of Hercules; and to intrench themſelves on the ſhore, near their ſhips, in the ſmalleſt compaſs poſſible. Their deſign was to leave ſome forces in that place to guard their baggage and the ſick; and to fight with the reſt on board all the ſhips they ſhould have ſaved. They intended to retire into Catana, in caſe they ſhould be victorious; otherwiſe, to ſet fire to

DARIUS NOTHUS. their ſhips, and to march by land to the neareſt city belonging to their allies.

This reſolution being taken, Nicias immediately filled an hundred and ten gallies (the others having loſt their oars) with the flower of his infantry; and drew up the reſt of the forces, particularly the bowmen, in order of battle on the ſhore. As the Athenians dreaded very much the beaks of the Syracuſan gallies, Nicias had provided harping irons to grapple them, in order to break the force of the blow, and to come immediately to cloſe fight, as on ſhore. But the enemy perceiving this, covered the prows and upper part of their gallies with leather, to prevent their being ſo eaſily laid hold of. The commanders on both ſides had employed all their rhetorick to animate their men; and none could ever have been prompted from ſtronger motives; for the battle which was going to be fought, was to determine, not only their lives and liberties, but alſo the fate of their country.

The battle was very obſtinate and bloody. The Athenians being arrived at the mouth of the port, eaſily took thoſe ſhips which defended the enterance of it; but, when they attempted to break the chain of the reſt to widen the paſſage, the enemy came up from all quarters. As near two hundred gallies came ruſhing on each ſide, in a narrow place, there muſt neceſſarily be a very great confuſion; and the veſſels could not eaſily advance forward, or retire, nor turn about to renew the attack. The beaks of the gallies, for this reaſon, did very little execution; but there were very furious and frequent diſcharges. The Athenians were overwhelmed with a ſhower of ſtones, which always did execution from what place ſoever they were thrown; whereas they defended themſelves only by ſhooting darts and arrows, which, by the motion of the ſhips from the agitation of the ſea, did not carry true, and by that means the greateſt part of them did little execution. Ariſton the pilot had given the Syracuſans this counſel. Theſe diſ-

charges

charges being over, the ſoldiers, heavily armed, attempted to enter the enemy's ſhips in order to fight hand to hand: And it often happened, that whilſt they were climbing up one ſide, their own ſhips were entered on the other; and two or three ſhips would be grappled to one, which occaſioned a great perplexity and confuſion. Further, the noiſe of the ſhips that daſhed one againſt the other, the different cries of the victors and vanquiſhed, prevented the orders of the officers from being heard. The Athenians wanted to force a paſſage, whatever might be the conſequence, to ſecure their return into their own country; and this the enemy employed their utmoſt efforts to prevent, in order that they might gain a more complete and more glorious victory. The two land-armies, which were drawn up on the higheſt part of the ſhore, and the inhabitants of the city who were there ran to the walls; whilſt the reſt, kneeling in the temples, were imploring heaven to give ſucceſs to their citizens; all theſe ſaw clearly, becauſe of their little diſtance from the fleets, every thing that paſſed; and contemplated the battle as from an amphitheatre, but not without great anxiety and terrour. Attentive to, and ſhuddering at every movement, and the ſeveral changes which happened; they diſcovered the concern they had in the battle, their fears, their hopes, their grief, their joy, by different cries and different geſtures; ſtretching out their hands, ſometimes towards the combatants to animate them, and at other times towards heaven, to implore the ſuccour and protection of the gods. At laſt, the Athenian fleet, after ſuſtaining a long battle and a vigorous reſiſtance, was put to flight, and driven againſt the ſhore. The Syracuſans, who were ſpectators of this victory, conveyed to the whole city, by an univerſal ſhout, the news of this victory. The victors, now maſters of the ſea, and ſailing with a favourable wind towards Syracuſe, erected a trophy; whilſt the Athenians, who were quite dejected and over-powered, did not ſo much as requeſt that their dead ſoldiers might be delivered

DARIUS NOTHUS.

to

DARIUS NOTHUS. to them, in order to pay the laſt ſad duty to their remains.

There now remained but two methods for them to chooſe; either to attempt the paſſage a ſecond time, for which they had ſhips and ſoldiers ſufficient, or to abandon their fleet to the enemy, and retire by land. Demoſthenes propoſed the former; but the ſailors, in the deepeſt affliction, refuſed to obey, fully perſuaded that it would be impoſſible for them to ſuſtain a ſecond engagement. The ſecond method was therefore reſolved upon, and accordingly they prepared to ſet out in the night, to conceal the march of their army from the enemy.

But Hermocrates, who ſuſpected their deſign, was very ſenſible that it was of the utmoſt importance not to ſuffer ſo great a body of forces to eſcape; ſince they otherwiſe might fortify themſelves in ſome corner of the iſland, and renew the war. The Syracuſans were at that time in the midſt of their feſtivity and rejoicings; and meditating nothing but how they might beſt divert themſelves after the toils they had ſuſtained in fight. They were then ſolemniſing the feſtival of Hercules. To deſire the Syracuſans to take up arms again, in order to purſue the enemy; and to attempt to draw them from their diverſions either by force or perſuaſion, would have been to no purpoſe; for which reaſon another expedient was employed. Hermocrates ſent out a few horſemen, who were to paſs for friends of the Athenians, and ordered them to cry aloud: "Tell Nicias not to re-"tire till day-light; for the Syracuſans lie in ambuſh "for him, and have ſeiſed on the paſſes." This falſe advice ſtopped Nicias at once; and he did not even ſet out the next day, in order that the ſoldiers might have more time to prepare for their departure; and carry off whatever might be neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence, and abandon the reſt.

The enemy had time enough for ſeiſing the avenues. The next morning early they poſſeſſed themſelves of the moſt difficult paſſes, fortified thoſe

places where the rivers were fordable, broke down the bridges, and ſpread detachments of horſe up and down the plain; ſo that there was not one place through which the Athenians could paſs without fighting. They ſet out upon their march the third day after the battle, with deſign to retire to Catana. The whole army was in inexpreſſible conſternation, to ſee ſuch great numbers of men, either dead or dying, ſome of whom were left expoſed to wild beaſts, and the reſt to the cruelty of the enemy. Thoſe who were ſick and wounded conjured them with tears to take them along with the army, and held by their clothes when they were going; or elſe, dragging themſelves after them, followed them as far as their ſtrength would permit; and, when this failed, they had recourſe to tears, ſighs, imprecations; and ſending up towards heaven plaintive and dying groans, they called upon the gods as well as men to avenge their cruelty, whilſt every place echoed with lamentations. DARIUS NOTHUS.

The whole army was in as deplorable a condition. All men were ſeiſed with the deepeſt melancholy. They were inwardly tortured with rage and anguiſh, when they repreſented to themſelves the greatneſs from which they were fallen, the extreme miſery to which they were reduced, and the ſtill greater evils from which they foreſaw it would be impoſſible for them to eſcape. They could not bear the compariſon for ever preſent in their thoughts, of the triumphant ſtate in which they had left Athens, in the midſt of the good wiſhes and acclamations of the people; with the ignominy of their retreat, aggravated by the cries and imprecations of their relations and fellow-citizens.

But the moſt melancholy part of the ſpectacle and that which moſt deſerved compaſſion, was Nicias. Dejected and worn out by a tedious illneſs; deprived of the moſt neceſſary things, at a time when his age and infirmities required them moſt; pierced, not only with his private grief, but with that of others, all which preyed upon his heart; this great man, ſuperior

Darius Notus. ſuperior to all his evils, thought of nothing but how he might beſt comfort his ſoldiers, and revive their courage. He ran up and down in all places, crying aloud, that matters were not yet deſperate, and that other armies had eſcaped from greater dangers; that they ought not to accuſe themſelves, or grieve too immoderately, for misfortunes which they had not occaſioned; that if they had offended ſome god, his vengeance muſt be ſatiated by this time; that fortune, after having ſo long favoured the enemy, would at laſt be tired of perſecuting them; that their bravery and their numbers made them ſtill formidable (being ſtill near forty thouſand ſtrong;) that no city in Sicily would be able to withſtand them, nor prevent their ſettling wherever they might think proper; that they had no more to do, but to take care ſeverally of themſelves, and march in good order; that by a prudent and courageous retreat, which was now become their only reſource, they would not only ſave themſelves, but alſo their country, and enable it to recover its former grandeur.

The army marched in two bodies, both drawn up in the form of a phalanx; the firſt being commanded by Nicias, and the ſecond by Demoſthenes, with the baggage in the centre. Being come to the river Anapis, they forced the paſſage, and afterwards were charged by all the enemy's cavalry, as well as archers, who diſcharged perpetually upon them. They were annoyed in this manner during ſeveral days march; every one of the paſſes being guarded, and the Athenians being obliged to diſpute every inch of their way. The enemy did not care to hazard a battle againſt an army which deſpair alone might render invincible; and, the inſtant the Athenians preſented the Syracuſans battle the latter retired; but whenever the former would proceed in their march, they advanced and charged them in their retreat.

Demoſthenes and Nicias, ſeeing the miſerable condition to which the troops were reduced, being in extreme want of proviſions, and great numbers of them wounded,

wounded, judged it adviſeable to retire towards the ſea, by a quite contrary way from that in which they then marched, and to make directly for Camarina and Gela, inſtead of proceeding to Catana as they firſt intended. They ſet out in the night, after lighting a great number of fires. The retreat was made in great confuſion and diſorder, as generally happens to great armies in the gloomy horrours of the night, eſpecially when the enemy is not far off. However, the van-guard, commanded by Nicias, came forward in good order; but above half the rear-guard, with Demoſthenes at their head, quitted from the main body, and loſt their way. On the next day the Syracuſans, who, on the report of their retreat, had marched with the utmoſt diligence, came up with him about noon; and having ſurrounded him with their horſe, they drove him into a narrow place encloſed with a wall, where his ſoldiers fought like lions. Perceiving, at the cloſe of the day, that they were oppreſſed with the fatigue, and covered with wounds, they gave the iſlanders leave to retire, which ſome of them accepted and afterwards ſpared the lives of the reſt, who ſurrendered at diſcretion with Demoſthenes, after having ſtipulated that they ſhould not be put to death, nor ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment. About ſix thouſand ſoldiers ſurrendered on theſe conditions. DARIUS NOTHUS.

Nicias arrived at the ſame evening at the river Erineus, and paſſing it, encamped on a mountain, where the enemy came up with him the next day, and ſummoned him to ſurrender at diſcretion, as Demoſthenes had done. Nicias could not perſuade himſelf at firſt, that what they told him concerning that general was true, and therefore deſired leave to ſend ſome horſe for information. Upon their returning with the news that Demoſthenes had really ſurrendered in that manner, Nicias offered to pay the expences of the war, upon condition that they would permit him to leave the country with his forces, and to give as many Athenians for hoſtages, as they ſhould be obliged

DARIUS NOTHUS.

liged to pay talents. But the enemy rejected this propoſal with diſdain and inſolence, and renewed the attack. Nicias, though in abſolute want of all things, however ſuſtained the charge the whole night, and marched towards the river Aſinarus. When they were got to the banks of it, the Syracuſans advancing up to them, threw moſt of them into the ſtream; the reſt having already plunged voluntarily into it to quench their thirſt. Here the greateſt and moſt bloody havock was made, the poor wretches being butchered without the leaſt pity as they were drinking. Nicias, finding all loſt, and unable to bear this diſmal ſpectacle, ſurrendered at diſcretion; upon condition that Gylippus ſhould diſcontinue the fight, and ſpare the reſt of his army. A great number were killed, and more taken priſoners, ſo that all Sicily was filled with them. (*t*) The Athenians ſeemed to have been diſpleaſed with their general, for ſurrendering in this manner at diſcretion; and, for this reaſon, his name was omitted in a publick monument, on which was engraved the names of thoſe commanders who had loſt their lives in fighting for their country.

The victors adorned with the arms taken from the priſoners the fineſt and largeſt trees they could find on the banks of the rivers, and made a kind of trophies of thoſe trees, when crowning themſelves with chaplets of flowers, dreſſing their horſes in the richeſt capariſons, and cropping thoſe of their enemies, they entered triumphantly into Syracuſe, after having happily terminated the moſt conſiderable war in which they had ever been engaged with the Greeks; and won, by their ſtrength and valour, a moſt ſignal and moſt complete victory. The next day a council was held, to deliberate on what was to be done with the priſoners. Diocles, one of the leaders of greateſt authority among the people, propoſed, That all the Athenians who were born of free parents, and all ſuch Sicilians as had joined with them, ſhould be impriſoned,

(*t*) Pauſan. l. i. p. 56.

impriſoned, and only two meaſures of flour, and one of water, given them daily; that the ſlaves and all the allies ſhould be publickly ſold; and that the two Athenian generals ſhould be firſt ſcourged with rods, and afterwards put to death. DARIUS NOTHUS.

(*u*) This laſt article was exceedingly diſliked by all wiſe and compaſſionate Syracuſans. Hermocrates, who was very famous for his probity and juſtice, attempted to make ſome remonſtrances to the people, but they would not hear him; and the ſhouts which echoed on all ſides, prevented him from continuing his ſpeech. At that inſtant an * ancient man, venerable for his great age and gravity, who, in this war, had loſt two ſons, the only heirs to his name and eſtate, made his ſervants carry him to the tribunal for harangues, and the inſtant he appeared a profound ſilence was made. "You here behold," ſays he, "an "unfortunate father, who has felt, more than any "other Syracuſan, the fatal effects of this war by the "death of two ſons, who formed all the conſolation, "and were the only ſupports of my old age. I cannot, indeed, forbear admiring their courage and "felicity, in ſacrificing, to their country's welfare, a "life of which they would one day have been deprived by the common courſe of nature: But then "I cannot but be ſtrongly affected with the cruel "wound which their death has made in my heart; "nor forbear hating and deteſting the Athenians, the "authors of this unhappy war, as the murtherers of "my children. But, however, I cannot conceal one "circumſtance, which is, that I am leſs ſenſible to "my private affliction, than to the honour of my "country: And I ſee it expoſed to eternal infamy "by the barbarous advice which is now given you. "The Athenians indeed merit the worſt treatment, "and every kind of puniſhment that could be inflicted on them, for ſo unjuſtly declaring war "againſt us; but have not the gods, the juſt "avengers

(*u*) Diod l. xiii. p. 149—161.

* *Nicolaus.*

DARIUS NOTHUS. "avengers of crimes, puniſhed them and revenged us "ſufficiently? When their generals laid down their "arms, and ſurrendered, did they not do this in "the hopes of having their lives ſpared? And, if "we put them to death, will it be poſſible for us to "avoid the juſt reproach of our having violated the "law of nations, and diſhonoured our victory by an "unheard-of cruelty? How! Will you ſuffer your "glory to be thus ſullied in the face of the whole "world; and have it ſaid, that a nation, who firſt "dedicated a temple in their city to clemency, had "not found any in your's? Surely victories and tri-"umph do not give immortal glory to a city; but "the exerciſing mercy towards a vanquiſhed enemy, "the uſing moderation in the greateſt proſperity, "and fearing to offend the gods by a haughty and "inſolent pride. You doubtleſs have not forgot "that this Nicias, whoſe fate you are going to pro-"nounce, was the very man who pleaded your cauſe "in the aſſembly of the Athenians; and employed "all his credit, and the whole power of his eloquence, "to diſſuade his country from embarking in this war. "Should you therefore pronounce ſentence of death "on this worthy general, would it be a juſt reward "for the zeal he ſhowed for your intereſt? With "regard to myſelf, death would be leſs grievous to "me, than the ſight of ſo horrid an injuſtice, com-"mitted by my countrymen and fellow-citizens."

The people ſeemed moved to compaſſion at this ſpeech, eſpecially, as, when this venerable old man firſt aſcended, they expected to hear him cry aloud for vengeance on thoſe who had brought all his calamities upon him, inſtead of ſueing for their pardon. But the enemies of the Athenians having expatiated, with vehemence, on the unheard of cruelties which their republick had exerciſed on ſeveral cities belonging to their enemies, and even to their ancient allies; the inveteracy which their commanders had ſhown againſt Syracuſe, and the evils they would have made it ſuffer had they been victorious; the afflictions and groans

groans of infinite numbers of Syracuſans, who bewailed the death of their children and near relations, whoſe manes could be appeaſed no other way than by the blood of their murtherers: On theſe repreſentations, the people returned to their ſanguinary reſolution, and followed Diocles's advice in every reſpect. Gylippus uſed his utmoſt endeavours, but in vain, to have Nicias and Demoſthenes given up to him (eſpecially as he had taken them) in order for him to carry them to Lacedæmon. But his demand was rejected with a haughty ſcorn, and the two generals were put to death. DARIUS NOTHUS.

All wiſe and compaſſionate men could not forbear ſhedding tears for the tragical fate of two ſuch illuſtrious perſonages; and particularly for Nicias, who, of all men of his time, ſeemed leaſt to merit ſo ignominious and untimely an end. When people recollected the ſpeeches and remonſtrances he had made to prevent this war; and, on the other ſide, when they conſidered how high a regard he had always retained for things relating to religion; the greateſt part of them were tempted to exclaim againſt Providence, in ſeeing that a man, who had ever ſhown the higheſt reverence for the gods, and had always exerted himſelf to the utmoſt for their honour and worſhip, ſhould be ſo ill rewarded by them, and meet with no better fate than the moſt abandoned wretches. But it is no wonder that the calamities of good men ſhould inſpire the heathens with ſuch thoughts, and make them murmur and deſpond; ſince they did not know the holineſs of the Divine Being, nor the corruption of human nature.

The priſoners were ſhut up in the mines *(priſons of Syracuſe)* where, crouded, one upon the other, they ſuffered incredible torments for eight months. Here they were for ever expoſed to the inclemencies of the weather; ſcorched, in the day-time, by the burning rays of the ſun, or frozen, in the night, by the colds of autumn; poiſoned by the ſtench of their own excrements, by the carcaſſes of thoſe who died

DARIUS NOTHUS.

of their wounds and of ſickneſs; in fine, worn out by hunger and thirſt, for their daily allowance to each was but a ſmall meaſure of water, and two of meal. Thoſe who were taken out of this place two months after, in order to be ſold as ſlaves (many of whom were citizens who had concealed their condition) found a leſs rigorous fate. Their wiſdom, their patience, and a certain air of probity and modeſty, were of great advantage to them; for, they were ſoon reſtored to their liberty, or met with the kindeſt and moſt generous treatment from their maſters. Several of them even owed the good uſage they met with to Euripides, the fineſt ſcenes of whoſe tragedies they repeated to the Sicilians, who were extremely fond of them; ſo that when they returned to their own country they went and ſaluted that poet as their deliverer; and informed him of the admirable effects wrought in their favour by his verſes.

(*x*) The news of the defeat being carried to Athens, the citizens would not believe it at firſt; and were ſo far from giving credit to it, that they ſentenced that man to death who had firſt publiſhed it. But when it was confirmed, all the Athenians were ſeiſed with the utmoſt conſternation; and as if themſelves had not decreed the war, they vented their rage and reſentment againſt the orators who had promoted the enterpriſe, as well as againſt the ſoothſayers, who, by their oracles or ſuppoſed prodigies, had flattered them with the hopes of ſucceſs. They had never been reduced to ſo deplorable a condition as now; having neither horſe, foot, money, gallies, nor mariners; in a word, they were in the deepeſt deſpair, expecting every moment that the enemy, elate with ſo great a victory, and ſtrengthened by the revolt of the allies, would come and invade Athens, both by ſea and land, with all the forces of Peloponneſus. Cicero had reaſon to obſerve *, ſpeaking of the battles

(*x*) Thucyd. l. viii. p. 551—553. Plut. de Garrulit. p. 509.

* Hic primùm opes illius civitatis victæ, comminutæ, depreſſæque ſunt: in hoc portu Athenienſium nobilitatis, imperii, gloriæ naufragium factum exiſtimatur. *Cic. Verrin.* 7. *n.* 97.

battles in the harbour of Syracuſe, that it was there the troops of Athens, as well as their gallies, were ruined and ſunk; and that, in this harbour, the power and glory of the Athenians were miſerably ſhipwrecked. DARIUS NOTHUS.

The Athenians however did not ſuffer themſelves to be wholly dejected, but reſumed courage. They now reſolved to raiſe money on all ſides, and to import timber for building of ſhips, in order to awe the allies, and particularly the inhabitants of the iſland of Eubœa. They retrenched all ſuperfluous expenſes, and eſtabliſhed a new council of ancient men, who were to weigh and examine all affairs before they ſhould be propoſed to the people. In fine, they omitted nothing which might be of ſervice in the preſent conjuncture; the alarm in which they were in, and their common danger, obliging every individual to be attentive to the neceſſities of the ſtate, and docile to all advice that might promote its intereſts.

The defeat of the army under Nicias was followed by the taking of Athens, of which the ancient form of government was entirely changed by Lyſander.

CHAP. II.

SECT. I. *Conſequences of the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily. Revolt of the allies.* ALCIBIADES *grows into great power with* TISSAPHERNES.

(*a*) THE defeat of the Athenians before Syracuſe gave occaſion for great movements throughout all Greece. The people, who had not yet joined either ſide, and waited to be determined by the event, reſolved to declare againſt them. The allies of the Lacedæmonians believed, that the time was come to deliver them for ever from the expenſes of a war, which lay very heavy upon them, by the ſpeedy and final ruin of Athens. Thoſe of Athens, who followed them only out of conſtraint, ſeeing no appearance of any future reſource for that republick, after the dreadful A. M. 3591. Ant. J. C. 413.

(*a*) Thucyd. l. viii. p. 555.

DARIUS NOTHUS.

dreadful blow it had received, thought it beſt to take the advantage of ſo favourable a conjuncture, for throwing off the yoke of dependence, and reſuming their liberty. Diſpoſitions of this kind inſpired the Lacedæmonians with great views, which were ſupported by the hopes they had conceived, that their Sicilian allies would join them in the ſpring with a naval army, augmented by the ruins of the Athenian fleet.

(*b*) In effect the people of Eubœa, Chio, and Leſbos, with ſeveral others, gave the Lacedæmonians to underſtand, that they were ready to quit the party of the Athenians, if they would take them under their protection. At the ſame time came deputies from Tiſſaphernes and Pharnabaſus. The firſt was governour of Lydia and Ionia, the other of the Helleſpont. Thoſe viceroys of Darius wanted neither application nor zeal for the intereſt of their maſter. Tiſſaphernes, promiſing the Lacedæmonians all the neceſſary expenſes for their troops, preſſed them to arm directly, and to join him; becauſe the Athenian fleet prevented him from levying the uſual contributions in his province; and had put it out of his power to remit thoſe of preceding years to the king. He hoped beſides with that powerful aid to get into his hands with more eaſe a certain nobleman, who had revolted, and whom he had the king's orders to ſend to him dead or alive. This was Amorges the baſtard of Piſſuthna. Pharnabaſus at the ſame time demanded ſhips to reduce the cities of the Helleſpont from their ſubjection to the Athenians; who alſo prevented him from levying the tributes of his government.

The Lacedæmonians thought it proper to begin by ſatisfying Tiſſaphernes; and the credit of Alcibiades contributed very much to the taking that reſolution. He embarked with Calcidæus for Chio, which took arms upon their arrival, and declared for the Lacedæmonians. Upon the news of this revolt, the Athenians reſolved to take the * thouſand talents out of the

(*b*) Thucyd. l. viii. p. 555——558.

* *Three millions of livres.*

the treaſury which had been depoſited there from the beginning of the war, after having repealed the decree which prohibited it. Miletus alſo revolted ſoon after. Tiſſaphernes, having joined his troops with thoſe of Sparta, attacked and took the city of Iaſus, in which (*c*) Amorges had ſhut himſelf up, who was taken alive and ſent into Perſia. That governor gave a month's pay to the whole army, at a drachma or ten-pence a day to each ſoldier, obſerving that he had orders to give them only half that ſum for the future. DARIUS NOTHUS.

(*d*) Calcidæus then made a treaty with Tiſſaphernes, in the name of the Lacedæmonians, of which one of the principal articles was, that all the country which had been ſubject to the king or his predeceſſors, ſhould remain in his hands. It was renewed ſome time after by Theramenes, another general of the Lacedæmonians, with ſome ſmall alterations. But when this treaty came to be examined at Sparta, it was found, that too great conceſſions had been made to the king of Perſia, in giving up all the places held by himſelf or his anceſtors, which was to make him maſter of the greateſt part of Greece, Theſſaly, Locris, and the whole country as far as Bœotia, without mentioning the Iſlands; from whence the Lacedæmonians would appear rather to have enſlaved Greece, than re-eſtabliſhed its liberty. It was therefore neceſſary to make further alterations in it, with which Tiſſaphernes and the other governors made great difficulties to comply. A new treaty was however concluded, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel.

In the mean time, ſeveral cities of Ionia declared for Lacedæmon, to which Alcibiades contributed very much. (*e*) Agis, who was already his enemy in effect of the injury he had done him, could not ſuffer the glory he acquired: For nothing was done without the advice of Alcibiades, and it was generally ſaid, that the ſucceſs of all enterpriſes was owing to him. The moſt powerful and ambitious of the Spartans,

(*c*) Thucyd. l. viii. p. 568. (*d*) Idem. p. 561—571, 572—576.
(*e*) Idem, p. 577—579. Plut in Alcib. p. 164, 165.

DARIUS NOTHUS. from the ſame ſentiments of jealouſy, looked upon him with an evil eye, and at length by their intrigues obliged the principal magiſtrates to ſend orders into Ionia for putting him to death. Alcibiades, being ſecretly appriſed of this order, did not diſcontinue his ſervices to the Lacedæmonians, but kept himſelf ſo well upon his guard, that he avoided all the ſnares which were laid for him.

A. M. 3593. Ant. J. C. 411. For his better ſecurity he threw himſelf into the protection of Tiſſaphernes, the great king's governor at Sardis, and was not long without ſeeing himſelf in the higheſt degree of credit and authority in the court of the Barbarian. For the Perſian, who was full of fraud and artifice, a great friend to knaves and bad men, and ſet no value upon ſimplicity and integrity, infinitely admired the ſmooth addreſs of Alcibiades, the eaſe with which he aſſumed all kind of manners and characters, and his great ability in the conduct of affairs. And indeed there was no heart ſo hard, or temper ſo untractable, as to hold out againſt the graces and charms of his converſation and intimacy. Even thoſe, who feared and envied him moſt, enchanted in a manner by his affable air and engaging behaviour, could not diſſemble the infinite ſatisfaction they felt in ſeeing and converſing with him.

Tiſſaphernes therefore, though otherwiſe very haughty and brutal, and who of all the Perſians hated the Greeks moſt, was ſo much taken with the complacency and inſinuations of Alcibiades, that he gave himſelf wholly up to him, and flattered him more than he was flattered by him: Inſomuch that he gave the name of Alcibiades to the fineſt and moſt delightful of his gardens, as well from the abundance of its fountains and canals, and the verdure of its groves, as the ſurpriſing beauty of its retreats and ſolitudes, which art and nature ſeemed to vie in embelliſhing, and wherein a more than royal magnificence was diſplayed.

Alcibiades, who found there was no longer any ſafety for him in the party of the Spartans, and who always

always apprehended the reſentment of Agis, began to do them ill offices with Tiſſaphernes, to prevent his aiding them with all his forces, and ruining the Athenians entirely. He had no difficulty in bringing the Perſian into his views, which were conformable to his maſter's intereſts, and to the orders he had received from him. For after the famous treaty concluded under Cimon, the kings of Perſia, not daring to attack the Greeks with open force, took other meaſures to ruin them. They endeavoured underhand to excite diviſions amongſt them, and to foment troubles by conſiderable ſums of money, which they found means to convey ſometimes to Athens, and ſometimes to Sparta. They applied themſelves ſo ſucceſsfully to keep up a balance of power between thoſe two republicks, that the one could never entirely reduce the other. They granted them only ſlight aids, that could effect nothing deciſive, in order to undermine them inſenſibly, and exhauſt both parties gradually, by weakening them upon one another. DARIUS NOTHUS.

It is in this kind of conduct, that policy makes the ability of miniſters conſiſt; who from the receſs of their cabinets, without noiſe or emotion, without any great expenſes, or ſetting numerous armies on foot, effect the reduction of the ſtates whoſe power gives them umbrage, either by ſowing domeſtick diviſions amongſt them, or by promoting the jealouſy of their neighbours, in order to ſet them at variance with each other.

We muſt confeſs, however, that this kind of policy gives us no very favourable idea of the kings of Perſia. To reduce themſelves, powerful as they were, to ſuch mean, obſcure, and indirect meaſures, was to confeſs their weakneſs, and how unable they believed themſelves to attack their enemies with open force, and to reduce them by honourable means. Beſides, does it conſiſt with juſtice to employ ſuch methods in regard to people, againſt whom there is no foundation of complaint, who live in peace under the faith of treaties, and whoſe ſole crime is the apprehenſion

DARIUS NOTHUS.

of their being one day in a condition to do hurt? And is it lawful by ſecret corruptions to enſnare the fidelity of ſubjects, and to be the accomplice of their treaſons, by putting arms into their hands againſt their native country?

What glory and renown would not the kings of Perſia have acquired, if content with the vaſt and rich dominions, which Providence had given them, they had applied their good offices, power, and even treaſures, to conciliate the neighbouring people with each other; to remove their jealouſies, to prevent injuſtice and oppreſſion; and if, feared and honoured by them all, they had made themſelves the mediators of their differences, the ſecurity of their peace, and the guarantee of their treaties? Can any conqueſt, however great, be compared with ſuch glory?

Tiſſaphernes acted upon other principles, and had no thought but of preventing the Greeks from being in a condition to attack the Perſians, their common enemy. He entered freely therefore into the views of Alcibiades, and at the ſame time that he declared himſelf openly for the Lacedæmonians, did not fail to aſſiſt the Athenians underhand, and by a thouſand ſecret methods; deferring the payment of the Lacedæmonian fleet, and retarding the arrival of the Phœnician ſhips, of which he had long kept them in hopes. He omitted no occaſion of giving Alcibiades new marks of his friendſhip and eſteem, which rendered that general equally conſiderable to both parties. The Athenians, who had ſadly experienced the effects of having drawn his anger upon them, were not now to repent their paſſing ſentence of condemnation upon him. Alcibiades alſo on his ſide, who was extremely ſorry to ſee the Athenians in ſo mournful a ſituation, began to fear that the city of Athens being entirely ruined, he might fall into the hands of the Spartans, who mortally hated him.

SECT.

SECT. II. *The return of* ALCIBIADES *to Athens negociated upon condition of eſtabliſhing the Ariſtocratical, in the room of the Democratical, government.* TISSAPHERNES *concludes a new treaty with the Lacedæmonians.*

(*f*) THE Athenians were intent upon nothing ſo much as Samos, where they had all their forces. From thence with their fleet they reduced all the cities that had abandoned them under their obedience, kept the reſt in their duty (*g*), and found themſelves ſtill in a condition to make head againſt their enemies, over whom they had obtained ſeveral advantages. But they were afraid of Tiſſaphernes, and the hundred and fifty Phœnician ſhips which he hourly expected; and rightly perceived, that if ſo powerful a fleet ſhould join the enemy, there was no longer any ſafety for their city. Alcibiades, who was well informed of all that paſſed among the Athenians, ſent ſecretly to the principal of them at Samos, to ſound their ſentiments, and to let them know that he was not averſe to returning to Athens, provided the adminiſtration of the republick were put into the hands of the great and powerful, and not left to the populace, who had expelled him. Some of the principal officers went from Samos, with deſign to concert with him the proper meaſures for the ſucceſs of that undertaking. He promiſed to procure the Athenians not only the favour of Tiſſaphernes, but of the king himſelf, upon condition they would aboliſh the democracy or popular government; becauſe the king would place more confidence in the engagements of the nobility, than upon thoſe of the inconſtant and capricious multitude. DARIUS NOTHUS.

The deputies lent a willing ear to theſe propoſals, and conceived great hopes of diſcharging themſelves from part of the publick impoſitions, becauſe being the richeſt of the people, the burthen lay heavieſt upon them, and of making their country triumph after having poſſeſſed themſelves of the government. At their

(*f*) Thucyd. l. viii. p. 579—587. (*g*) Plut. in Alcib. p. 204—206.

DARIUS NOTHUS.

their return, they began by bringing over ſuch as were moſt proper to ſhare in their deſign: after which they cauſed a report to be ſpread amongſt the troops, that the king was inclined to declare in favour of the Athenians, upon condition that Alcibiades were re-inſtated, and the popular government aboliſhed. That propoſal ſurpriſed the ſoldiers, and was generally rejected at firſt; but the charm of gain, and the hope of a change to their advantage, ſoon ſoftened what was harſh and ſhocking in it, and even made them ardently deſire the recall of Alcibiades.

Phrynicus, one of their generals, rightly judging that Alcibiades affected an oligarchy no more than he did the democracy, and that in decrying the people's conduct, he had no other view than to acquire the favour and confidence of the nobility for his own reeſtabliſhment, had the boldneſs to oppoſe their reſolutions, which were about to take place. He repreſented, that the change they meditated might very probably excite a civil war to the ruin of the ſtate; that it was very unlikely that the king of Perſia would prefer the alliance of the Athenians to that of the Spartans, ſo much more advantageous to him; that this change would not retain the allies in their duty, nor bring over thoſe who had renounced it, who would perſiſt in preferring their liberty; that the government of a ſmall number of rich and powerful perſons would not be more favourable to either the citizens or allies, than that of the people, becauſe ambition was the great cauſe of all misfortunes in a republick, and the rich were the ſole promoters of all troubles for the aggrandiſing of themſelves; that a ſtate ſuffered more oppreſſions and violences under the rule of the nobility, than that of the people, whoſe authority kept the former within due bounds, and was the aſylum of ſuch as they deſired to oppreſs; that the allies were too well acquainted with theſe truths from their own experience, to want any leſſons upon the ſubject.

Theſe remonſtrances, as wiſe as they were, had no effect. Piſander was ſent to Athens with ſome of the ſame

ſame faction, to propoſe the return of Alcibiades, the alliance of Tiſſaphernes, and the abolition of the democracy. They repreſented, that by changing the government, and recalling Alcibiades, Athens might obtain a powerful aid from the king of Perſia, which would be a certain means to triumph over Sparta. Upon this propoſal great numbers exclaimed againſt it, and eſpecially the enemies of Alcibiades. They alledged, amongſt other reaſons, the imprecations pronounced by the prieſts, and all the orders of religion, againſt him, and even againſt ſuch as ſhould propoſe to recall him. But Piſander, advancing into the midſt of the aſſembly, demanded, whether they knew any other means to ſave the republick in the deplorable condition to which it was reduced: And as it was admitted there were none, he added, that the preſervation of the ſtate was the queſtion, and not the authority of the laws, which might be provided for in the ſequel; but at preſent there was no other method for the attainment of the king's friendſhip and that of Tiſſaphernes. Though this change was very offenſive to the people, they gave their conſent to it at length, with the hope of re-eſtabliſhing the democracy in time as Piſander had promiſed; and they decreed that he ſhould go with ten more deputies to treat with Alcibiades and Tiſſaphernes, and that in the mean time Phrynicus ſhould be recalled, and another general appointed to command the fleet in his ſtead. DARIUS NOTHUS.

The deputies did not find Tiſſaphernes in ſo good a diſpoſition as they had been made to hope. He was afraid of the Lacedæmonians, but did not care to render the Athenians too powerful. It was his policy, by the advice of Alcibiades, to leave the two parties always at war, in order to weaken and conſume them by each other. He therefore made great difficulties. He demanded at firſt, that the Athenians ſhould abandon all Ionia to him, and afterwards inſiſted upon their adding the neighbouring iſlands. Thoſe demands being complied with, he further required, in a third interview, permiſſion to fit out a fleet, and to cruiſe

DARIUS NOTHUS.

cruiſe in the Grecian ſeas; which had been expreſsly provided againſt in the celebrated treaty concluded with Artaxerxes. The deputies thereupon broke up the conferences with indignation, and perceived that Alcibiades had impoſed upon them.

Tiſſaphernes without loſs of time concluded a new treaty with the Lacedæmonians; in which, what had diſpleaſed in the two preceding treaties was retrenched. The article, which yielded to Perſia the countries in general, that had been in the actual poſſeſſion of the reigning king Darius, or his predeceſſors, was limited to the provinces of Aſia. The king engaged to defray all expenſes of the Lacedæmonian fleet, upon the foot, and in the condition it then was, till the arrival of that of Perſia; after which they were to ſupport it themſelves; unleſs they ſhould chooſe that the king ſhould pay it, to be re-imburſed after the concluſion of the war. It was further agreed, that they ſhould unite their forces, and continue the war, or make peace, by common conſent. Tiſſaphernes, to keep his promiſe, ſent for the fleet of Phœnicia. This treaty was made in the eleventh year of Darius, and the twentieth of the Peloponneſian war.

SECT. III. *The whole authority of the Athenian government having been veſted in four hundred perſons, they abuſe it tyrannically, and are depoſed.* ALCIBIADES *is recalled. After various accidents, and ſeveral conſiderable victories, he returns in triumph to Athens, and is appointed generaliſſimo. He cauſes the great myſteries to be celebrated, and departs with the fleet.*

(*b*) PISANDER, at his return to Athens, found the change he had propoſed at his ſetting out much forwarded, to which he put the laſt hand ſoon after. To give a form to this new government, he cauſed ten commiſſaries with abſolute power to be appointed, who were however at a certain fixed time to give the people an account of what they had done. At

(*b*) Thucyd. l. viii. p. 590, 594. Plut. in Alcib. p. 105.

At the expiration of that term, the general aſſembly was ſummoned, wherein their firſt reſolution was, that every one ſhould be admitted to make ſuch propoſals as he thought fit, without being liable to any accuſation of infringing the law, or conſequential penalty. It was afterwards decreed, that a new council ſhould be formed, with full power to adminiſter the publick affairs, and to elect new magiſtrates. For this purpoſe five preſidents were eſtabliſhed, who nominated an hundred perſons, including themſelves. Each of theſe choſe and aſſociated three more at his own pleaſure, which made in all four hundred, in whom an abſolute power was lodged. But to amuſe the people, and to conſole them with a ſhadow of popular government, whilſt they inſtituted a real oligarchy, it was ſaid that the four hundred ſhould call a council of five thouſand citizens, to aſſiſt them when they ſhould judge it neceſſary. The council and aſſemblies of the people were held as uſual; nothing was done however but by order of the four hundred. The people of Athens were deprived in this manner of their liberty, which they had enjoyed almoſt an hundred years, after having aboliſhed the tyranny of the Piſiſtratides. DARIUS NOTHUS.

This decree being paſſed without oppoſition, after the ſeparation of the aſſembly, the four hundred, armed with daggers, and attended by an hundred and twenty young men, whom they made uſe of when any execution required it, entered the ſenate, and compelled the ſenators to retire, after having paid them the arrears due upon their appointments. They elected new magiſtrates out of their own body, obſerving the uſual ceremonies upon ſuch occaſions. They did not think proper to recall thoſe who were baniſhed, leſt they ſhould authoriſe the return of Alcibiades, whoſe uncontrollable ſpirit they apprehended, and who would ſoon have made himſelf maſter of the people. Abuſing their power in a tyrannical manner, ſome they put to death, others they baniſhed, confiſcating their eſtates with impunity. All who ventured

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DARIUS NOTHUS.

to oppoſe this change, or even to complain of it, were butchered upon falſe pretexts; and thoſe would have met with a bad reception, who demanded juſtice of the murtherers. The four hundred, ſoon after their eſtabliſhment, ſent ten deputies to Samos for the army's concurrence to it.

(*i*) All that had paſſed at Athens was already known there, and the news had enraged the ſoldiers to the higheſt degree. They depoſed immediately ſeveral of their chiefs, whom they ſuſpected, and put others into their places, of whom Thraſylus and Thraſybulus were the principal, and in higheſt credit. Alcibiades was recalled, and choſen generaliſſimo by the whole army, which deſired to ſail directly for the Piræeus to attack the tyrants. But he oppoſed it, repreſenting that it was neceſſary he ſhould firſt have an interview with Tiſſaphernes, and that as they had choſen him general, they might rely upon him for the care of the war. He ſet out immediately for Miletus. His principal deſign was to ſhow himſelf to that governor with all the power he had been inveſted, and to let him ſee that he was in a condition to do him much good or much harm. The conſequence of which was, that as he had kept the Athenians in awe by Tiſſaphernes, he now awed Tiſſaphernes no leſs by the Athenians; and we ſhall ſee in the ſequel that this interview was not unneceſſary.

Alcibiades, upon his return to Samos, found the army more inflamed than at firſt. The deputies of the four hundred arrived there during his abſence, and had endeavoured in vain to juſtify the alteration made at Athens to the ſoldiery. Their diſcourſes, which were often interrupted by tumultuous cries, ſerved only to exaſperate them more, and they earneſtly demanded to be led againſt the tyrants directly. Alcibiades did not act on this occaſion, as every body elſe would have done in conſequence of having been raiſed to ſo high a dignity by the favour of the people: For

(*i*) Thucyd. l. viii. p. 595—604. Plut. in Alcib. p. 205. Diod. p. 165.

For he did not think himſelf obliged to an abſolute and implicit compliance with them in every thing, though, from an exile and a fugitive, they had made him general of ſo great a fleet, and ſo numerous and formidable an army: But, as a ſtateſman and great politician, he believed it his duty to oppoſe the blind fury that hurried them on into evident danger, and to prevent them from committing a fault, which muſt have been attended with their utter ruin. This wiſe ſteadineſs preſerved the city of Athens. For had they ſailed thither at firſt, the enemy had made themſelves maſters of Ionia, the Helleſpont, and all the iſlands without reſiſtance; whilſt the Athenians, by carrying the war into their own city, would have exhauſted their whole forces againſt one another. He prevented the deputies from being ill treated, and diſmiſſed them; ſaying, that he did not object to the five thouſand citizens having the ſupreme authority in the republick, but that it was neceſſary to depoſe the four hundred, and to re-eſtabliſh the ſenate. DARIUS NOTHUS.

(*k*) Whilſt this paſſed, the Phœnician fleet, which the Lacedæmonians impatiently expected, approached, and news came that it was arrived at * Aſpendus. Tiſſaphernes went to meet it; nobody being able to divine the cauſe of that journey. He had ſent for that fleet at firſt to flatter the Lacedæmonians with the hopes of a powerful aid, and to put a ſtop to their progreſs, by making them wait its arrival. It was believed that his journey had the ſame motive; to prevent their doing any thing in his abſence, and that their ſoldiers and mariners might diſband for want of pay. However it was, he did not bring the fleet with him, from the view, no doubt, of keeping the balance equal, which was the king of Perſia's intereſt, and to exhauſt both parties by the length of the war. For it had been very eaſy to have put an end to it by the aſſiſtance of this additional fleet, as the Lacedæmonians alone were already as ſtrong at ſea as the Athenians. His frivolous excuſe, of its not being complete,

(*k*) Thucyd. l. viii. p. 604, 606. * *A city of Pamphylia.*

DARIUS NOTHUS.

complete, for not bringing it with him, ſufficiently ſhows that he had other reaſons for his conduct.

(*l*) The return of the deputies without ſucceſs, who had been ſent to Samos, and the anſwer of Alcibiades, excited new troubles in the city, and gave a mortal wound to the authority of the four hundred. The tumult increaſed exceedingly, when news was brought, that the enemy, after having beat the fleet, ſent by the four hundred to the aid of Eubœa, had made themſelves maſters of the iſland. Athens was in the higheſt terrour and conſternation upon this account. For neither the defeat of Sicily, nor any other preceding it, were ſo conſiderable as the loſs of this iſland, from whence the city received conſiderable ſupplies, and almoſt all its proviſions. If in the confuſion, in which Athens was at that time between two factions, the victorious fleet had fallen upon the port, as it might have done, the army of Samos would have been indiſpenſably obliged to have flown to the defence of their country: And then the republick would have had only the city of Athens remaining of all its dominions. For the Helleſpont, Ionia, and all the iſlands, ſeeing themſelves abandoned, would have been reduced to take party, and go over to the Peloponneſians. But the enemy were not capable of ſuch great deſigns; and this was not the firſt time the Lacedæmonians had been obſerved to have loſt their advantages by the ſlowneſs and protraction natural to them.

Athens without delay depoſed the four hundred, as authors of all the troubles and diviſions under which they groaned. Alcibiades was recalled by unanimous conſent, and earneſtly ſollicited to make all poſſible haſte to the aſſiſtance of the city. But judging, that if he returned immediately to Athens, he ſhould owe his recall to the compaſſion and favour of the people, he reſolved to render his return glorious and triumphant, and to deſerve it by ſome conſiderable exploit. For this purpoſe, leaving Samos with a ſmall number of

A. M. 3595. Ant. J. C. 409.

(*l*) Thucyd. l. viii. p. 607—614. Plut. in Alcib. p. 206—210. Diod. p. 171, 172. & 175—177, & 189—192.

of ſhips, he cruiſed about the iſland of Cos and Cnidos; and having learned that Mindarus, the Spartan admiral was ſailed to the Helleſpont with his whole fleet, and that the Athenians were in purſuit of him, he ſteered that way with the utmoſt diligence to ſupport them, and arrived happily with his eighteen veſſels, at the time the fleets were engaged near Abydos in a battle, which laſted till night, without any advantage on either ſide. His arrival gave the Spartans new courage at firſt, who believed him ſtill their friend, and diſpirited the Athenians. But Alcibiades, hanging out the Athenian flag in the admiral's galley, fell upon the Lacedæmonians, who were ſtrongeſt, and purſued the Athenians, put them to flight, drove them aſhore; and, animated by his ſucceſs, ſunk their veſſels, and made a great ſlaughter of the ſoldiers, who had thrown themſelves into the ſea to ſave themſelves by ſwimming, though Pharnabaſus ſpared no pains to aſſiſt them, and had advanced at the head of his troops to the coaſt, to favour their flight, and to ſave their ſhips. The Athenians, after having taken thirty of their gallies, and re-taken thoſe they had loſt, erected a trophy. DARIUS NOTHUS.

Alcibiades, vain of his ſucceſs, had the ambition to deſire to appear before Tiſſaphernes in this triumphant equipage, and to make him rich preſents, as well in his own, as in the name of the people of Athens. He went to him therefore with a magnificent retinue, worthy of the general of Athens. But he did not meet with the favourable reception he expected. For Tiſſaphernes, who knew he was accuſed by the Lacedæmonians, and feared that the king would puniſh him at length for not having executed his orders, found Alcibiades's preſenting himſelf very opportune, and cauſed him to be ſeiſed and ſent priſoner to Sardis; to ſhelter himſelf by that injuſtice againſt the repreſentations of the Lacedæmonians.

Thirty days after, Alcibiades, having found means to get a horſe, eſcaped from his guards, and fled to Clazomena, where, to revenge himſelf on Tiſſaphernes,

DARIUS NOTHUS. he gave out, that he had ſet him at liberty. From Clazomena he repaired to the Athenian fleet, where he was joined by Theramenes with twenty ſhips from Macedonia, and by Thraſybulus with twenty more from Thaſos. He ſailed from thence to Parium in the Propontis. All thoſe ſhips, to the number of fourſcore and ſix, being come thither, he left that place in the night, and arrived the next morning at Proconneſus, a ſmall iſle near Cyzicum. He heard there that Mindarus was at Cyzicum with Pharnabaſus and his land-army. He reſted that whole day at Proconneſus. On the morrow he harangued his ſoldiers, and repreſented to them the neceſſity there was for attacking the enemy by ſea and land, and for making themſelves maſters of Cyzicum; demonſtrating, at the ſame time, that without a complete and abſolute victory, they could have neither proviſions nor money. He had taken great care that the enemy ſhould not be apprized of his approach. By good fortune for him, a great ſtorm of rain and thunder, followed by a thick gloom, helped him to conceal his enterpriſe ſo ſucceſsfully, that not only the enemy were prevented from perceiving that he advanced, but the Athenians themſelves, whom he had cauſed to embark with precipitation, did not know that he had weighed anchor and put to ſea.

When the gloom was diſperſed, the Lacedæmonian fleet appeared, exerciſing at ſome diſtance before the port. Alcibiades, who apprehended that the enemy, upon the ſight of ſo great a number of ſhips, would make the harbour, ordered the captains to keep back a little, and to follow him at a good diſtance; and taking only forty veſſels, he advanced towards the enemy, to offer them battle. The enemy, deceived by this ſtratagem, and deſpiſing his ſmall number, advanced againſt him, and began the fight. But when they ſaw the reſt of the Athenian fleet come up, they immediately loſt courage, and fled. Alcibiades, with twenty of his beſt ſhips, purſued them to the ſhore, landed, and killed a great number of them in the flight.

flight. Mindarus and Pharnabaſus oppoſed his efforts in vain; the firſt, who fought with aſtoniſhing valour, he killed, and put the other to flight. DARIUS NOTHUS.

The Athenians by this victory, which made them maſters of the ſlain, the arms, ſpoils, and whole fleet of the enemy, beſides the taking of Cyzicum, not only poſſeſſed themſelves of the Helleſpont, but drove the Spartans entirely out of that ſea. Letters were intercepted, in which the latter, with a conciſeneſs truely laconick, adviſed the Ephori of the blow they had received in terms to this effect: *The flower of your army is cut off; Mindarus is dead; the reſt of the troops are dying with hunger; and we neither know what to do, nor what will become of us.*

The news of this victory occaſioned no leſs joy to the Athenians than conſternation to the Spartans. (*m*) They deſpatched ambaſſadors immediately to demand, that an end ſhould be put to a war equally deſtructive to both people, and that a peace ſhould be concluded upon reaſonable conditions, for the re-eſtabliſhment of their ancient concord and amity, of which they had for many years experienced the ſalutary effects. The wiſeſt and moſt judicious of the citizens of Athens were unanimouſly of opinion, that it was proper to take the advantage of ſo favourable a conjuncture for the concluding of a treaty, which might put an end to all jealouſies, appeaſe all animoſities, and remove all diſtruſts. But thoſe, who found their advantage in the troubles of the ſtate, prevented the good effects of that diſpoſition. (*n*) Cleophon, among others, the moſt reputed orator at that time, animated the people from the tribunal of harangues by a violent and ſeditious diſcourſe, inſinuating, that their intereſts were betrayed by a ſecret intelligence with the Lacedæmonians, which aimed at depriving them of all the advantages of the important victory they had gained, and at making them loſe for ever the opportunity of being fully avenged for all the wrongs and misfortunes Sparta had cauſed them to ſuffer.

(*m*) Diod. l. iii. p. 177—179. (*n*) Æſch. in Orat. de falſ. legat.

DARIUS NOTHUS. This Cleophon was an inconſiderable fellow, a muſical inſtrument-maker. It was reported alſo that he had been a ſlave, and had got himſelf fraudulently inrolled in the regiſter of the citizens. He carried his audacity and fury ſo far, as to threaten to plunge his dagger into the throat of any one who ſhould talk of peace. The Athenians, puffed up with their preſent proſperity, forgetting their paſt misfortunes, and promiſing themſelves all things from the valour and good fortune of Alcibiades, rejected all propoſals of accommodation, without reflecting, that there is nothing ſo fluctuating and precarious as the ſucceſs of war. The ambaſſadors retired without being able to effect any thing. Such infatuation and irrrational pride are generally the forerunners of ſome great misfortune.

Alcibiades knew well how to make uſe of the victory he had gained, and preſently after beſieged Chalcedonia, which had revolted from the Athenians, and received a Lacedæmonian garriſon. During this ſiege he took another town, called Selymbria. Pharnabaſus, terrified by the rapidity of his conqueſts, made a treaty with the Athenians to this effect; "That Pharnabaſus ſhould pay them a certain ſum of money; that the Chalcedonians ſhould return to their obedience, depend upon the Athenians, and pay them tribute; and that the Athenians ſhould commit no hoſtilities in the province of Pharnabaſus, who engaged for the ſafe conduct of their ambaſſadors to the great king." Byzantium and ſeveral other cities ſubmitted to the Athenians.

A. M. 3597. Ant. J. C. 407. Alcibiades, who deſired with the utmoſt paſſion to ſee his country again, or rather to be ſeen by his country, after ſo many victories over their enemies, ſet out for Athens. The ſides of his ſhips were covered with bucklers and all ſorts of ſpoils, in form of trophies; and cauſing a great number of veſſels to be towed after him by way of triumph, he diſplayed alſo the enſigns and ornaments of thoſe he had burnt, which were more than the others; the whole amounting to about two hundred ſhips. It is ſaid, that reflecting on

on what had been done againſt him, upon approaching the port, he was ſtruck with ſome terrour, and was afraid to quit his veſſel till he ſaw from the deck a great number of his friends and relations, who were come to the ſhore to receive him, and earneſtly entreated him to land. DARIUS NOTHUS.

The people came out of the city in a body to meet him, and at his appearance ſet up incredible ſhouts of joy. In the midſt of an infinite number of officers and ſoldiers, all eyes were fixed ſolely on him, whom they conſidered as victory itſelf, deſcended from the ſkies: All around him paſſionately careſſing, bleſſing, and crowning him in emulation of each other. Thoſe, who could not approach him, were never tired with contemplating him at a diſtance, whilſt the old men ſhowed him to their children. They repeated with the higheſt praiſes all the great actions he had done for his country; nor could they refuſe their admiration even to thoſe he had done againſt it during his baniſhment, of which they imputed the fault to themſelves alone. This publick joy was mingled with tears and regret, from the rememberance of paſt misfortunes, which they could not avoid comparing with their preſent felicity. "We could not have failed," ſaid they, "of the conqueſt of Sicily; our other hopes "could never have proved abortive, if we had re- "ferred all our affairs and forces to the diſpoſal of "Alcibiades alone. In what a condition was Athens "when he took upon him our protection and defence! "we had not only almoſt entirely loſt our power at "ſea, but were ſcarce poſſeſſed of the ſuburbs of our "city, and, to add to our misfortunes, were torn in "pieces by a horrid civil war. He notwithſtanding "has raiſed the republick from its ruins; and not con- "tent with having re-inſtated it in the poſſeſſion of "the ſovereignty of the ſea, has rendered it univer- "ſally victorious by land; as if the fate of Athens "had been in his hands alone, either to ruin or pre- "ſerve it, and victory was annexed to his perſon, "and obeyed his orders."

DARIUS NOTHUS.

This favourable reception of Alcibiades did not prevent his demanding an aſſembly of the people, in order to his juſtification before them; well knowing how neceſſary it was for his ſafety to be abſolved in form. He appeared therefore; and after having deplored his misfortunes, which he imputed very little to the people, and entirely aſcribed to his ill fortune, and ſome dæmon envious of his proſperity, he repreſented to them the deſigns of the enemy, and exhorted them not to conceive other than great hopes. The Athenians, tranſported with hearing him ſpeak, decreed him crowns of gold, appointed him general by ſea and land with unlimited power, reſtored him all his fortunes, and ordered the * Eumolpides and Ceryces to abſolve him from the curſes they had pronounced againſt him by the order of the people; doing their utmoſt to make him amends for the injury and ſhame of his baniſhment by the glory of his recall, and to efface the rememberance of the anathemas themſelves had decreed, by the vows and prayers which they made in his favour. Whilſt all the Eumolpides and Ceryces were employed in revoking thoſe imprecations, Theodorus, the principal of them, had the courage to ſay: *But for me, I have not curſed him, if he has done no evil to his country*; inſinuating by that bold expreſſion, that the maledictions, being conditional, could not fall upon the head of the innocent, nor be averted from the guilty.

In the midſt of this glory and ſhining proſperity of Alcibiades, the majority of the people could not help being concerned, when they conſidered the time of his return. For it happened preciſely upon the day when the Athenians celebrated the feaſt in honour of Minerva, adored under the name of Agraulis. The prieſts took off all the ornaments from the goddeſs's ſtatue

* *The Eumolpides and Ceryces were two families at Athens who had different functions in the myſteries of Ceres. They took their names from Eumolpus and Ceryx, the firſt who had exerciſed thoſe offices. Perhaps the employment of the latter had ſome relation to that of heralds,* κήρυκες.

ſtatue to waſh it, from whence that feaſt was called Πλυντήρια, and afterwards covered it; and that day was accounted one of the moſt ominous and unfortunate. It was the 25th of the month Thargelion, which anſwers to the 2d of July (*o*). This circumſtance diſpleaſed that ſuperſtitious people, becauſe it ſeemed to imply, that the goddeſs, patroneſs and protectreſs of Athens, did not receive Alcibiades agreeably, and with a benign aſpect, ſince ſhe covered and concealed herſelf, as if ſhe would keep him off, and remove him from her. DARIUS NOTHUS.

(*p*) All things having however ſucceeded according to his wiſh, and the hundred ſhips he was to command being ready, he deferred his departure out of a laudable ambition to celebrate the great myſteries; for from the time the Lacedæmonians had fortified Decelia, and taken poſſeſſion of all the ways from Athens to Eleuſina, the feaſt had not been ſolemniſed in all its pomp, and the proceſſion had been obliged to go by ſea. The particular ceremonies of this ſolemnity may be ſeen in the beginning of the next volume.

Alcibiades believed it would be a moſt glorious action, and attract the bleſſings of the gods, and the praiſes of men, if he reſtored all its luſtre and ſolemnity to this feaſt, in making the proceſſion go by land under the convoy of his troops, to defend it againſt the attacks of the enemy. For either Agis would ſuffer it to paſs quietly, notwithſtanding the numerous troops he had at Decelia, which would conſiderably leſſen the reputation of that king, and be a blot in his glory; or, if he ſhould chooſe to attack it, and oppoſe the march, he ſhould then have the ſatisfaction to fight a ſacred battle; a battle grateful to the gods, for the greateſt and moſt venerable of all their myſteries, in the ſight of his country and citizens, who would be witneſſes of his valour and regard for religion. It is very likely, that by this publick and oſtentatious act of piety, which ſtruck the people's view in ſo ſenſible a manner, and was ſo extremely to his taſte, Alcibiades's

(*o*) N. S. (*p*) Plut. in Alcib. p. 210.

DARIUS NOTHUS.

principal deſign was to efface entirely from their minds the ſuſpicions of impiety, to which the mutilation of ſtatues, and prophanation of myſteries, had given birth.

Having taken that reſolution, he gave notice to the Eumolpides and Ceryces to hold themſelves in readineſs, poſted centinels upon the hills, ſent out runners at the break of day, and taking with him the prieſts, the initiated, and the probationers, with thoſe who initiated them, he covered them with his army, and diſpoſed the whole pomp with wonderful order, and profound ſilence. Never was ſhow, ſays Plutarch, more auguſt, nor more worthy the majeſty of the gods, than this warlike proceſſion and religious expedition; in which even thoſe, who envied the glory of Alcibiades, were obliged to own, that he was no leſs happy in diſcharging the functions of an high-prieſt, than thoſe of a general. No enemy dared to appear, or diſturb that pompous march, and Alcibiades re-conducted the ſacred troops to Athens with entire ſafety. This ſucceſs gave him new courage, and raiſed the valour and boldneſs of his army to ſuch a degree, that they looked upon themſelves as invincible, whilſt he commanded them.

He acquired the affection of the poor, and the lower ſort of people ſo much, that they moſt ardently deſired to have him for their king. Many of them openly declared themſelves to that effect; and there were ſome who addreſſed themſelves to him, and exhorted him to ſet himſelf above envy, and not to trouble himſelf about laws, decrees, or ſuffrages; to put down thoſe wordy impertinents that diſturbed the ſtate with their vain harangues, to make himſelf maſter of affairs, and to govern with entire authority without fearing accuſers. For him, what his thoughts of the tyranny and his deſigns were are unknown; but the moſt powerful citizens, apprehending the breaking out of a fire, of which they already ſaw the ſparks, preſſed him to depart without delay; granting whatever he demanded, and giving him for colleagues the generals moſt agreeable to him. He ſet ſail accordingly

accordingly with an hundred ſhips, and ſteered for the iſland of Andros, which had revolted. His high reputation, and the good fortune which had attended him in all his enterpriſes, made nothing but what was great and extraordinary to be expected from him. DARIUS NOTHUS.

SECT. IV. *The Lacedæmonians appoint* LYSANDER *admiral. He becomes very powerful with young* CYRUS, *who commanded in Aſia. He beats the Athenian fleet near Epheſus in the abſence of* ALCIBIADES, *who is deprived of the command. Ten generals are choſen in his ſtead.* CALLICRATIDAS *ſucceeds* LYSANDER.

(q) THE Lacedæmonians, juſtly alarmed at the return and ſucceſs of Alcibiades, conceived that ſuch an enemy made it neceſſary to oppoſe him with an able general, capable of making head againſt him. For this reaſon they made choice of Lyſander, and gave him the command of the fleet. When he arrived at Epheſus, he found the city very well diſpoſed in his favour, and well affected to Sparta; but otherwiſe in a very unhappy ſituation. For it was in danger of becoming barbarous, by aſſuming the manners and cuſtoms of the Perſians, who had great commerce with it, as well from the neighbourhood of Lydia, as becauſe the king's generals commonly took up their winter-quarters there. An idle and voluptuous life, filled up with luxury and empty ſhow, could not fail of diſguſting infinitely a man like Lyſander, who had been bred from his birth in the ſimplicity, poverty, and ſevere diſcipline of Sparta. Having brought his army to Epheſus, he gave orders for aſſembling ſhips of burthen there from all parts, erected an arſenal for building of gallies, made the ports free for merchants, gave the publick places to artificers, put all arts in motion, and held them in honour; and by theſe means filled the city with riches, and laid the foundations of that grandeur and magnificence, to which

(q) Xenoph. Hellen. l. xi. p. 440—442. Plut. in Lyſand. p. 434, 435. Diod. l. xiii. p. 192—197.

DARIUS NOTHUS. which it afterwards attained. So great a change can the application and ability of a ſingle perſon occaſion in a ſtate!

Whilſt he was making theſe diſpoſitions, he received advice, that Cyrus, the king's youngeſt ſon, was arrived at Sardis. That prince could not be above ſixteen years old at that time, being born after his father's acceſſion to the crown in the ſeventeenth year of his reign. Paryſatis, his mother, loved him to idolatry, and had the entire aſcendant of her huſband. It was ſhe that occaſioned his having the ſupreme government of all the provinces of Aſia Minor given him; a command that ſubjected all the provincial governours of the moſt important part of the empire to his authority. The view of Paryſatis was, without doubt, to put the young prince into a condition to diſpute the throne with his brother after the king's death; as we ſhall ſee he does to ſome effect. One of the principal inſtructions, given him by his father upon ſending him to his government, was to give effectual aid to the Lacedæmonians againſt Athens; an order very contrary to the meaſures obſerved till then by Tiſſaphernes, and the other governours of thoſe provinces. It had always been their maxim, ſometimes to aſſiſt one party, ſometimes the other, in order to hold their power in ſuch a balance, that the one might never be able to cruſh the other entirely: From whence it followed, that both parties were kept weak by the war, and neither in condition to form any enterpriſes againſt the Perſian empire.

Upon Lyſander's being appriſed, therefore, of the arrival of Cyrus at Sardis, he ſet out from Epheſus to make him a viſit, and to complain of the delays and breach of faith of Tiſſaphernes, who, notwithſtanding the orders he had received to ſupport the Lacedæmonians, and to drive the Athenians out of the ſea, had always covertly favoured the latter, out of regard for Alcibiades, whoſe meaſures he entirely gave into, and had been the ſole cauſe of the loſs of the fleet, by not ſupplying it with the neceſſary quantity of proviſions.

This

This diſcourſe pleaſed Cyrus, who looked upon Tiſſaphernes as a very bad man, and his particular enemy; and he anſwered, that the king had given him orders to ſupport the Lacedæmonians powerfully, and that he had received five hundred talents * for that purpoſe. Lyſander, contrary to the common character of the Spartans, was ſubmiſſive and condeſcending, full of complacency for the grandees, always ready to pay his court to them, and ſupporting, for the good of the ſervice, all the weight of their haughtineſs and vanity with incredible patience; in which behaviour ſome people make the whole addreſs and merit of a courtier conſiſt. DARIUS NOTHUS.

He did not forget himſelf on this occaſion, and ſetting at work all that the induſtry and art of a complete courtier could ſuggeſt of flattery and inſinuation, he perfectly gained the young prince's favour and good opinion. After having praiſed his generoſity, magnificence, and zeal for the Lacedæmonians, he deſired him to give each ſoldier and mariner a drachma † *per* day; in order to debauch thoſe of the enemy by that means, and thereby terminate the war the ſooner. Cyrus very much approved the project; but ſaid, that he could make no change in the king's order, and that the treaty with them expreſsly ſettled only half a talent ‡ to be paid monthly for each galley. The prince, however, at the end of a banquet, which he gave him before his departure, drinking to his health, and preſſing him to aſk ſomething of him, Lyſander deſired that an § obolus a day might be added to the ſeamen's pay. This was granted, and he gave them four oboli, inſtead of three, which they received before, and paid them all the arrears due to them, with a month's advance; giving Lyſander ten thouſand ‖ Daricks for that purpoſe; that is, an hundred thouſand livres, or about five thouſand pounds ſterling.

This

* *Five hundred thouſand crowns, about* 112,500*l. ſterl.*

† *Ten-pence.*

‡ *One thouſand five hundred livres, about* 112*l. ſterling.*

§ *The drachma was ſix oboli, or ten-pence French; each obolus being three half-pence; ſo that the four oboli were ſix-pence half-penny a day, inſtead of five-pence, or three oboli.*

‖ *A Darick is about a piſtole.*

DARIUS NOTHUS.

This largeneſs filled the whole fleet with ardour and alacrity, and almoſt unmanned the enemy's gallies; the greateſt part of the mariners deſerting to the party where the pay was beſt. The Athenians, in deſpair upon receiving this news, endeavoured to conciliate Cyrus by the interpoſition of Tiſſaphernes; but he would not hearken to them, notwithſtanding the ſatrap repreſented, that it was not for the king's intereſt to aggrandiſe the Lacedæmonians, but to balance the power of one ſide with that of the other, in order to perpetuate the war, and to ruin both by their own diviſions.

Though Lyſander had conſiderably weakened the enemy by augmenting the mariners pay, and thereby very much hurt their naval power, he dared not however hazard a battle with them, particularly apprehending Alcibiades, who was a man of execution, had the greater number of ſhips, and had never been overthrown in any battle either by ſea or land. But after Alcibiades had left Samos to go into Phocæa, and Ionia, to raiſe money, of which he was in want for the payment of his troops, and had given the command of his fleet to Antiochus, with expreſs order not to fight or attack the enemy in his abſence; the new commander, to make ſhow of his courage, and to brave Lyſander, entered the port of Epheſus with two gallies, and after having made a great noiſe, retired with loud laughter, and an air of contempt and inſult. Lyſander, enraged at that affront, immediately detached ſome gallies, and went himſelf in purſuit of him. But as the Athenians advanced to ſupport Antiochus, he ordered other gallies of his ſide to come on, till the whole fleet arrived by little and little, and the engagement became general on both ſides. Lyſander gained the victory, and having taken fifteen of the Athenian gallies, he erected a trophy. Alcibiades, on his return to Samos, ſailed even into the port to offer him battle; but Lyſander was contented with his victory, and did not think proper to accept it; ſo that he retired without doing any thing.

Thraſybulus at the ſame time, the moſt dangerous enemy he had in his army, left the camp, and went to Athens to accuſe him. To enflame his enemies in the city the more, he told the people in a full aſſembly, that Alcibiades had entirely ruined their affairs, and the navy, by the licence he had introduced; that he had given himſelf up to the moſt * notorious debauchees and drunkards, who from common ſeamen were the only perſons in credit about him; that he abandoned his whole authority to them, to be at leiſure to enrich himſelf in the provinces, and to plunge himſelf there into intemperance and all other infamous exceſſes, to the diſgrace of Athens, whilſt his fleet was left neglected in the face of the enemy's. DARIUS NOTHUS. A. M. 3598. Ant. J. C. 415.

Another article of accuſation againſt him was taken from the forts he had built near the city of Byzantium, for an aſylum and retreat for him; as neither being able nor willing to return any more to his country. The Athenians, a capricious inconſtant people, gave credit to theſe impeachments. The loſs of the laſt battle, and his little ſucceſs ſince his departure from Athens, inſtead of the great and wonderful actions expected from him, entirely ſunk him in their opinions; and his own glory and reputation may be ſaid to have occaſioned his ruin. For he was ſuſpected of not deſiring to do what was not done, which they could not believe out of his power, becauſe they were fully perſuaded, that nothing he deſired to do was impoſſible to him. They made it a crime in Alcibiades that the rapidity of his conqueſts did not anſwer to that of their imaginations; not conſidering, that he made war without money upon a people who had the great king for their treaſurer, and that he was often obliged to quit his camp, to go in queſt of what was neceſſary for the payment and ſubſiſtence of his troops. However it was, Alcibiades was depoſed, and ten generals nominated in his ſtead; of which, when he received

* *Antiochus is pointed at in this place, a mean debauched man, who had acquired the favour of Alcibiades by catching a quail for him, which he had let fly.*

DARIUS NOTHUS.

received advice, he retired in his galley to ſome caſtles he had in the Thracian Cherſoneſus.

(*r*) About this time died Pliſtonax, one of the kings of Lacedæmonia, and was ſucceeded by Pauſanias, who reigned fourteen years. The latter made a fine anſwer to one who aſked, why it was not permitted to change any thing in the ancient cuſtoms of Sparta: * *Becauſe*, ſays he, *at Sparta the laws command men, and not men the laws.*

(*s*) Lyſander, who intended to eſtabliſh the government of the nobility in all the cities in the dependence of Sparta, that the governors of his chooſing might be always at his diſpoſal, from his having rendered them independent of their people, he cauſed ſuch perſons of the principal cities to come to Epheſus, as he knew to be the boldeſt, and moſt enterpriſing and ambitious. Theſe he placed at the head of affairs, promoted to the greateſt honours, and raiſed to the firſt employments of the army, thereby rendering himſelf, ſays Plutarch, the accomplice of all the crimes and oppreſſions they committed to advance and enrich themſelves. For this reaſon they were always extremely attached to him, and regretted him infinitely, when Callicratidas came to ſucceed him, and took upon him the command of the fleet. He was not inferior to Lyſander either in valour or military knowledge, and was infinitely above him in point of moral virtue. Alike ſevere to himſelf and others, inacceſſible to flattery and ſloth, the declared enemy of luxury, he retained the modeſty, temperance, and auſterity of the ancient Spartans; virtues that began to diſtinguiſh him particularly, as they were not too common in his time. His probity and juſtice were proof againſt all things; his ſimplicity and integrity abhorred all falſehood and fraud, to which were joined a truely Spartan nobleneſs and grandeur of ſoul. The great

(*r*) Diod. p. 196. (*s*) Xenoph. Hellen. l. i. p. 442—444. Plut. in Lyſand. p. 433—436. Diod. p. 197, 198.

* Ὅτι τοὺς νόμους τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁ τοὺς ἄνδρας τῶν νομῶν κυρίους, εἶπας δίκαιον. Plut. in Apoph. p. 230.

great and powerful could not hinder themſelves from admiring his virtue; but they were better pleaſed with the facility and condeſcenſion of his predeceſſor, who was blind to the injuſtice and violence of their actions. DARIUS. NOTHUS.

It was not without mortification and jealouſy Lyſander ſaw him arrive at Epheſus to take upon him the command, and out of a criminal baſeneſs and treachery, not uncommon with thoſe who hearken more to their private ambition than the good of the publick, he did him all the ill offices in his power. Of the ten thouſand Daricks, which Cyrus had given him for the augmentation of the mariners pay, he returned the remainder to that prince; telling Callicratidas, that he might apply to the king for the money, and that it depended on him to find means for the ſubſiſtence of his army. This conduct gave him great trouble, and diſtreſſed him exceedingly. For he had brought no money with him from Sparta, and could not reſolve to extort any from the citizens, as he found them ſufficently rifled already.

(*t*) In this urgent neceſſity a perſon having offered him fifty talents (that is to ſay, fifty thouſand crowns) to obtain a favour he could not grant with juſtice, he refuſed them. Upon which Cleander, one of his officers, ſaid, "I would accept them, were I in your "place." "And ſo would I," replied the general, "were I in yours."

He had no other reſourſe therefore than to go, as Lyſander had done, to aſk money at the gates of the king's general and lieutenants, for which he was the leaſt proper of all mankind. Nurtured and educated in the love of liberty, full of great and noble ſentiments, and infinitely remote from all flattery and baſeneſs, he was convinced at heart, that it was leſs evil and diſhonour for Greeks to be overcome by Greeks, than infamouſly to make their court, and beg at the gates of Barbarians, whoſe only merit conſiſted in their gold and ſilver. The whole nation were indeed diſgraced by ſo mean a proſtitution.

Cicero,

(*t*) Plut. in Apoph. p. 222.

DARIUS NOTHUS.

Cicero, in his Offices, draws two very different characters of perſons employed in the adminiſtration of government, and makes the application of them to the two generals, of whom we ſpeak. The one, ſays he, * zealous lovers of truth, and declared enemies of all fraud, piqued themſelves upon their ſimplicity and candour, and do not believe, that it can ever conſiſt with honour to lay ſnares, or uſe artifice. The others, prepared to do or ſuffer every thing, are not aſhamed of the meaneſt actions and proſtitutions, provided from thoſe unworthy means they have reaſon to expect the ſucceſs of their deſigns. Cicero places Callicratidas amongſt the former, and Lyſander amongſt the latter, to whom he gives two epithets not much to his honour, and hardly conſiſtent with the Spartan character, when he calls him *very artful. and very patient*, or rather *very complaiſant.*

Callicratidas, however, forced by neceſſity, went to Lydia, and repaired immediately to the palace of Cyrus, where he deſired that prince might be told, that the admiral of the Grecian fleet was come to ſpeak with him. He was anſwered, that Cyrus was then at table, engaged in a † party of pleaſure; to which he replied with a modeſt tone and air, that he was in no haſte, and would wait till the prince came forth. The guards ſet up a laugh, wondering at the honeſt ſtranger's ſimplicity, which had ſo little the air of the world in it; and he was obliged to retire. He came thither a ſecond time, and was again denied admittance. Upon which he returned to Epheſus, loading thoſe with curſes and imprecations, who had firſt made their court to Barbarians, and by their flattery and ſubmiſſions had taught them to make their riches a title and

* Sunt his alii multum diſpares, ſimplices et aperti; qui nihil ex occulto, nihil ex inſidiis agendum putant; veritatis cultores, fraudis inimici: itemque alii, qui quidvis perpetiantur, cuivis deſerviant, dum, quod velint, conſequantur. Quo in genere verſutiſſimum et patientiſſimum, Lacedæmonium Lyſandrum accepimus, contraque Callicratidem. *Offic.* l. i. n. 109.

† *The Greek ſays literally that he was drinking,* πινει, *The Perſians valued themſelves upon drinking a great deal, as an inſtance of their merit, as we ſhall ſee in Cyrus's letter to the Lacedæmonians.*

and pretence for inſulting the reſt of mankind. Addreſſing himſelf at the ſame time to thoſe about him, he ſwore, that as ſoon as he returned to Sparta, he would uſe his utmoſt endeavours to reconcile the Greeks amongſt themſelves, that for the future they might become formidable to the Barbarians, and have no further occaſion for their aid to invade and ruin each other. But that generous Spartan, whoſe thoughts were ſo noble, and ſo worthy the Lacedæmonian name and whoſe juſtice, magnanimity, and valour, might rank him with all that Greece had ever produced of the moſt excellent and moſt conſummate, had not the good fortune to return to his country, nor to apply himſelf to a work ſo great, and ſo worthy of him. DARIUS NOTHUS.

SECT. V. CALLICRATIDAS *is defeated by the Athenians near the Arginuſæ. The Athenians paſs ſentence of death upon ſeveral of their generals for not having brought off the bodies of thoſe who had been ſlain in the battle.* SOCRATES *alone has the courage to oppoſe ſo unjuſt a ſentence.*

(*a*) CALLICRATIDAS, after having gained ſeveral victories over the Athenians, had at laſt purſued Conon, one of their generals, into the port of Mitylene, where he kept him blocked up. This was in the twenty-ſixth year of the Peloponneſian war. Conon ſeeing himſelf beſieged by ſea and land without hope of aid, and in want of proviſions found means to appriſe Athens of the extreme danger he was in. Extraordinary efforts were made to relieve him, and in leſs than a month's time a fleet of an hundred and ten ſail were fitted out, on board of which were embarked all who were capable of bearing arms, as well ſlaves as freemen, with ſome horſe. At Samos they were joined by the allies with forty gallies, and ſteered for the Arginuſæ, iſlands ſituate between Cuma and Mitylene. Callicratidas, being informed of their

(*a*) Xenoph. Hellen. l. i. p. 444—452. Diod. l. xiii. p. 198, & 201. 217——222.

DARIUS NOTHUS.

courſe, left Eteonicus to continue the ſiege with fifty ſhips, and put to ſea with an hundred and twenty ſail, with deſign to face the enemy, and prevent their relieving Conon. The right wing of the Athenians was commanded by Protomachus and Thraſylus, who had each fifteen gallies. They were ſupported by a ſecond line with a like number of ſhips, commanded by Lyſias and Ariſtogenes. The left wing, like the other, drawn up in two lines, was under Ariſtocrates and Diomedon, ſupported by Eraſinides and Pericles *. The main body, conſiſting of near thirty gallies amongſt which were the three Athenian admirals, was diſpoſed in one line. They had ſtrengthened each of their wings with a ſecond line; becauſe their gallies were neither ſo ſwift, nor ſo eaſy to manage, as thoſe of the enemy; ſo that there was reaſon to fear their getting between two, and being charged on both ſides at the ſame time. The Lacedæmonians and their allies, who perceived they were inferior in number to the enemy, contented themſelves with drawing up in one line, in order to equal their front, and for the greater facility of running between the Athenian gallies, and turning nimbly round them. Callicratidas's pilot, daunted at the inequality, adviſed him not to hazard the battle, and to retire: But he replied, that he could not fly without ſhame, and that his death was of ſmall importance to the republick. *Sparta*, ſaid he, *does not depend upon one man.* He commanded the right wing, and Thraſonidas the Theban the left.

It was terrible to behold the ſea covered with three hundred gallies ready to engage. Never had more numerous naval armies of the Greeks joined battle before. The ability, experience, and valour of the generals who commanded, left nothing to deſire; ſo that there was reaſon to believe this battle would decide the fate of both people, and put an end to a war that had endured ſo long. When the ſignals were given, the two armies raiſed great ſhouts, and began the fight. Callicratidas, who from the anſwer of the augurs expected

* *He was ſon of the great Pericles.*

expected to fall in the battle, did amazing actions of valour. He attacked the enemy with incredible courage and boldneſs, ſunk ſome of their ſhips, diſabled others by breaking their oars and piercing their ſides with the prow or beak of his galley. At length he attacked that of Pericles, and made a thouſand holes in it; but the latter having hooked him faſt with a grappling iron, he found it impoſſible to diſengage himſelf, and was ſurrounded in an inſtant by ſeveral of the Athenian veſſels. His own was immediately filled with the enemy, and after a dreadful ſlaughter, he fell dead, rather overwhelmed by their numbers than vanquiſhed. The right wing, which he commanded, having loſt its admiral, was put to flight. The left, compoſed of Bœotians and Eubœans, ſtill made a long and vigorous reſiſtance, from the important concern they were in, leſt they ſhould fall into the hands of the Athenians, againſt whom they had revolted; but they were at length obliged to give way, and retire in diſorder. The Athenians erected a trophy in the Arginuſæ. They loſt twenty-five gallies in this battle, and the enemy more than ſeventy, of which number were nine of the ten furniſhed by the Lacedæmonians. DARIUS NOTHUS.

(*b*) Plutarch equals Callicratidas, the Lacedæmonian general, for his juſtice, valour, and magnanimity, with all who had ever rendered themſelves moſt worthy of admiration amongſt the Greeks.

(*c*) He blames him however exceedingly for hazarding the battle at the Arginuſæ, and obſerves, that to avoid the reproach of having retired out of fear, he had, through a miſtaken ſenſe of honour, failed in the eſſential duty of his function. For, ſays Plutarch, if (to uſe the compariſon of * Iphicrates) the light-armed infantry reſemble the hands, the horſe the feet, the main body the breaſt, and the general the head; the general, who abandons himſelf raſhly to the impetuoſity of his valour, does not ſo much neglect or expoſe his own life, as the lives of thoſe, whoſe ſafety depends

 upon

(*b*) Plut. in Lyſand. p. 436. (*c*) Plut. in Pelop. p. 278.

* *He was a famous general of the Athenians.*

DARIUS NOTHUS.

upon his. Our Lacedæmonian chief was therefore in the wrong, continues Plutarch, to anſwer the pilot, who adviſed him to retire, *Sparta does not depend upon one man.* For though it be true, that Callicratidas, fighting under the orders of another by ſea or land, *was no more than one man*, yet, commanding an army, all who obeyed his orders were collected in his perſon; and he, in whom ſo many thouſands might be loſt, *was no longer one man.* * Cicero had paſſed the ſame judgement upon him before Plutarch. After having ſaid, that there were many perſons to be found, who were ready to ſacrifice their fortunes, and even lives, for their country, but who out of a falſe delicacy in point of glory would not hazard their reputation for it in the leaſt; he cites the example of Callicratidas, who anſwered thoſe who adviſed him to retreat from the Arginuſæ, *That Sparta could fit out another fleet if this were loſt; but for himſelf, he could not fly before the enemy without ſhame and infamy.*

I return to the ſequel of the battle near the Arginuſæ. The Athenian generals ordered Theramenes, Thraſybulus, and ſome other officers, to return with about fifty gallies to take up the wrecks and dead bodies, in order to their interment, whilſt they rowed on with the reſt againſt Eteonicus, who kept Conon beſieged before Mitylene. But a rude tempeſt came on ſuddenly and prevented the execution of this order. Eteonicus having received news of the defeat, and fearing it might occaſion alarm and terrour amongſt the troops, ſent back thoſe who brought it, with orders to return with wreaths of flowers upon their heads, and to give out, that Callicratidas had gained the

* Inventi multi ſunt, qui non modo pecuniam, ſed vitam etiam, profundere pro patria parati eſſent, iidem gloriæ jacturam ne minimam quidem facere vellent, ne republica quidem poſtulante: ut Callicratidas, qui, cum Lacedæmoniorum dux fuiſſet Peloponneſiaco bello, multaque feciſſet egregiè, vertit ad extremum omnia, cum conſilio non paruit eorum, qui cloſſem ab Arginuſis removendam, nec cum Athenienſibus dimicandum putabant. Quibus ille reſpondit, Lacedæmonios, claſſe illa amiſſa, aliam parare poſſe, ſe fugere ſine ſuo dedecore non poſſe. *Offic.* l. i. n. 18.

the victory, and deſtroyed the whole Athenian fleet. Upon their return he offered ſacrifices of thankſgiving, and having made his troops take ſome refreſhment, he ſent the gallies away directly, the wind being fair, and marched off the land-army to Methymna, after having burnt the camp. Conon being delivered in this manner from the blockade, joined the victorious fleet, which returned forthwith to Samos. However, when it was known at Athens, that the dead bodies had been left without interment, the people were highly enraged, and laid the whole weight of their reſentment upon thoſe they believed guilty of that crime. The ancients held it a great one not to provide ſepulture for the dead; and we may obſerve, that after all their battles, the firſt care of the conquered, notwithſtanding the ſenſe of their misfortune, and their great affliction for a bloody defeat, was to demand a ſuſpenſion of arms from the victor, in order to pay their laſt duties to thoſe who had fallen in battle; upon which they believed their happineſs in another life depended. They had little or no idea of the reſurrection of the body; but however, the Pagans, in the ſoul's concern for the body after death, the religious regard paid to it, and the paſſion with which they rendered ſolemn honours to the dead, ſeem to argue, that they had ſome confuſed notion of a reſurrection, which ſubſiſted amongſt all nations, and deſcended from the moſt ancient tradition, though they could not diſtinguiſh clearly upon it. DARIUS NOTHUS.

Hence aroſe the fury of the people of Athens. They immediately nominated new generals, retaining only Conon of the old ones, to whom they gave Adimantes and Philocles for colleagues. Eight days after which, two of them withdrew themſelves, and only ſix returned to Athens. Theramenes, the tenth general, who returned before the reſt of the fleet, accuſed the other chiefs before the people, making them reſponſible for not bringing off the dead after the battle; and to clear himſelf, read the letter they had written to the ſenate and people, wherein they excuſed themſelves from the violence of the ſtorm, without charging any body.

DARIUS NOTHUS. That calumny was deteſtably vile, as done in abuſe of their reſerve in not mentioning him in their letter, and in not laying a fault to his charge, of which he might have appeared the moſt guilty. The generals, at their return, not being able to prevail for the time neceſſary for making their defence, contented themſelves with repreſenting in few words the ſtate of the affair, and appealed for the truth of what they ſaid to the pilots, and all preſent when it happened. The people ſeemed to receive their excuſe favourably, and ſeveral perſons offered themſelves for their ſureties; but it was thought proper to adjourn the aſſembly, becauſe of the night, and it being the people's cuſtom to give their ſuffrages by lifting up of hands, their reſolution could not be known; beſides which the council were firſt to give their opinion upon the queſtion to be propoſed to the people.

The feaſt of Apaturia unexpectedly coming on, in which it was the cuſtom to aſſemble by families, the relations of Theramenes poſted ſeveral perſons in mourning habits, and ſhaved, in proper places, who ſaid, they were the kindred of thoſe who had been ſlain in the battle, and obliged Callixenes to accuſe the generals in the ſenate. It was decreed in conſequence, that as the accuſation and defence had been heard in the laſt aſſembly, the people by their reſpective tribes ſhould give their voices, and if the accuſed were found guilty, they ſhould be puniſhed with death, their eſtates confiſcated, and the tenth part conſecrated to the * goddeſs. Some ſenators oppoſed this decree as unjuſt, and contrary to the laws: But as the people, at the inſtigation of Callixenes, threatened to include the oppoſers in the ſame cauſe and crime with the generals, they were ſo mean as to deſiſt from their oppoſition, and to ſacrifice the innocent generals to their own ſafety, by conſenting to the decree. Socrates (the celebrated philoſopher) was the only one of the ſenators who ſtood firm, and perſiſted obſtinately in oppoſing a decree ſo notoriouſly unjuſt, and ſo contrary to all laws.

* Minerva.

laws. The orator, who mounted the tribunal in defence of the generals, ſhowed, "That they had failed "in nothing of their duty, as they had given orders "that the dead bodies ſhould be taken up: That if "any one were guilty, it was he, who, being charged "with theſe orders, had neglected to put them in "execution; but that he accuſed nobody; and that "the tempeſt, which came on unexpectedly at the "very inſtant, was an unanſwerable apology, and entirely diſcharged the accuſed from all guilt. He "demanded, that a whole day ſhould be allowed them "to make their defence, a favour not denied to the "moſt criminal, and that they ſhould be tried ſeparately. He repreſented, that they were not in the "leaſt obliged to precipitate a ſentence, wherein the "lives of the moſt illuſtrious of the citizens were concerned; that it was in ſome meaſure attacking the "gods to make * men reſponſible for the winds and "weather; that they could not, without the moſt "flagrant ingratitude and injuſtice, put the conquerors "to death, to whom they ought to decree crowns and "honours, or give up the defenders of their country "to the rage of thoſe who envied them; that if they "did ſo, their unjuſt judgement would be followed "with a ſudden, but vain repentance, which would "leave behind it the ſharpeſt remorſe, and cover them "with eternal ſhame and infamy." The people ſeemed at firſt to be moved with theſe reaſons; but animated by the accuſers, they pronounced ſentence of death againſt eight of their generals; and ſix of them, who were preſent, were ſeiſed in order to their being carried to execution. One of them, Diomedon, a perſon of great reputation for his valour and probity, demanded to be heard. "Athenians" ſaid he, "I "wiſh the ſentence you have paſſed upon us may not "prove the misfortune of the republick; but I have "one favour to aſk of you in behalf of my colleagues "and myſelf, which is to acquit us before the gods of

DARIUS NOTHUS.

* Quem adeo iniquum, ut fluctus deliquerint? *Tacit. Annal.* l. xiv. c. 3.

DARIUS NOTHUS. "the vows we made to them for you and ourſelves, "as we are not in a condition to diſcharge them; for "it is to their protection, invoked before the battle, "we acknowledge that we are indebted for the victory "gained by us over the enemy." There was not one good citizen, that did not melt into tears at this diſcourſe ſo full of goodneſs and religion, and admire with ſurpriſe the moderation of a perſon, who ſeeing himſelf unjuſtly condemned, did not however vent the leaſt reſentment, or even complaint againſt his judges, but was ſolely intent (in favour of an ungrateful country, which had doomed them to periſh) upon what it owed the gods in common with them for the victory they had lately obtained.

The ſix generals were hardly executed, when the people opened their eyes, and perceived all the horrour of that ſentence; but their repentance could not reſtore the dead to life. Callixenes, the orator, was put in priſon, and refuſed to be heard. Having found means to make his eſcape, he fled to Decelia to the enemy, from whence he returned ſome time after to Athens, where he died of hunger, univerſally deteſted and abhorred by all the world, as all falſe accuſers and ſlanderers ought to be. Diodorus remarks, that the people themſelves were juſtly puniſhed for their crime by the gods, who abandoned them ſoon after, not to a ſingle maſter, but to thirty tyrants, who treated them with the utmoſt rigour and cruelty.

(*d*) The diſpoſition of a people is very naturally imaged in this account; and Plato, upon the ſame event, draws in few words their character with much ſpirit and reſemblance. The * commonalty, ſays he, is an unconſtant, ungrateful, cruel, ſuſpicious animal, incapable of ſubmitting to the government of reaſon; which is no wonder, adds he, as it is commonly compoſed of the dregs of a city, and is a monſtrous aſſemblage, without form or order, of all that is worſt in it.

The

(*d*) Plut. in Axioch. p. 368, 369.

* Δῆμος ἀψίκορον, ἀχάριστον, ὠμὸν, ἄπιστον, ἀπαίδευτον.

The ſame relation ſhows what effect fear can have upon the minds of men, even upon thoſe who paſs for the wiſeſt, and how few there are, who are capable of ſupporting inflexibly the view of preſent danger and diſgrace. Though the juſtneſs of the generals cauſe was perfectly known in the ſenate, at leaſt by the major part of it, as ſoon as the people's rage was mentioned, and the terrible menaces they murmured, thoſe grave ſenators, moſt of whom had commanded armies, and who all of them had frequently expoſed themſelves to the greateſt dangers of war, inſtantly changed ſides, and came over to the moſt notorious calumny, and crying injuſtice, that ever had being. An evident proof, that there is a courage, though very rare, which infinitely tranſcends the valour, that induces ſo many thouſands of men every day to confront the moſt terrible dangers in battle. DARIUS NOTHUS.

Amongſt all the judges, only one, truely worthy of his reputation, the great Socrates, in this general treaſon and perfidy, ſtood firm and immoveable; and though he knew his ſuffrage and unaided voice would be of little or no conſequence to the accuſed, he thought them a juſt homage to oppreſſed innocence, and that it was * unworthy an honeſt man to govern himſelf by the fury of a blind and frantick people. We ſee in this inſtance how far the cauſe of juſtice may be abandoned. We may conclude it was not better defended before the people. Of more than three thouſand citizens, who compoſed the aſſembly, two only took upon them the defence of their generals, Euriptodemus and Axiochus. Plato has preſerved their names, and given that of the latter to the dialogue, from whence part of theſe reflexions are taken.

The ſame year the battle of the Arginuſæ was fought, Dionyſius poſſeſſed himſelf of the tyranny in Sicily. I ſhall defer ſpeaking of him till the enſuing volume, in which I ſhall treat the hiſtory of the tyrants of Syracuſe at large. A. M. 3598. Ant. J. C. 406.

* Οὐ γὰς ἐφαίνετό μοι σεμνὸν δήμῳ μαινομένῳ συνεξάγειν.

SECT.

SECT. VI. LYSANDER *commands the Lacedæmonian fleet.* CYRUS *is recalled to court by his father.* LYSANDER'*s celebrated victory over the Athenians at Ægoſpotamos.*

DARIUS NOTHUS. A. M. 3599. Ant. J. C. 405.

(*f*) AFTER the defeat at the Arginuſæ, the affairs of the Peloponneſians declining, the allies, ſupported by the credit of Cyrus, ſent an embaſſy to Sparta, to demand that the command of the fleet ſhould again be given to Lyſander, with the promiſe of ſerving with more affection and courage if their requeſt were ganted. As it was contrary to the laws of Sparta that the ſame perſon ſhould be twice admiral; the Lacedæmonians, to ſatisfy the allies, gave the title of admiral to one Aracus, and ſent Lyſander with him, whom in appearance they commiſſioned only as vice-admiral, though in effect with all the authority of the ſupreme command.

All thoſe who had the greateſt ſhare in the government of the cities, and were of moſt authority in them, ſaw him arrive with extreme joy; promiſing themſelves, from his influence, the final ſubverſion of the democratick power. His character of complacency for his friends, and indulgence to all their faults, ſuited much better with their ambitious and injurious views, than the auſtere equity of Callicratidas. For Lyſander was a man of the moſt corrupt heart, and gloried in having no principles in point of virtue or the moſt ſacred duties. He made no ſcruple to employ artifice and deceit upon all occaſions, and eſteemed juſtice only as far as it ſerved his meaſures. When it did not promote them, he never failed to prefer the uſeful, which with him was alone laudable and excellent; from a perſuaſion that truth had in its own nature no advantage over falſehood, and that the value of both one and the other was to be determined by the convenience reſulting from them. And for thoſe who repreſented to him, that it was unworthy the deſcendents of Hercules to make uſe of fraud and treachery, he laughed

(*f*) Xenoph. Hellen. l. ii. p. 45. Plut. in Lyſ. l. ix. 436, 437, Diod. l. xiii. p. 223.

laughed at them; *For*, ſaid he, *where the lion's ſkin is not long enough, it is neceſſary to tack the fox's tail to it.* DARIUS NOTHUS.

An expreſſion aſcribed to him, ſufficiently denotes, how ſmall an account he made of perjury. He uſed to ſay, * *Children are amuſed with baubles, and men with oaths*; ſhowing by ſo profeſſed a want of religion, that the gods were more inconſiderable with him than his enemies. For he who deceives with a falſe oath, plainly declares in ſo doing, that he fears his enemies, but that he deſpiſes God.

(*g*) Here ends the twenty-ſixth year of the Peloponneſian war. In this year, it was, that young Cyrus, dazzled with the unuſual ſplendour of ſupreme authority, and jealous of the leaſt omiſſion in point of ceremonial homage, diſcovered by a remarkable action the ſecret of his heart. Brought up from his infancy in the reigning houſe, nurtured under the ſhade of the throne amidſt the ſubmiſſions and proſtrations of the courtiers, entertained long by the diſcourſes of an ambitious mother who idolized him, in the deſire and hope of empire, he began already to affect the rights of ſovereignty, and to exact the honours paid to it with ſurpriſing haughtineſs and rigour. Two Perſians of the royal family, his couſin-germans by their mother, his father Darius's ſiſter, had omitted to cover their hands with their ſleeves in his preſence, according to a ceremonial obſerved only to the kings of Perſia. Cyrus, reſenting that neglect as a capital crime, condemned them both to die, and cauſed them to be executed at Sardis without mercy. Darius, at whoſe feet their relations threw themſelves to demand juſtice, was very much affected with the tragical end of his two nephews, and looked upon this action of his ſon's as an attempt upon himſelf, to whom alone that honour was due. He reſolved therefore to take his government

(*g*) Xenoph. Hellen. l. ii. p. 454.

* *The Greek text admits of another ſenſe, which is perhaps no leſs good:* Children may uſe art, and cheat one another in their games, and men in their oaths. Ἐκέλευε τοὺς μὲν παῖδας ἀστραγάλοις, τοὺς ἄνδρας ὅρκοις ἐξαπατᾶν.

DARIUS NOTHUS. ment from him, and ordered him to court upon the pretext of being ſick, and having a deſire to ſee him.

Cyrus before his departure ſent for Lyſander to Sardis, and put into his hands great ſums of money for the payment of his fleet, promiſing him ſtill more for the future. And with the oſtentation of a young man, to let him ſee how much he deſired to oblige him, he aſſured him, that though the king his father ſhould ceaſe to afford him any ſupplies, he would furniſh him the more willingly out of his own coffers, and that rather than he ſhould want the neceſſary proviſions, he would even cauſe the throne of maſſy gold and ſilver, upon which he ſat in judgement, to be melted down. At length, when he was upon the point of ſetting out, he empowered him to receive the tributes and revenues of the cities, confided the government of his provinces to him, and conjured him with embraces not to give battle in his abſence, unleſs ſuperior in force; becauſe the king neither wanted the will nor the power to give him that ſuperiority to the enemy; promiſing at the ſame time, with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of affection, to bring him a great number of ſhips from Phœnicia and Cilicia.

(*b*) After that Prince's departure, Lyſander ſailed towards the Helleſpont, and laid ſiege to Lampſacus. Torax, having marched thither with his land-forces at the ſame time, aſſaulted the city on his ſide. (*i*) The place was carried by ſtorm, and abandoned by Lyſander to the mercy of the ſoldiers. The Athenians, who followed him cloſe, came to an anchor in the port of Eleontum in the Cherſoneſus, with an hundred and fourſcore gallies. But upon the news of the taking of Lampſacus, they immediately ſteered for Seſtos, and after having taken in proviſions, they ſtood away from thence, ſailing along the coaſt to a place called * Ægoſpotamos, where they halted over-againſt the enemy, who were then at anchor before Lampſacus. The Helleſpont is not above two thouſand paces broad in

(*b*) Xenoph. Hellen. l. ii. p. 435–458. (*i*) Plut. in Lyſ. p. 437, & 440. Idem, in Alcib. p. 212. Diod. l. xiii. p. 225, 226.

* *The river of the goat.*

in that place. The two armies, ſeeing themſelves ſo near each other, expected only to reſt that day, and were in hopes of coming to a battle on the next. DARIUS NOTHUS.

But Lyſander had another deſign in view. He commanded the ſeamen and pilots to go on board their gallies, as if they were in reality to fight the next morning at break of day, to hold themſelves in readineſs, and to wait his orders with profound ſilence. He ordered the land-army in like manner to draw up in battle upon the coaſt, and to wait the day without any noiſe. On the morrow, as ſoon as the ſun was riſen, the Athenians began to row towards them with their whole fleet in one line, and to bid them defiance. Lyſander, though his ſhips were ranged in order of battle, with their heads towards the enemy, lay ſtill without making any movement. In the evening, when the Athenians withdrew, he did not ſuffer his ſoldiers to go aſhore, till two or three gallies, which he had ſent out to obſerve them, were returned with advice, that they had ſeen the enemy land. The next day paſſed in the ſame manner, as did the third and fourth. Such a conduct, which argued reſerve and apprehenſion, extremely augmented the ſecurity and boldneſs of the Athenians, and inſpired them with an extreme contempt for an army, which fear, in their ſenſe, prevented from ſhowing themſelves, and attempting any thing.

Whilſt this paſſed, Alcibiades, who was near the fleet, took horſe, and came to the Athenian generals; to whom he repreſented, that they kept upon a very diſadvantageous coaſt, where there were neither ports nor cities in the neighbourhood; that they were obliged to bring their proviſions from Seſtos with great danger and difficulty; and that they were very much in the wrong to ſuffer the ſoldiers and mariners of the fleet, as ſoon as they were aſhore, to ſtraggle and diſperſe themſelves at their own pleaſure, whilſt the enemy's fleet faced them in view, accuſtomed to execute the orders of their general with inſtant obedience, and upon the ſlighteſt ſignal. He offered alſo

to

DARIUS NOTHUS. to attack the enemy by land with a ſtrong body of Thracian troops, and to force them to a battle. The generals, eſpecially Tydeus and Menander, jealous of their command, did not content themſelves with refuſing his offers, from the opinion, that if the event proved unfortunate, the whole blame would fall on them, and if favourable, that Alcibiades would engroſs the honour of it; but rejected alſo with inſult his wiſe and ſalutary counſel, as if a man in diſgrace loſt his ſenſe and abilities with the favour of the commonwealth. Alcibiades withdrew.

The fifth day the Athenians preſented themſelves again, and offered him battle; retiring in the evening according to cuſtom with more inſulting airs than the days before. Lyſander, as uſual, detached ſome gallies to obſerve them, with orders to return with the utmoſt diligence, when they ſaw the Athenians landed, and to put a brazen buckler at each ſhip's head as ſoon as they reached the middle of the channel. Himſelf in the mean time ran through the whole line in his galley, exhorting the pilots and officers to hold the ſeamen and ſoldiers in readineſs to row and fight on the firſt ſignal.

As ſoon as the bucklers were put up in the ſhips heads, and the admiral's galley had given the ſignal by the ſound of trumpet, the whole fleet ſet forwards in good order. The land-army at the ſame time made all poſſible haſte to the top of the promontory to ſee the battle. The ſtrait that ſeparates the two continents in this place, is about fifteen ſtadia*, or three quarters of a league in breadth, which ſpace was preſently cleared through the activity and diligence of the rowers. Conon, the Athenian general, was the firſt who perceived, from ſhore, the enemy's fleet advance in good order to attack him; upon which he immediately cried out for the troops to embark. In the height of ſorrow and perplexity, ſome he called to by their names, ſome he conjured, and others he forced to go on board their gallies; but all his

* 1875 *paces.*

his endeavours and emotion were ineffectual, the soldiers being dispersed on all sides. For they were no sooner come on shore, than some were ran to the suttlers, some to walk in the country, some to sleep in their tents, and others had began to dress their suppers. This proceeded from the want of vigilance and experience in their generals, who not suspecting the least danger, indulged themselves in taking their repose, and gave their soldiers the same liberty. DARIUS NOTHUS

The enemy had already fallen on with loud cries and a great noise of their oars, when Conon, disengaging himself with nine gallies, of which number was the sacred ship called the *Paralian*, stood away for Cyprus, where he took refuge with Evagoras. The Peloponnesians, falling upon the rest of the fleet, took immediately the gallies which were empty, and disabled and destroyed such as began to fill with men. The soldiers, who ran without order or arms to their relief, were either killed in the endeavour to get on board, or flying on shore were cut to pieces by the enemy, who landed in pursuit of them. Lysander took three thousand prisoners, with all the generals, and the whole fleet. After having plundered the camp, and fastened the enemy's gallies to the sterns of his own, he returned to Lampsacus, amidst the sound of flutes and songs of triumph. It was his glory to have achieved one of the greatest military exploits recorded in history, with little or no loss, and to have terminated a war in the small space of an hour, which had already lasted seven-and-twenty years, and which perhaps, without him, had been of much longer continuance. Lysander immediately sent despatches with this agreeable news to Sparta.

The three thousand prisoners, taken in this battle, having been condemned to die, Lysander called upon Philocles, one of the Athenian generals, who had caused all the prisoners taken in two gallies, the one of Andros, the other of Corinth, to be thrown from the top of a precipice, and had formerly persuaded the

Darius Nothus. the people of Athens to make a decree for cutting off the thumb of the right hand of all the priſoners of war, in order to diſable them from handling the pike, and that they might be fit only to ſerve at the oar. Lyſander therefore cauſed him to be brought forth, and aſked him, what ſentence he would paſs upon himſelf, for having induced his city to paſs that cruel decree. Philocles, without departing from his haughtineſs in the leaſt, notwithſtanding the extreme danger he was in, made anſwer, "Accuſe not peo-"ple of crimes who have no judges, but as you are "victor, uſe your right, and do by us as we had "done by you, if we had conquered." At the ſame inſtant he went into a bath, put on afterwards a magnificent robe, and marched foremoſt to the execution. All the priſoners were put to the ſword, except Adamantus who had oppoſed the decree.

After this expedition, Lyſander went with his fleet to all the maritime cities, and gave orders for all Athenians in them to withdraw as ſoon as poſſible to Athens, without permitting them to take any other route; declaring, that after a certain time fixed, all ſuch ſhould be puniſhed with death, as ſhould be found out of Athens. This he did as an able politician, to reduce the city by famine the more eaſily, and to render it incapable of ſuſtaining a long ſiege. He afterwards applied himſelf in ſubverting the democratick, and all other forms of government throughout the cities; leaving in each of them a Lacedæmonian governor, called *harmoſtes*, and ten archons or magiſtrates, whom he choſe out of the ſocieties he had eſtabliſhed in them. He thereby in ſome meaſure ſecured to himſelf univerſal authority, and a kind of ſovereignty over all Greece; putting none into power but ſuch as were entirely devoted to his ſervice.

SECT. VII. *Athens, beſieged by* LYSANDER, *capitulates, and ſurrenders.* LYSANDER *changes the form of government, and eſtabliſhes thirty commanders in it. He ſends* GYLIPPUS *before him to Sparta with all the gold and ſilver taken from the enemy. Decree of Sparta upon the uſe to be made of it. The Peloponneſian war ends in this manner. Death of* DARIUS NOTHUS.

(f) WHEN the news of the entire defeat of the army came to Athens by a ſhip, which arrived in the night at the Piræeus, the city was in univerſal conſternation. Nothing was heard but cries of ſorrow and deſpair in every part of it. They imagined the enemy already at their gates. They repreſented to themſelves the miſeries of a long ſiege, a cruel famine, the ruin and burning of their city, the inſolence of a proud victor, and the ſhameful ſlavery they were upon the point of experiencing, more afflicting and inſupportable to them than the moſt ſevere puniſhments and death itſelf. The next day the aſſembly was ſummoned, wherein it was reſolved to ſhut up all the ports, one only excepted; to repair the breaches in the walls; and mount guard to prepare againſt a ſiege. DARIUS NOTHUS. A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404.

In effect Agis and Pauſanias, the two kings of Sparta, advanced towards Athens with all their troops. Lyſander ſoon after arrived at the Piræeus with an hundred and fifty ſail, and prevented all ſhips from going in or coming out. The Athenians, beſieged by ſea and land, without proviſions, ſhips, hope of relief, or any reſource, re-inſtated all perſons attainted by any degree, without ſpeaking the leaſt word of a capitulation, however, though many already died of famine. But when their corn was entirely conſumed, they ſent deputies to Agis, to propoſe a treaty with Sparta, upon condition of abandoning all their poſſeſſions, the city and port only excepted. He referred the deputies to Lacedæmon, as not being empowered

(f) Xenoph. Hellen. l. ii. p. 458—462. Plut. in Lyſand. p. 440, 441.

DARIUS NOTHUS.

to treat with them. When they arrived at Salaſia, upon the frontier of Sparta, and had made known their commiſſion to the Ephori, they were ordered to retire, and to come with other propoſals if they expected peace. The Ephori had demanded, that twelve hundred paces of the wall on each ſide of the Piræeus ſhould be demoliſhed: But an Athenian, for venturing to adviſe a compliance, was ſent to priſon, and prohibition made againſt propoſing any thing of that kind for the future.

In this deplorable condition Theramenes declared in the aſſembly, that if he were ſent to Lyſander, he would know, whether the propoſal made by the Lacedæmonians for diſmantling the city, was intended to facilitate its ruin, or to prevent a revolt. The Athenians having deputed him accordingly, he was more than three months abſent; no doubt with the view of reducing them by famine to accept any conditions that ſhould be offered. On his return he told them, that Lyſander had detained him all that time, and that at laſt he had been given to underſtand, that he might apply to the Ephori. He was therefore ſent back with nine others to Sparta, with full powers to conclude a treaty. When they arrived there, the Ephori gave them audience in the general aſſembly, where the Corinthians and ſeveral other allies, eſpecially the Thebans, inſiſted that it was abſolutely neceſſary to deſtroy the city without hearkening any further to a treaty. But the Lacedæmonians, preferring the glory and ſafety of Greece to their own grandeur, made anſwer, that they would never be reproached with having deſtroyed a city that had rendered ſuch great ſervices to all Greece; the remembrance of which ought to have much greater weight with the allies, than the reſentment of private injuries received from it. The peace was therefore concluded under theſe conditions: "That the forti-
"fications of the Piræeus, with the long wall that
"joined that port to the city, ſhould be demoliſhed
"that the Athenians ſhould deliver up all their gallies,
"twelve

" twelve only excepted; that they ſhould abandon DARIUS NOTHUS.
" all the cities they had ſeiſed, and content themſelves
" with their own lands and country; that they ſhould
" recall their exiles, and make a league offenſive and
" defenſive with the Lacedæmonians, under whom
" they ſhould march wherever they thought fit to
" lead them."

The deputies on their return were ſurrounded with an innumerable throng of people, who apprehended that nothing had been concluded, for they were not able to hold out any longer, ſuch multitudes dying every day of famine. The next day they reported the ſucceſs of their negociation; the treaty was ratified, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of ſome perſons; and Lyſander, followed by the exiles, entered the port. It was upon the very day the Athenians had formerly gained the famous naval battle of Salamin. He cauſed the walls to be demoliſhed to the ſound of flutes and trumpets, and with all the exterior marks of triumph and rejoicing, as if all Greece had that day regained its liberty. Thus ended the Peloponneſian war, after having continued during the ſpace of twenty-ſeven years.

Lyſander, without giving the Athenians time to look about them, changed the form of their government entirely, eſtabliſhed thirty archons, or rather tyrants, over the city, put a good garriſon into the citadel, and left the Spartan Callibius *harmoſtes*, or governour. Agis diſmiſſed his troops. Lyſander, before he diſbanded his, advanced againſt Samos, which he preſſed ſo warmly, that it was at laſt obliged to capitulate. After having eſtabliſhed its ancient inhabitants in it, he propoſed to return to Sparta with the Lacedæmonian gallies, thoſe of the Piræeus, and the beaks of thoſe he had taken.

He had ſent Gylippus, who had commanded the army in Sicily, before him, to carry the money and ſpoils, which were the fruit of his glorious campaigns, to Lacedæmon. The money, without reckoning the innumerable crowns of gold, given him by the

DARIUS NOTHUS.

cities, amounted to fifteen hundred talents, that is to ſay, fifteen hundred thouſand crowns*. Gylippus, who carried this conſiderable ſum, could not reſiſt the temptation of converting ſome part of it to his own uſe. The bags were ſealed up carefully, and did not ſeem to leave any room for theft. He unſewed them at the bottom; and after having taken out of each of them what money he thought fit, to the amount of three hundred talents, he ſewed them up again very neatly, and thought himſelf perfectly ſafe. But when he arrived at Sparta, the accounts, which had been put up in each bag, diſcovered him. To avoid puniſhment, he baniſhed himſelf from his country, carrying along with him in all places the diſgrace of having ſullied, by ſo baſe and ſordid an avarice, the glory of all his great actions.

From this unhappy example, the wiſeſt and moſt diſtinguiſhing of the Spartans, apprehending the all-powerful effects of money, which enſlaved not only the vulgar, but even the greateſt of men, extremely blamed Lyſander for having acted ſo contradictorily to the fundamental laws of Sparta, and warmly repreſented to the Ephori, how incumbent it was upon them to † baniſh all that gold and ſilver from the republick, and to lay the heavieſt of curſes and imprecations upon it, as the fatal bane of all other ſtates, introduced only to corrupt the wholeſome conſtitution of the Spartan government, which had ſupported itſelf for ſo many ages with vigour and proſperity. The Ephori immediately paſſed a decree to proſcribe that money, and ordained that none ſhould be current, except the uſual pieces of iron. But Lyſander's friends oppoſed this decree, and ſparing no pains to retain the gold and ſilver in Sparta, the affair was referred for further deliberation. There naturally ſeemed only two methods to be conſidered; which were, either to make the gold and ſilver ſpecies current, or to cry them down and prohibit them abſolutely. The

* *About* 337,000*l. ſterling.*

† Ἀπελιθοτομεῖσθαι πᾶν τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ τὸ χρυσίον, ὥσπερ κῆρας ἐπαγωγιμους.

The men of addreſs and policy found out a third expedient, which, in their ſenſe, reconciled both the others with great ſucceſs: This was wiſely to chooſe the mean betwixt the vicious extremes of too much rigour and too much neglect. It was therefore reſolved, that the new coin of gold and ſilver ſhould be ſolely employed by the publick treaſury; that it ſhould only paſs in the occaſions and uſes of the ſtate; and that every private perſon, in whoſe poſſeſſion it ſhould be found, ſhould be immediately put to death. DARIUS NOTHUS.

A ſtrange expedient, ſays Plutarch! As if Lycurgus had feared the ſpecies of gold and ſilver, and not the avarice they occaſion; an avarice, leſs to be extinguiſhed by prohibiting to particulars the poſſeſſion of it, than enflamed by permitting the ſtate to amaſs and make uſe of it for the ſervice of the publick. For it was impoſſible, whilſt that money was in honour and eſteem with the publick, that it ſhould be deſpiſed in private as uſeleſs, and that people ſhould look upon that, as of no value in their domeſtick affairs, which the city prized, and were ſo much concerned to have for its occaſions; bad uſages, authoriſed by the practice and example of the publick, being a thouſand times more dangerous to particulars, than the vices of particulars to the publick. The Lacedæmonians therefore, continues Plutarch, in puniſhing thoſe with death who ſhould make uſe of the new money in private, were ſo blind and imprudent to imagine, that the placing of the law, and the terrour of puniſhment as a guard at the door, was ſufficient to prevent gold and ſilver from entering the houſe: They left the hearts of their citizens open to the deſire and admiration of riches, and introduced themſelves a violent paſſion for amaſſing treaſure, in cauſing it to be deemed a great and honourable thing to become rich.

It was about the end of the Peloponneſian war, that Darius Nothus king of Perſia died, after a reign of nineteen years. Cyrus had arrived at the court before his A. M. 3600 Ant. J. C. 404

DARIUS NOTHUS. his death, and Paryſatis his mother, whoſe idol he was, not contented with having made his peace, notwithſtanding the faults he had committed in his government, preſſed the old king to declare him his ſucceſſor alſo, after the example of Darius the firſt, who gave Xerxes the preference before all his brothers, becauſe born, as Cyrus was, after his father's acceſſion to the throne. But Darius did not carry his complaiſance for her ſo far. He gave the crown to Arſaces, his eldeſt ſon by Paryſatis alſo, whom Plutarch called Arſicas, and bequeathed only to Cyrus the provinces he had already.

BOOK THE NINTH.

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE PERSIANS AND GRECIANS; CONTINUED,

During the firſt fifteen Years of the Reign of ARTAXERXES MNEMON.

CHAP. I.

THIS chapter contains the domeſtick troubles of the court of Perſia; the death of Alcibiades; the re-eſtabliſhment of the liberty of Athens; and Lyſander's ſecret deſigns to make himſelf king.

SECT. I. *Coronation of* ARTAXERXES MNEMON. CYRUS *attempts to aſſaſſinate his brother, and is ſent into Aſia Minor. Cruel revenge of* STATIRA *wife of* ARTAXERXES, *upon the authors and accomplices in the murther of her brother. Death of* ALCIBIADES. *His character.*

ARSACES, upon aſcending the throne, aſſumed the name of Artaxerxes, the ſame to whom the Greeks gave the ſurname of * MNEMON, from his prodigious memory. (*a*) Being near his father's bed when he was dying, he aſked him, a few moments before he expired, what had been the rule of his conduct during ſo long and happy a reign as his, that he might make it his example. *It has been*, replied he, *to do always what juſtice and religion required of me.* Words of deep ſenſe, and well worthy of being ſet up in

ARTAX. MNEMON. A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 404.

(*a*) Athen. l. xii. p. 548.

* *Which word ſignifies in the Greek, one of a good memory.*

ARTAX. MNEMON. in letters of gold in the palaces of kings, to keep them perpetually in mind of what ought to be the guide and rule of all their actions. It is not uncommon for princes to give excellent inſtructions to their children on their death-beds, which would be more efficacious, if preceded by their own example and conduct; without which they are as weak and impotent as the ſick man who gives them, and ſeldom ſurvive him long.

(*b*) Soon after Darius's death, the new king ſet out from his capital for the city of * Paſargades, in order to his coronation, according to cuſtom, by the prieſts of Perſia. There was in that city a temple of the goddeſs who preſided in war, in which the coronation was ſolemniſed. It was attended with very ſingular ceremonies, which no doubt had ſome myſterious ſenſe; though Plutarch does not explain it. The prince at his conſecration took off his robe in the temple, and put on that worn by the ancient Cyrus, before he came to the throne, which was preſerved in that place with great veneration. After that he eat a dry fig, chewed ſome leaves of the turpentine tree, and drank a draught compoſed of milk and vinegar. This might ſignify, that the ſweets of ſovereign power are mingled with the ſours of care and diſquiet, and that, if the throne be ſurrounded with pleaſures and honours, it is alſo attended with pains and anxieties. It ſeems ſufficiently evident, that the deſign in putting the robes of Cyrus upon the new king, was to make him underſtand, that he ſhould alſo clothe his mind with the great qualities and exalted virtues of that prince.

Young Cyrus, whoſe ſoul was all ambition, was in deſpair upon being for ever prevented from aſcending a throne his mother had given him, and on ſeeing the ſceptre which he thought his right, transferred into the hands of his brother. The blackeſt crimes coſt the ambitious nothing. Cyrus reſolved to aſſaſſinate Artaxerxes in the temple itſelf, and in the preſence of the whole

(*b*) Plut. in Artax. p. 1012.

* *A city of Perſia built by Cyrus the Great.*

whole court, juſt when he took off his own, to put on the robe of Cyrus. Artaxerxes was appriſed of this deſign by the prieſt himſelf, who had educated his brother, to whom he had imparted it. Cyrus was ſeiſed, and condemned to die, when his mother Paryſatis, almoſt out of her ſenſes, flew to the place, claſped him in her arms, tied herſelf to him with the treſſes of her hair, faſtened her neck to his, and by her ſhrieks, and tears, and prayers, prevailed ſo far as to obtain his pardon, and that he ſhould be ſent back to his government of the maritime provinces. He carried thither with him an ambition no leſs ardent than before, was animated beſides with reſentment of the check he had received, and the warm deſire of revenge, and armed with an almoſt unbounded power. Artaxerxes upon this occaſion acted contrary to the moſt common rules of policy, which do not admit * the nouriſhing and enflaming, by extraordinary honours, the pride and haughtineſs of a bold and enterpriſing young prince like Cyrus, who had carried his perſonal enmity to his brother ſo far, as to have reſolved to aſſaſſinate him with his own hand, and whoſe ambition for empire was ſo great, as to employ the moſt criminal methods for the attainment of its end. ARTAX. MNEMON.

(c) Artaxerxes had eſpouſed Statira. Scarce had her huſband aſcended the throne, when ſhe employed the power her beauty gave her over him, to avenge the death of her brother Teriteuchmes. Hiſtory has not a more tragical ſcene, nor a more monſtrous complication of adultery, inceſt, and murther; which, after having occaſioned great diſorders in the royal family, terminated, at length in the moſt fatal manner to all who had any ſhare in it. But it is neceſſary for the reader's knowledge of the fact to trace it from the beginning.

Hidarnes, Statira's father, a Perſian of very great quality, was governor of one of the principal provinces of the empire. Statira was a lady of extraordinary beauty,

(c) Cteſ. c. li. lv.

* Ne quis mobiles adoleſcentium animos præmaturis honoribus ad ſuperbiam extolleret. *Tacit Annal.* l. iv. c. 17.

ARTAX. MNEMON. beauty, which induced Artaxerxes to marry her, who was then called Arſaces. At the ſame time Teriteuchmes, Statira's brother, married Hameſtris, Arſaces's ſiſter, one of the daughters of Darius and Paryſatis; in favour of which marriage Teriteuchmes, upon his father's death, had his government given him. There was at the ſame time another ſiſter in this family, no leſs beautiful than Statira, and who beſides excelled in the arts of ſhooting with the bow, and throwing the dart. Teriteuehmes her brother conceived a criminal paſſion for her, and to gratify it reſolved to ſet himſelf at liberty by killing Hameſtris, whom he had eſpouſed. Darius, having been informed of this project, by the force of preſents and promiſes engaged Udiaſtes, Teriteuchmes's intimate friend and confident, to prevent ſo black a deſign, by aſſaſſinating him. He obeyed, and had for his reward the government of him he had put to death with his own hands.

Amongſt Teriteuchmes's guards was a ſon of Udiaſtes, called Mithridates, very much attached to his maſter. The young gentleman, upon hearing that his father had committed this murther in perſon, uttered all manner of imprecations againſt him, and full of horrour for ſo infamous and vile an action, ſeiſed on the city of Zaris, and openly revolting, declared for the eſtabliſhment of Teriteuchmes's ſon. But that young man could not hold out long againſt Darius. He was blocked up in the place with the ſon of Teriteuchmes, whom he had with him; and all the reſt of the family of Hidarnes were put in priſon, and delivered to Paryſatis, to do with them as that mother, exaſperated to the laſt exceſs by the treatment either done or intended againſt her daughter Hameſtris, ſhould think fit. That cruel princeſs began by cauſing Roxana, whoſe beauty had been the occaſion of this evil, to be ſawed in two, and ordered all the reſt to be put to death, except Statira, whoſe life ſhe granted to the tears and the moſt tender and ardent ſollicitations of Arſaces; whoſe love for his wife made him ſpare no pains for her preſervation, though Darius, his father,

father, believed it neceſſary, even for his own good, that ſhe ſhould ſhare the ſame fate with the reſt of her family. Such was the ſtate of the affair at the death of Darius. ARTAX. MNEMON.

Statira, as ſoon as her huſband was upon the throne, cauſes Udiaſtes to be delivered into her hands. She ordered his tongue to be torn out, and made him die in the moſt exquiſite torments ſhe could invent, to puniſh the crime which had occaſioned the ruin of her family. She gave his government to Mithridates, in recompence for his attachment to the intereſts of her family. Paryſatis on her ſide took her revenge on the ſon of Teriteuchmes, whom ſhe cauſed to be poiſoned, and we ſhall ſee that Statira's turn was not very remote.

We ſee here the terrible effects of female revenge, and in general of what exceſſes they are capable, who find themſelves above all laws, and have no other rule for their actions than their will and paſſions.

Cyrus, having reſolved to dethrone his brother, employed Clearchus, the Lacedæmonian general, to raiſe a body of Grecian troops, under pretence of a war, which that Spartan was to carry into Thrace. I ſhall defer ſpeaking of this famous expedition, and alſo of the death of Socrates, which happened about the ſame time; intending to treat thoſe two great events in all the extent they deſerve. It was without doubt with the ſame view, that Cyrus preſented Lyſander a galley of two cubits in length made of ivory and gold, to congratulate him upon his naval victory. That galley was conſecrated to Apollo in the temple of Delphos. Lyſander went ſoon after to Sardis, charged with magnificent preſents for Cyrus from the allies.

It was upon that occaſion Cyrus had the celebrated converſation with Lyſander related by Xenophon, and which Cicero after him has applied ſo beautifully. That young * prince, who piqued himſelf more upon his integrity

* Narrat Socrates in eo libro Cyrum minorem, regem Perſarum, præſtantem ingenio atque imperii gloria, cum Lyſander Lacedæmonius, vir ſummæ virtutis, veniſſet ad eum Sardes, eique

ARTAX. MNEMON. integrity and politeneſs than nobility and grandeur, pleaſed himſelf with conducting in perſon ſo illuſtrious a gueſt through his gardens, and to make him obſerve the various beauties of them. Lyſander, ſtruck with ſo fine a proſpect, admired the manner in which the ſeveral parts were laid out, the height and projection of the trees, the neatneſs and diſpoſition of the walks; the abundance of fruits, planted with an art which had known how to unite the uſeful with the agreeable; the beauty of the parterres, and the glowing variety of flowers, exhaling odours univerſally throughout the delightful ſcene. "Every thing charms and tranſports "me in this place," ſaid Lyſander, addreſſing himſelf to Cyrus; "but what ſtrikes me moſt, is the exquiſite "taſte and elegant induſtry of the perſon, who drew "the plan of the ſeveral parts of this garden, and gave "it the fine order, wonderful diſpoſition, and happineſs "of ſymmetry, which I cannot ſufficiently admire." Cyrus, infinitely pleaſed with this diſcourſe, replied, "It was I that drew the plan, and entirely marked it "out; and not only that, many of the trees, which you "ſee, were planted with my own hands." "What," replied Lyſander conſidering him from head to foot, "is it poſſible, with theſe purple robes and ſplendid "veſtments, thoſe ſtrings of jewels and bracelets of "gold, thoſe buſkins ſo richly embroidered, that you "could play the gardener, and employ your royal "hands in plantingtrees!" "Does that ſurpriſe you?" ſaid Cyrus, "I ſwear by the god * Mithras, that when "my

que dona à ſociis attuliſſet, et ceteris in rebus comem erga Lyſandrum atque humanum fuiſſe, et ei quemdam conſeptum agrum diligenter conſitum oſtendiſſe. Cum autem admiraretur Lyſander et præceritates arborum, et directos in quincuncem ordines, & humum ſubactam atque puram, & ſuavitatem odorum qui efflarentur è floribus; tum eum dixiſſe, mirari ſe non modo diligentiam, ſed etiam ſolertiam ejus, à quo eſſent illa dimenſa atque deſcripta. Et ei Cyrum reſpondiſſe: Atqui ego iſta ſum dimenſus, mei ſunt ordines, mea deſcriptio, multæ etiam iſtarum arborum mea manu ſunt ſatæ. Tum Lyſandrum, intuentem ejus purpuram et nitorem corporis, ornatumque Perſicum multo auro multiſque gemmis, dixiſſe: Recte vero, te, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuæ fortuna conjuncta eſt. *Cic. de Senec. n.* 59.

* *The Perſians adored the ſun under that name, who was their principal god.*

" my health admits, I never ſit down to table without " having made myſelf ſweat with ſome fatigue or other, " either in military exerciſe, rural labour, or ſome other " toilſome employment, to which I apply with pleaſure, " and without ſparing myſelf." Lyſander was amazed at his diſcourſe, and preſſing him by the hand; * " Cyrus," ſaid he, " you are truely happy, and deſerve your " high fortune; becauſe you unite it with virtue." ARTAX. MNEMON.

Alcibiades was at no ſmall pains to diſcover the myſtery of the levies made by Cyrus, and went into the province of Pharnabaſus, with deſign to proceed to the court of Perſia, and to appriſe Artaxerxes of the ſcheme laid againſt him. Had he arrived there, a diſcovery of ſuch importance had infallibly procured him the favour of that prince, and the aſſiſtance he wanted for the re-eſtabliſhment of his country. But the Lacedæmonian partiſans at Athens, that is to ſay, the thirty tyrants, apprehended the intrigues of ſo ſuperior a genius as his, and repreſented to their maſters, that they were inevitably ruined if they did not find means to rid themſelves of Alcibiades. The Lacedæmonians thereupon wrote to Pharnabaſus, and with an abject meanneſs not to be excuſed, and which ſhowed how much Sparta had degenerated from her ancient manners, made preſſing inſtances to him, to deliver them at any rate from ſo formidable an enemy. The ſatrap complied to their wiſh. Alcibiades was then in a ſmall town of Phrygia, where he lived with his concubine † Timandra. Thoſe who were ſent to kill him, not daring to enter his houſe, contented themſelves with ſurrounding and ſetting it on fire. Alcibiades, having quitted it through the flames ſword in hand, the Barbarians were afraid to ſtay to come to blows with him, but flying and retreating as he advanced, they poured their darts and arrows upon him, and he fell dead upon the ſpot. Timandra took up his body, and having

* Δικαίως, ὦ Κῦρε εὐδαιμονεῖς· ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν εὐδαιμονεῖς. *Which Cicero tranſlates:* Recte verò te, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuæ fortuna conjuncta eſt.

† *It was ſaid that Lais the famous courtezan, called the Corinthian, was the daughter of this Timandra.*

ARTAX. MNEMON. having adorned and covered it with the fineſt robes ſhe had, ſhe made as magnificent a funeral for it, as her preſent condition would admit.

Such was the end of Alcibiades, whoſe great virtues were ſtifled and ſuppreſſed by ſtill greater vices. * It is not eaſy to ſay, whether his good or bad qualities were moſt pernicious to his country; for with the one he deceived, and with the other he oppreſſed it. In him diſtinguiſhed valour was united with nobility of blood. His perſon was beautiful and finely made, he was eloquent, of great ability in affairs, inſinuating, and formed for charming all mankind. He loved glory; but without prejudice to his inclination for pleaſure; nor was he ſo fond of pleaſure, as to neglect his glory for it. He knew how to give into, or abſtract himſelf from it, according to the ſituation of his affairs. Never was there ductility of genius equal to his. He metamorphoſed himſelf with incredible facility, like a Proteus, into the moſt contrary forms, and ſupported them all with as much eaſe and grace, as if each had been natural to him.

This convertibility of character according to occaſions, the cuſtoms of countries, and his own intereſts, diſcover an heart void of principles, without either truth or juſtice. He did not confine himſelf either to religion, virtue, laws, duties, or his country. His ſole rule of action was his private ambition, to which he reduced every thing. His aim was to pleaſe, to dazzle, and be beloved; but at the ſame time to ſubject thoſe he ſoothed. He favoured them only as they ſerved his purpoſes; and made his correſpondence and ſociety a means for engroſſing every thing to himſelf.

His life was a perpetual mixture of good and evil. His ſallies for virtue were ill-ſuſtained, and quickly degenerated into vices and crimes, very little to the honour of the inſtructions of that great philoſopher, who took no ſmall pains to cultivate him into a man of

* Cujus neſcio utrum bona an vitia patriæ pernicoſiora fuerint; illis enim cives ſuos decepit, his afflixit. *Val. Max.* l. iii. c. 1.

of worth. His actions were glorious; but without rule or principle. His character was elevated and grand; but without connexion and conſiſtence. He was ſucceſſively the ſupport and terrour of the Lacedæmonians and Perſians. He was either the misfortune or refuge of his own country, according to his declaring for or againſt it. In fine, he was the author of an univerſal deſtructive war in Greece, from the ſole motive of commanding, by inducing the Athenians to beſiege Syracuſe; much leſs from the hope of conquering Sicily, and afterwards Africa, than with the deſign of keeping Athens in dependence upon himſelf; convinced, that having to deal with an inconſtant, ſuſpicious, ungrateful, jealous people, averſe to thoſe that governed, it was neceſſary to engage them continually in ſome great affair, in order to make his ſervices always neceſſary to them, and that they might not be at leiſure to examine, cenſure, and condemn his conduct. ARTAX. MNEMON.

He had the fate generally experienced by perſons of his character, and of which they cannot reaſonably complain. He never loved any one, himſelf being his ſole motive; nor ever found a friend. He made it his merit and glory to amuſe all men, and nobody confided in, or adhered to him. His ſole view was to live with ſplendour, and to lord it univerſally; and he periſhed miſerably, abandoned by the whole world, and obliged at his death to the feeble ſervices and impotent zeal of one only woman for the laſt honours rendered to his remains.

About this time died Democritus the philoſopher, of whom more will be ſaid elſewhere.

SECT. II. *The Thirty exerciſe the moſt horrid cruelties at Athens. They put* THERAMENES, *one of their colleagues to death.* SOCRATES *takes his defence upon himſelf.* THRASYBULUS *attacks the tyrants, makes himſelf maſter of Athens, and reſtores its liberty.*

ARTAX. MNEMON. (*d*) THE council of Thirty, eſtabliſhed at Athens by Lyſander, committed the moſt execrable cruelties. Upon pretence of reſtraining the multitude within their duty, and to prevent ſeditions, they had cauſed guards to be aſſigned them, had armed three thouſand of the citizens for that ſervice, and at the ſame time diſarmed all the reſt. The whole city was in the utmoſt terrour and diſmay. Whoever oppoſed their injuſtice and violence, became the victims of them. Riches were a crime that never failed of drawing a ſentence upon their owners, always followed with death, and the confiſcation of eſtates; which the thirty tyrants divided amongſt themſelves. They put more people to death, ſays Xenophon, in eight months of peace, than the enemies had done in a war of thirty years.

The two moſt conſiderable perſons of the Thirty were Critias and Theramenes, who at firſt lived in great union, and always acted in concert with each other. The latter had ſome honour, and loved his country. When he ſaw with what an exceſs of violence and cruelty his colleagues behaved, he declared openly againſt them, and thereby drew their reſentment upon him. Critias became his moſt mortal enemy, and acted as informer againſt him before the ſenate, accuſing him of diſturbing the tranquillity of the ſtate, and of deſigning to ſubvert the preſent government. As he perceived that the defence of Theramenes was heard with ſilence and approbation, he was afraid, that if the affair was left to the deciſion of the ſenate, they would acquit him. Having therefore cauſed a band of young men, whom he had armed with poinards, to advance to the bar, he ſaid that he thought

(*d*) Xenoph. Hiſt. l. ii. p. 462, & 479. Diod. l. xiv. p. 235—238. Juſtin. l. v. c. 8, 10.

thought it the duty of a ſupreme magiſtrate to prevent juſtice from being abuſed, and that he ſhould act conformably upon this occaſion. "But," continued he, "as the law does not admit, that any of the three "thouſand ſhould be put to death without the conſent "of the ſenate, I exclude Theramenes from that "number, and condemn him to die in virtue of my "own and my colleagues authority." Theramenes upon theſe words, leaping upon the altar; "I demand," ſaid he, "Athenians, that I may be tried according "to the laws; which cannot be refuſed me without "manifeſt injuſtice. Not that I imagine, that the "goodneſs of my cauſe will avail me any thing, or "the ſanction of altars protect me, but I would ſhow "at leaſt that my enemies reſpect neither the gods "nor men. What moſt aſtoniſhes me is, that perſons "of your wiſdom do not ſee, that your own names "may as eaſily be ſtruck out of the liſt of the citizens, "as that of Theramenes." Critias upon this ordered the officers of juſtice to pull him down from the altar. An univerſal ſilence and terrour enſued upon the ſight of the armed ſoldiers, that ſurrounded the ſenate. Of all the ſenators, only Socrates, whoſe diſciple Theramenes had been, took upon him his defenſe, and oppoſed the officers of juſtice. But his weak endeavours could not deliver Theramenes, who was led to the place of execution, notwithſtanding all he could do, through crouds of the citizens, who ſaw with tears, in the fate of a man equally conſiderable for his love of liberty and the great ſervices he had done his country, what they had to fear for themſelves. When they preſented him the hemlock, that is, the poiſon (which was the manner of putting the citizens of Athens to death) he took it with an intrepid air, and after having drank it, he poured the bottom upon the table, after the uſual manner obſerved in feaſts or publick rejoicings, ſaying, *This for the noble Critias.* Xenophon relates this circumſtance, inconſiderable in itſelf, to ſhow, ſays he, the tranquillity of Theramenes in his laſt moments. ARTAX. MNEMON.

ARTAX. MNEMON. The tyrants delivered from a colleague, whoſe preſence alone was a continual reproach to them, no longer obſerved any meaſures. Nothing paſſed throughout the city but impriſonments and murthers. * Every body trembled for themſelves or their friends. The general deſolation had no remedy, nor was there any hope of regaining their liberty. Where had they then as many † Harmodiuſes as they had tyrants? Terrour had taken entire poſſeſſion of their minds, whilſt the whole city deplored in ſecret their loſs of liberty, without having one amongſt them generous enough to attempt the breaking of its chains. The Athenian people ſeemed to have loſt that valour, which till then had made them aweful and terrible to their neighbours and enemies. They ſeemed to have loſt the very uſe of ſpeech; not daring to vent the leaſt complaint, leſt it ſhould be made a capital crime in them. Socrates only continued intrepid. He conſoled the afflicted ſenate, animated the deſponding citizens, and ſet all men an admirable example of courage and reſolution; preſerving his liberty, and ſuſtaining his port in the midſt of thirty tyrants, who made all elſe tremble, but could never ſhake the conſtancy of Socrates with their menances. (*e*) Critias, who had been his pupil, was the firſt to declare moſt openly againſt him, taking offenſe at the free and bold diſcourſes which he held againſt the government of the thirty. He went ſo far as to prohibit his inſtructing youth; but Socrates, who neither acknowledged his authority, nor feared the violent effects of it, paid no regard to ſo unjuſt an order.

All

(*e*) Xenoph. memorab. l. i. p. 716, 717.

* Poteratne civitas illa conquieſcere, in qua tot tyranni erant, quot ſatellites eſſent? Ne ſpes quidem ulla recipiendæ libertatis animis poterat offerri, nec ulli remedio locus apparebat contra tantam vim malorum. Unde enim miſeræ civitati tot Harmodios? Socrates tamen in medio erat, et lugentes patres conſolabatur, et deſperantes de republica exhortabatur——et imitari volentibus magnum circumferebat exemplar, cum inter triginta dominos liber incederet. *Senec. de tranquil. anim.* c. iii.

† *Harmodius formed a conſpiracy for the deliverance of Athens from the tyranny of the Piſiſtratides.*

All the citizens of any conſideration in Athens, and who retained a love of liberty quitted a place reduced to ſo hard and ſhameful a ſlavery, and ſought elſewhere an aſylum and retreat, where they might live in ſafety. At the head of theſe was Thraſybulus, a perſon of extraordinary merit, who beheld with the moſt lively affliction the miſeries of his country. The Lacedæmonians had the inhumanity to endeavour to deprive thoſe unhappy fugitives of this laſt reſource. They publiſhed an edict to prohibit the cities of Greece from giving them refuge, decreed that they ſhould be delivered up to the thirty tyrants, and condemned all ſuch as ſhould contravene the execution of this edict, to pay a fine of five talants. Only two cities rejected with diſdain ſo unjuſt an ordinance, Megara and Thebes; the latter of which made a decree to puniſh all perſons whatſoever, who ſhould ſee an Athenian attacked by his enemies without doing his utmoſt to aſſiſt him. Lyſias, an orator of Syracuſe, who had been baniſhed by the thirty, * raiſed five hundred ſoldiers at his own expenſe, and ſent them to the aid of the common country of eloquence. ARTAX. MNEMON.

Thraſybulus loſt no time. After having taken Phyla, a ſmall fort in Attica, he marched to the Piræeus, of which he made himſelf maſter. The thirty flew thither with their troops, and a battle ſufficiently warm enſued. But as the ſoldiers on one ſide fought with valour and vigour for their liberty, and on the other with indolence and neglect for the power of others, the ſucceſs was not doubtful, but followed the better cauſe. The tyrants were overthrown. Critias was killed upon the ſpot. And as the reſt of the army were taking to flight, Thraſybulus cried out; "Wherefore do you "fly from me as from a victor, rather than aſſiſt me "as the avenger of your liberty? We are not enemies, "but fellow-citizens; nor have we declared war "againſt the city, but againſt the thirty tyrants." He continued with bidding them remember, that they had

* Quingentos milites, ſtipendio ſuo inſtructos, in auxilium patriæ communis eloquentiæ miſit. *Juſtin.* l. v. c. 9.

ARTAX. MNEMON. the ſame origin, country, laws, and religion; he exhorted them to compaſſionate their exiled brethren, to reſtore their country to them, and reſume their liberty themſelves. This diſcourſe had ſuitable effects. The army, upon their return to Athens, expelled the thirty, and ſubſtituted ten perſons to govern in their room, whoſe conduct proved no better than theirs.

It is a matter of ſurpriſe, that ſo ſudden, ſo univerſal, ſo tenacious, and ſo uniform a conſpiracy againſt the publick good, ſhould always actuate the ſeveral bodies of perſons eſtabliſhed in the adminiſtration of this government. This we have ſeen in the four hundred formerly choſen by Athens; again in the thirty; and now in the ten. And what augments our wonder is, that this paſſion for tyranny ſhould poſſeſs ſo immediately republicans, born in the boſom of liberty, accuſtomed to an equality of condition on which it is founded, and principled from their earlieſt infancy in an abhorrence of all ſubjection and dependency. *(f)* There muſt be on the one ſide in power and authority ſome violent impulſe to actuate in this manner ſo many perſons, of whom many, no doubt, were not without ſentiments of virtue and honour; and to baniſh ſo ſuddenly the principles and manners natural to them; and on the other an exceſſive propenſity in the mind of man to ſubject his equals, to rule over them imperiouſly, to carry him on to the laſt extremes of oppreſſion and cruelty, and to make him forget at once all laws, nature, and religion.

The thirty being fallen from their power and hopes, ſent deputies to Lacedæmon to demand aid. It was not Lyſander's fault, who was ſent to them with troops, that the tyrants were not re-eſtabliſhed. But king Pauſanias, moved with compaſſion for the deplorable condition, to which a city, once ſo flouriſhing, was reduced, had the generoſity to favour the Athenians in ſecret, and at length obtained a peace for them. It was ſealed with the blood of the tyrants, who, having taken arms to re-inſtate themſelves in the government

(f) Vi dominationis convulſus. *Tacit.*

government, and being preſent at a parley for that purpoſe, were all put to the ſword, and left Athens in the full poſſeſſion of its liberty. All the exiles were recalled. Thraſybulus at that time propoſed the celebrated amneſty, by which the citizens engaged upon oath that all paſt tranſactions ſhould be buried in oblivion. The government was re-eſtabliſhed upon its ancient foot, the laws reſtored to their priſtine vigour, and magiſtrates elected with the uſual forms. ARTAX. MNEMON.

I cannot forbear obſerving in this place the wiſdom and moderation of Thraſybulus, ſo ſalutary and eſſential after ſo long a continuance of domeſtick troubles. This is one of the fineſt events in ancient hiſtory, worthy the Athenian lenity and benevolence, and has ſerved as a model to ſucceſſive ages in good governments.

Never had tyranny been more cruel and bloody than that the Athenians had lately thrown off. Every houſe was in mourning; every family bewailed the loſs of ſome relation. It had been a ſeries of publick robbery and rapine, in which licence and impunity had authoriſed all manner of crimes. The people ſeemed to have a right to demand the blood of all accomplices in ſuch notorious malverſations, and even the intereſt of the ſtate to authoriſe ſuch a claim, that by exemplary ſeverities ſuch enormous crimes might be prevented for the future. But Thraſybulus riſing above thoſe ſentiments, from the ſuperiority of his more extenſive genius, and the views of a more diſcerning and profound policy, foreſaw, that by giving in to the puniſhment of the guilty, eternal ſeeds of diſcord and enmity would remain, to weaken the republick by domeſtick diviſions, which it was neceſſary to unite againſt the common enemy, and occaſion the loſs to the ſtate of a great number of citizens, who might render it important ſervices from the view itſelf of making amends for paſt miſbehaviour.

Such a conduct after great troubles in a ſtate has always ſeemed, with the ableſt politicians, the moſt certain and ready means to reſtore the publick peace and tranquillity.

ARTAX. MNEMON. tranquillity. * Cicero, when Rome was divided into two factions upon the occaſion of Cæſar's death, who had been killed by the conſpirators, calling to mind this celebrated amneſty, propoſed, after the example of the Athenians, to bury all that had paſſed in eternal oblivion. (g) Cardinal Mazarin obſerved to Don Lewis de Haro, prime miniſter of Spain, that this gentle and humane conduct in France had prevented the troubles and revolts of that kingdom from having any fatal conſequences, and *that the king had not loſt a foot of land by them to that day*; whereas the inflexible ſeverity of the Spaniards *was the occaſion, that the ſubjects of that monarchy, whenever they threw off the maſk, never returned to their obedience but by the force of arms; which ſufficiently appears*, ſays he, *in the example of the Hollanders, who are in the peaceable poſſeſſion of many provinces, that not an age ago were the patrimony of the king of Spain.*

Diodorus Siculus takes occaſion from the thirty tyrants of Athens, whoſe immoderate ambition induced them to treat their country with the moſt exceſſive cruelties, to obſerve how unfortunate it is for † perſons in power to want a ſenſe of honour, and to diſregard either the preſent opinion, or the judgement poſterity will form of their conduct; For from the contempt of reputation the tranſition is too common to that of virtue itſelf. They may perhaps, by the awe of their power, ſuppreſs

(g) Let. XV. of Card. Maz.

* In. ædem Telluris convocati ſumus; in quo templo, quantum in me fuit, jeci fundamentum pacis; Athenienſiumque renovavi vetus exemplum, Græcum etiam ‡ verbum uſurpavi, quod tum in ſedandis diſcordiis uſurpaverat civitas illa; atque omnem memoriam diſcordiarum oblivione ſempiterna delendam cenſui, *Philip.* i. n. 1.

‡ *Some believe that word was* ἀμνηςία; *but as it is not found in the hiſtorians, who have treated this fact, it is more likely, that it was* μὴ μνησικακεῖν, *which has the ſame ſenſe, and is uſed by them all.*

† Cetera principibus ſtatim adeſſe: unum inſatiabiliter parandum, proſperam ſui memoriam; namque contemptâ famâ, contemni virtutes. — Quo magis ſocordiam eorum irrideri libet, qui præſenti potentiâ credunt extingui poſſe etiam ſequentis ævi memoriam— ſuum cuique decus poſteritas rependit. *Tacit. Annal.* l. iv. c. 30. & 35.

ſuppreſs for ſome time the publick voice, and impoſe a forced ſilence upon cenſure; but the more conſtraint they lay upon it during their lives, the more liberal will it be after their deaths of complaints and reproaches, and the more infamy and imputation will be affixed to their memories. The power of the Thirty was of a very ſhort duration; their guilt immortal, which will be remembered with abhorrence throughout all ages, whilſt their names will be recorded in hiſtory only to render them odious, and to make their crimes deteſtable. He applies the ſame reflexion to the Lacedæmonians, who after having made themſelves maſters of Greece by a wiſe and moderate conduct, fell from that glory, through the ſeverity, haughtineſs, and injuſtice, with which they treated their allies. There is doubtleſs no reader, whom their abject and cruel jealouſy, in regard to Athens enſlaved and humbled, has not prejudiced againſt them; nor is there any reſemblance in ſuch behaviour of the greatneſs of mind and noble generoſity of ancient Sparta; ſo much power have the luſt of dominion and proſperity over even virtuous men. Diodorus concludes his reflexion with a maxim very true, though very little known: "The greatneſs and majeſty of princes," ſays he (and the ſame may be ſaid of all perſons in high authority) "can be ſupported only by humanity "and juſtice with regard to their ſubjects; as on the "contrary, they are ruined and deſtroyed by a cruel "and oppreſſive government, which never fails to "draw upon them the hatred of their people." ARTAX. MNEMON.

SECT. III. LYSANDER *abuſes his power in an extraordinary manner. He is recalled to Sparta upon the complaint of* PHARNABASUS.

(*b*) AS Lyſander had the greateſt ſhare in the celebrated exploits, which had raiſed the glory of the Lacedæmonians to ſo high a pitch; ſo had he acquired a degree of power and authority, of which there was no example before in Sparta; but he ſuffered himſelf

(*b*) Plut. in Lyſ. p. 443—445.

Artax. Mnemon. ſelf to be carried away by a preſumption and vanity ſtill greater than his power. He permitted the Grecian cities to dedicate altars to him as to a god, and to offer ſacrifices, and ſing hymns and canticles in honour of him. The Samians ordained by a publick decree, that the feaſts celebrated in honour of Juno, and which bore the name of that goddeſs, ſhould be called *the feaſts of Lyſander*. He had always a crowd of poets about him (who are often a tribe of venal flatterers) who emulated each other in ſinging his great exploits, for which they were magnificently paid. Praiſe is undoubtedly due to noble deeds; but diminiſhes their luſtre when either forged or exceſſive.

This ſort of vanity and ambition, had he ſtopped there, would have hurt only himſelf, by expoſing him to envy and contempt; but a natural conſequence of it was, that through his arrogance and pride, in conjunction with the inceſſant flatteries of thoſe around him, he carried the ſpirit of command and authority to an inſupportable exceſs, and obſerved no longer any meaſures either in rewarding or puniſhing. The abſolute government of cities with tyrannick power were the fruits of his friendſhip, and the ties of hoſpitality with him; and only the death of thoſe he hated, could put an end to his reſentment and diſpleaſure, without its being poſſible to eſcape his vengeance. What Sylla cauſed to be inſcribed upon his tomb, might with equal propriety have been engraved upon Lyſander's: That no man had ever ſurpaſſed him in doing good to his friends, or evil to his enemies.

Treachery and perjury coſt him nothing whenever they prompted his deſigns; nor was he leſs cruel than revengeful; of which what he did at Miletus is a ſufficient proof. Apprehending that thoſe who were at the head of the people would eſcape him, he ſwore not to do them any hurt. Thoſe unfortunates gave credit to his oath, and no ſooner appeared in publick, than they were put to the ſword with his conſent by the nobility, who killed them all, though no leſs than eight hundred. The number of thoſe in the party of

the

the people, whom he cauſed to be maſſacred in the other cities, is incredible; for he did not only deſtroy to ſatiate his own reſentments, but to ſerve in all places the enmity, malice, and avarice of his friends, whom he ſupported in gratifying their paſſion by the death of their enemies. ARTAX. MNEMON.

There was no kind of injuſtice and violence which the people did not ſuffer under the government of Lyſander; whilſt the Lacedæmonians who were ſufficiently informed of his conduct, gave themſelves no trouble to prevent its effects. It is too common for thoſe in power to be little affected with the vexations and oppreſſions laid upon perſons of low condition and credit, and to be deaf to their juſt complaints, though authority is principally confided in them for the defence of the weak and poor, who have no other protectors. But if ſuch remonſtrances are made by a great or powerful perſon, from whom they may have any thing to hope or fear, the ſame authority that was ſlow and drowſy, becomes immediately warm and officious; a certain proof that it is not the love of juſtice that actuates it: This appears here in the conduct of the Lacedæmonian magiſtrates. Pharnabaſus, weary of Lyſander's repeated injuſtices, who ravaged and pillaged the provinces under his command, having ſent ambaſſadors to Sparta, to complain of the wrongs he had received from that general, the Ephori recalled him. Lyſander was at that time in the Helleſpont. The letter of the Ephori threw him into great conſternation. As he principally feared the complaints and accuſations of Pharnabaſus, he made all the haſte he could to come to an explanation with him, from the hope of ſoftening him, and making his peace. He went for that purpoſe to him, and deſired, that he would write another letter to the Ephori, intimating a ſatisfaction in his conduct. But Lyſander, ſays Plutarch, in ſuch an application to Pharnabaſus, forgot the * proverb, *Set a thief to catch a thief.* The ſatrap promiſed

* *The Greek proverb is,* Cretan againſt Cretan, *from the people of Crete, who paſſed for the greateſt cheats and liars in the world.*

ARTAX. MNEMON. promiſed all he deſired, and accordingly wrote ſuch a letter in Lyſander's preſence as he had aſked of him, but prepared another to a quite different effect. When he was to ſeal it, as both letters were of the ſame ſize and form, he dexterouſly put that he had written in ſecret into the place of the other, without being obſerved, which he ſealed and gave him.

Lyſander departed well ſatisfied, and being arrived at Sparta, alighted at the palace where the ſenate was aſſembled, and delivered Pharnabaſus's letter to the Ephori. But he was ſtrangely ſurpriſed when he heard the contents, and withdrew in extreme confuſion and diſorder. Some days after he returned to the ſenate, and told the Ephori, that he was obliged to go to the temple of Ammon to acquit himſelf of the ſacrifices he had vowed to that god before his battles. That pilgrimage was no more than a pretence, to cover the pain it gave him to live as a private perſon in Sparta, and to ſubmit to the yoke of obeying; he, who till then had always governed. Accuſtomed long to commanding armies, and to the flattering diſtinctions of a kind of ſovereignty exerciſed by him in Aſia, he could not endure the mortifying equality with the multitude, nor reſtrain himſelf to the ſimplicity of a private life. Having obtained permiſſion, not without great difficulties, he embarked.

As ſoon as he was gone, the kings, reflecting that he held all the cities in his dependence, by the means of their governours and magiſtrates eſtabliſhed by him, to whom they were alſo indebted for their unlimited authority, and that he was thereby effectually lord and maſter of all Greece, applied themſelves vigorouſly to reſtore the government of the people, and to depoſe all his creatures and friends from any ſhare in it. This alteration occaſioned great tumults at firſt. About the ſame time Lyſander, being appriſed of the deſign of Thraſybulus, to re-eſtabliſh the liberty of his country, returned with the utmoſt diligence to Sparta, and endeavoured to engage the Lacedæmonians to ſupport the party of the nobility at Athens. We have before obſerved,

obſerved, that Pauſanias, from a more noble ſpirit of equity and generoſity, gave peace to Athens, and by that means, ſays Plutarch, clipped the wings of Lyſander's ambition. ARTAX. MNEMON.

CHAP. II.

Young CYRUS, *with the aid of the Grecian troops, endeavours to dethrone his brother* ARTAXERXES. *He is killed in battle. Famous retreat of the ten thouſand.*

ANTIQUITY has few events ſo memorable, as thoſe I am about to relate in this place. We ſee on one ſide a young prince, abounding otherwiſe with excellent qualities, abandoned to his violent ambition, carry the war from far againſt his brother and ſovereign, and go to attack him almoſt in his own palace, with the view of depriving him at once of his crown and life. We ſee him, I ſay, fall dead in the battle at the feet of that brother, and terminate, by ſo unhappy a fate, an enterpriſe equally glaring and criminal. On the other hand, the Greeks who follow him*, deſtitute of all ſuccour after the loſs of their chiefs, without allies, proviſions, money, horſe, or archers, reduced to leſs than ten thouſand men, with no reſource but in their own perſons and valour, ſupported only by the warm deſire of preſerving their liberty, and of returning to their native countries; theſe Greeks, with bold and intrepid reſolution, make their retreat before a victorious army of a million of men, traverſe five or ſix hundred leagues, notwithſtanding vaſt rivers and innumerable paſſes, and arrive at laſt in their own country through a thouſand fierce and barbarous nations, victorious over all obſtacles in their way, and over all the dangers which either concealed fraud or open force reduce them to undergo.

This

* Poſt mortem Cyri, neque armis à tanto exercitu vinci, neque dolo capi potuerunt; revertenteſque inter tot indomitas nationes et barbaras gentes per tanta itineris ſpatia, virtute ſe uſque terminos patriæ defenderunt. *Juſtin.* l. v. c. 11.

ARTAX. MNEMON.

This retreat, in the opinion of the beſt judges and moſt experienced in the art of war, is the boldeſt and beſt conducted exploit to be found in ancient hiſtory, and is deemed a perfect model in its kind. Happily for us it is deſcribed to the moſt minute circumſtance by an hiſtorian, who was not only eye-witneſs of the facts he relates, but the firſt mover, the ſoul of this great enterpriſe. I ſhall only abridge it, and abſtract its moſt material circumſtances; but I cannot omit adviſing young perſons, who make arms their profeſſion, to conſult the original, of which there is a good tranſlation extant in French, though far ſhort of the admirable beauties of the text. It is very difficult to meet with a more able maſter than Xenophon in the art of war, to whom may be well applied here what Homer ſays of Phœnix the governour of Achilles (*u*), *That he was equally capable of forming his pupil for eloquence or arms.*

Μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι, πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων.

SECT. I. CYRUS *raiſes troops ſecretly againſt his brother* ARTAXERXES. *Thirteen thouſand Greeks join him. He ſets out for Sardis, and arrives in Babylonia after a march of ſix months.*

A. M. 3600. Ant. J. C. 440.

(*x*) WE have already ſaid, that young Cyrus, ſon of Darius Nothus and Paryſatis, ſaw with pain his elder brother Artaxerxes upon the throne, and that at the very time the latter was taking poſſeſſion of it, he had attempted to deprive him of his crown and life together. Artaxerxes was not inſenſible of what he had to fear from a brother of his enterpriſing and ambitious ſpirit, but could not refuſe pardoning him to the prayers and tears of his mother Paryſatis, who doated upon this youngeſt ſon. He removed him therefore into Aſia to his government; confiding to him, contrary to all the rules of policy, an abſolute authority over the provinces left him by the will of the king his father.

As

(*u*) Iliad. x. ver. 443. (*x*) Diod. l. xiv. p. 243—249, & 252. Juſtin. l. v. c. 11. Xenoph. de Cyri exped. l. i. p. 243—248.

As ſoon as he arrived there, his thoughts were ARTAX. MNEMON. ſolely intent upon revenging the ſuppoſed affront he had received from his brother, and to dethrone him. A. M. 3601. He received all that came from the court with great favour and affability, to induce them inſenſibly to quit Ant. J. C. 403. the king's party and ahere to him. He gained alſo the hearts of the Barbarians under his government; familiariſing himſelf with them, and mingling with the common ſoldiery, though without forgetting the dignity of their general; theſe he formed by various exerciſes for the trade of war. He applied particularly in ſecret to raiſe from ſeveral parts, and upon different pretexts, a body of Grecian troops, upon whom he relied much more than upon thoſe of the Barbarians. Clearchus retired to his court after having been baniſhed from Sparta, and was of great ſervice to him, being an able, experienced, and valiant captain. At A. M. 3602. the ſame time ſeveral cities in the provinces of Tiſſa- Ant. J. C. phernes revolted from their obedience in favour of Cy- 402. rus. This incident, which was not an effect of chance, but of the ſecret practices of that prince, gave birth to a war between them. Cyrus, under the pretence of arming againſt Tiſſaphernes, aſſembled troops openly; and to amuſe the court the more ſpeciouſly, ſent grievous complaints to the king againſt that governour, demanding his protection and aid in the moſt ſubmiſſive manner. Artaxerxes was deceived by theſe appearances, and believed, that all Cyrus's preparations regarded only Tiſſaphernes, and continued quiet, from the aſſurance of having nothing to apprehend for himſelf.

(a) Cyrus knew well how to improve the imprudent ſecurity and indolence of his brother, which ſome people conceived the effect of his goodneſs and humanity. And indeed in the beginning of his reign he ſeemed to imitate the virtues of the firſt Artaxerxes, whoſe name he bore. For he demeaned himſelf with great mildneſs and affability to ſuch as approached him; he honoured and rewarded magnificently all thoſe whoſe ſervices

(a) Plut. in Artax. p. 1013.

ARTAX. MNEMON. ſervices had merited favour; when he paſſed ſentence to puniſh, it was without either outrage or inſult; and when he made preſents, it was with a gracious air, and ſuch obliging circumſtances, as infinitely exalted their value, and implied, that he was never better pleaſed than when he had an opportunity of doing good to his ſubjects. To all theſe excellent qualities it had been very neceſſary for him to have added one no leſs royal, and which would have put him upon his guard againſt the enterpriſes of a brother, whoſe character he ought to have known; I mean a wiſe foreſight, that penetrates the future, and renders a prince attentive to prevent or fruſtrate whatever may diſturb the tranquillity of the ſtate.

The emiſſaries of Cyrus at the court were perpetually diſperſing reports and opinions amongſt the people, to prepare their minds for the intended change and revolt. They talked that the ſtate required a king of Cyrus's character; a king, magnificent, liberal, who loved war, and ſhowered his favours upon thoſe that ſerved him; and that it was neceſſary for the grandeur of the empire to have a prince upon the throne, fired with ambition and valour for the ſupport and augmentation of its glory.

A. M. 3603. Ant. J. C. 401. The young prince loſt no time on his ſide, and haſtened the execution of his great deſign. He was then twenty-three years old at moſt. After the important ſervices he had done the Lacedæmonians, without which they had never obtained the victories that had made them maſters of Greece, he thought he might ſafely open himſelf to them. He therefore imparted to them the preſent ſituation of his affairs, and the end he had in view; convinced that ſuch a confidence could not but incline them the more in his favour.

In the letter he wrote them, he ſpoke of himſelf in very magnificent terms. He told them he had a greater and more royal heart than his brother; that he was better verſed in philoſophy and the * knowledge

* *By the knowledge of the Magi, amongſt the Perſians, was meant the ſcience of religion and government.*

ledge of the Magi, and that he could drink more wine without being diſordered in his ſenſes, a very meritorious quality amongſt the Barbarians, but not ſo proper to recommend him to the opinion of thoſe he wrote to. The Lacedæmonians ſent orders to their fleet to join that of the prince immediately, and to obey the commands of Tamos his admiral in all things, but without the leaſt mention of Artaxerxes, or ſeeming in any manner privy to his deſign. They thought that precaution * neceſſary for their juſtification with Artaxerxes, in caſe affairs ſhould happen to terminate in his favour. ARTAX. MNEMON.

The troops of Cyrus, according to the review afterwards made, conſiſted of thirteen thouſand Greeks, which were the flower and chief force of his army, and of an hundred thouſand regular men of the barbarous nations. Clearchus, the Lacedæmonian, commanded all the Peloponneſian troops, except the Achæans, who had Socrates of Achia for their leader. The Bœotians were under Proxenes the Theban, and the Theſſalians under Menon. (*c*) The Barbarians had Perſian generals, of whom the chief was Ariæus. The fleet conſiſted of thirty-five ſhips under Pythagoras the Lacedæmonian, and of twenty-five commanded by Tamos the Ægyptian, admiral of the whole fleet. It followed the land-army, coaſting along the ſhore.

Cyrus had opened his deſign only to Clearchus of all the Greeks, foreſeeing aright that the length and boldneſs of the enterpriſe could not fail of diſcouraging and diſguſting the officers, as well as ſoldiers. He made it his ſole application to gain their affections during the march, by treating them with kindneſs and humanity, converſing freely with them, and giving effectual orders that they ſhould want for nothing. Proxenes, between whoſe family and Xenophon's an ancient friendſhip ſubſiſted, preſented that young Athenian to Cyrus (*d*), who received him very favourably, and

(*c*) Xenoph. Cyri. Exped. l. i. p. 52. (*d*) Xenoph. l. ii. p. 294.

* Quærentus apud Cyrum gratiam; et apud. Artaxerxem, ſi vicisſet, veniæ patrocinia, cum nihil adverſus eum aperte decreviſſent. *Juſtin.* l. v. c 11.

ARTAX. MNEMON. and gave him an employment in his army amongſt the Greeks. He ſet out for Sardis at length, and marched towards the upper provinces of Aſia. The troops knew neither the occaſion of the war, nor into what countries they were going. Cyrus had only cauſed it to be given out, that he ſhould act againſt the Piſidians, who had infeſted his province by their incurſions.

(*e*) Tiſſaphernes, rightly judging that all theſe preparations were too great for ſo ſmall an enterpriſe as againſt Piſidia, had ſet out poſt from Miletus to give the king an account of them. This news occaſioned great trouble at court. Paryſatis, the mother of Artaxerxes and Cyrus, was looked upon as the principal cauſe of this war; and all perſons in her ſervice and intereſt were ſuſpected of holding intelligence with Cyrus. Statira, eſpecially, the reigning queen, reproached her inceſſantly in the moſt violent terms. "Where is "now," ſaid ſhe to her, "that faith you have ſo often "engaged for your ſon's behaviour? Where thoſe "ardent prayers you employed to preſerve from "death that conſpirator againſt his king and brother? "It is your unhappy fondneſs has kindled this war. "and plunged us into an abyſs of misfortunes." The antipathy and hatred of the two queens for each other was already very great, and much enflamed by ſuch warm reproaches. We ſhall ſee what conſequences they have. Artaxerxes aſſembled a numerous army to receive his brother.

(*f*) Cyrus advanced continually by great marches. What troubled him moſt on the way was the paſs of Cilicia, which was a narrow defile between very high and ſteep mountains, that would admit no more than one carriage to paſs at a time. Syenneſis, king of the country, prepared to diſpute this paſſage with him, and would infallibly have ſucceeded, but for the diverſion made by Tamos with his fleet, in conjunction with that of the Lacedæmonians. To defend the coaſts againſt the inſults of the fleet, Syenneſis abandoned that

(*e*) Plut. in Artax. p. 1014 (*f*) Xenoph. l. i. p. 248—261.

that important poſt, which a ſmall body of troops might have made good againſt the greateſt army. ARTAX. MNEMON.

When they arrived at Tarſus, the Greeks refuſed to march any farther, rightly ſuſpecting that they were intended againſt the king, and loudly exclaiming that they had not entered into the ſervice upon that condition. Clearchus, who commanded them, had occaſion for all his addreſs and ability to ſtifle this commotion in its birth. At firſt he made uſe of authority and force, but with very ill ſucceſs, and deſiſted therefore from an open oppoſition to their ſentiments: He even affected to enter into their views, and to ſupport them with his approbation and credit. He declared publickly, that he would not ſeparate himſelf from them, and adviſed them to depute perſons to the prince, to know from his own mouth againſt whom they were to be led, that they might follow him voluntarily if they approved his meaſures; if not, that they might demand his permiſſion to withdraw. By this artful evaſion he appeaſed the tumult, and made them eaſy, and they choſe him and ſome other officers for their deputies. Cyrus, whom he had ſecretly appriſed of every thing, made anſwer, that he was going to attack * Abrocomas his enemy, at twelve days march from thence upon the Euphrates. When this anſwer was repeated to them, though they plainly ſaw againſt whom they were going, they reſolved to proceed, and only demanded an augmentation of their pay. Cyrus, inſtead of one † Darick a month to each ſoldier, promiſed to give them one and a half.

Some time after Cyrus was informed that two of the principal officers, upon account of a private quarrel with Clearchus, had deſerted with part of their equipage on board a merchant-ſhip. Many were of opinion, that it was proper to ſend two gallies after them; which might be done with great eaſe, and that when

* *It is not ſaid where he commanded. It appears to be upon the Euphrates. He marched with three hundred thouſand men to join the king's army, but did not arrive till after the battle.*

† *The Darick was worth ten livres.*

ARTAX. MNEMON. they were brought back, they ſhould be made an example, by ſuffering death in the ſight of the whole army. Cyrus, convinced that favour * was the moſt certain means to the attainment of affection, and that puniſhments, like violent remedies, ought never to be uſed but in extreme neceſſity, declared publickly that he would not ſuffer it to be ſaid, that he had detained any one in his ſervice by force; and added, that he would ſend them their wives and children, whom they had left as hoſtages in his hands. An anſwer of ſo much wiſdom and generoſity had a ſurpriſing effect; and made even thoſe his firm adherents, who were before inclined to retire. This is an excellent leſſon for all who govern. There is in the mind of man a fund of natural generoſity, which it is neceſſary to know and apply. Threats exaſperate them, and chaſtiſement makes them revolt, when endeavours are uſed to force them to do their duty againſt their will.† They deſire a certain degree of confidence in their honour, and that the glory of acquitting themſelves of it out of choice be left in their power: To ſhow that you believe men faithful, is often the beſt means to make them ſo.

Cyrus ſoon after declared, that he marched againſt Artaxerxes. Upon which ſome murmuring was heard at firſt, but it ſoon gave place to the expreſſions of joy and ſatisfaction, occaſioned by that prince's magnificent promiſes to the army.

(g) As Cyrus advanced by long marches, he was informed from all parts that the king did not intend to come directly to battle, but had reſolved to wait in the remote parts of Peſia, till all his forces were aſſembled; and that to ſtop his enemies, he had ordered an intrenchment to be thrown up in the plains of Babylonia, with a foſſé of five fathoms broad, and three deep,

(g) Plut. in Artax. p 1014. Xenoph. l. i. p. 261—266.

* Beneficiis potius quam remediis ingenia experiri placuit. *Plin. in Traj.*

† Neſcio an plus moribus conferat princeps, qui bonas eſſe patitur, quam qui cogit. *Plin. ibid.* Plerumque habita fides ipſam obligat fidem. *Liv.*

deep, extending the ſpace of twelve * paraſangas or leagues, from the Euphrates to the wall of Media. Between the Euphrates and the foſsé a way had been left of twenty feet in breadth, by which Cyrus paſſed with his whole army, having reviewed it the day before. The king had neglected to diſpute this paſs with him, and ſuffered him to continue his march towards Babylon. It was Tiribaſus, who determined him not to fly in ſuch a manner before an enemy, againſt whom he had infinite advantages, as well from the number of his troops as the valour of his generals. He reſolved therefore to advance againſt the enemy. ARTAX. MNEMON.

SECT. II. *The battle of Cunaxa. The Greeks are victorious on their ſide,* ARTAXERXES *on his.* CYRUS *is killed.*

(*b*) THE place where the battle was fought, was called Cunaxa, about † twenty-five leagues from Babylon. The army of Cyrus conſiſted of thirteen thouſand Greeks, an hundred thouſand Barbarians, and twenty chariots armed with ſcythes. The enemy in horſe and foot might amount to about twelve hundred thouſand under four generals, Tiſſaphernes, Gobryas, Arbaces, and Abrocomas, without including ſix thouſand choſen horſe, that fought where the king was preſent, and never quitted his perſon. But Abrocomas, who had the command of three hundred thouſand men, did not arrive till five days after the battle. In the king's army were only an hundred and fifty chariots armed with ſcythes.

Cyrus believed, from the enemy's not having defended the paſs at the foſsé, that there would be no battle; ſo that the next day the army marched with great negligence. But on the third, Cyrus being

(*b*) Xenoph. in Exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 263—266. Diod. l. xiv. p. 253, 254. Plut. p. 1014—1017.

* *The paraſanga is a meaſure of ways peculiar to the Perſians. It was commonly thirty ſtadia, which make about a league and a half French. Some were from twenty to ſixty ſtadia. In the march of Cyrus's army I ſuppoſe the paraſanga only twenty ſtadia, or one league, for reaſons I ſhall give hereafter.*

† *Five hundred ſtadia.*

ARTAX. MNEMON. in his chariot, with a few ſoldiers in their ranks before him, and the reſt marching without any order, or having their arms carried for them, an horſeman came in full ſpeed, crying out as he paſſed, that the enemy approached in order of battle. Upon this, great confuſion enſued, from the apprehenſion that they ſhould not have time to draw up the army. Cyrus, leaping from his chariot, put on his arms immediately, and getting on horſeback with his javelin in his hand, he gave orders univerſally to the troops to ſtand to their arms, and fall into their ranks; which was executed with ſo much expedition, that the troops had not time to refreſh themſelves.

Cyrus poſted upon his right a thouſand Paphlagonian horſe, ſupported by the Euphrates, and the light-armed infantry of the Greeks; and next them, Clearchus, Proxenes, and the reſt of the general officers to Menon, at the head of their ſeveral corps. The left wing, compoſed of Lydians, Phrygians, and other Aſiatick nations were commanded by Ariæus, who had a thouſand horſe. Cyrus placed himſelf in the centre, where the choſen troops of the Perſians and other Barbarians were poſted. He had around him ſix hundred horſemen, armed at all points, as were their horſes with head and breaſt-pieces. The prince's head was uncovered, as were thoſe of all the Perſians, whoſe cuſtom it was to give battle in that manner; the arms of all his people were red, and thoſe of Artaxerxes were white.

A little before the onſet Clearchus adviſed Cyrus not to charge in perſon, but to cover himſelf in the rear of the Grecian battalions. *What is it you ſay?* replied Cyrus. *At the time I am endeavouring to make myſelf king, would you have me ſhow myſelf unworthy of being ſo?* That wiſe and generous anſwer proves, that he knew the duty of a general, eſpecially on a day of battle. Had he withdrawn when his preſence was moſt neceſſary, it would have argued his want of courage, and intimidated others. It is neceſſary, always preſerving

preſerving the due diſtinction between the leader and the troops, that their danger ſhould be common, and no one exempt from it; leſt the latter ſhould be alarmed by a different conduct. Courage in an army depends upon example, upon the deſire of being diſtinguiſhed, the fear of diſhonour, the incapacity of doing otherwiſe than the reſt, and the equality of danger. The retiring of Cyrus had either ruined, or greatly weakened, all theſe potent motives, by diſcouraging as well the officers as ſoldiers of his army. He thought, that being their general, it was incumbent upon him to diſcharge all the functions of that office, and to ſhow himſelf worthy to be the leader and ſoul of ſuch a number of valiant men, ready to ſhed their blood for his ſervice. ARTAX. MNEMON.

It was now noon, and the enemy did not yet appear. But about three of the clock a great duſt like a white cloud aroſe, followed ſoon after with a blackneſs that overcaſt the whole plain; after which was ſeen the glittering of armour, lances, and ſtandards. Tiſſaphernes commanded the left, which conſiſted of cavalry armed with white cuiraſſes, and of light-armed infantry; in the centre was the heavy armed foot, a great part of which had bucklers made of wood, which covered the ſoldier entirely (theſe were Egyptians). The reſt of the light-armed infantry and of the horſe formed the right wing. The foot were drawn up by nations, with as much depth as front, and in that order compoſed ſquare battalions. The king had poſted himſelf in the main body with the flower of the whole army, and had ſix thouſand horſe for his guard, commanded by Artagerſes. Though he was in the centre, he was beyond the left wing of Cyrus's army, ſo much did the front of his own exceed that of the enemy in extent. An hundred and fifty chariots armed with ſcythes were placed in the front of the army at ſome diſtance from one another. The ſcythes were fixed to the axle downwards and aſlant, ſo as to cut down, and overthrow all before them.

ARTAX. MNEMON.

As Cyrus relied very much upon the valour and experience of the Greeks, he bade Clearchus, as ſoon as he had beat the enemies in his front, to take care to incline to his left, and fall upon the centre, where the king was poſted; the ſucceſs of the battle depending upon that attack. But Clearchus, finding it very difficult to make his way through ſo great a body of troops, replied, that he need be in no pain, and that he would take care to do what was neceſſary.

The enemy in the mean time advanced ſlowly in good order. Cyrus marched in the ſpace between the two armies, the neareſt his own, and conſidered both of them with great attention. Xenophon, perceiving him, ſpurred directly up to him, to know whether he had any further orders to give. He called out to him, that the ſacrifices were favourable, and that he ſhould tell the troops ſo. He then haſtened through the ranks to give his orders, and ſhowed himſelf to the ſoldiers with ſuch a joy and ſerenity in his countenance, as inſpired them with new courage, and at the ſame time with an air of kindneſs and familiarity, that excited their zeal and affection. It is not eaſy to comprehend, what great effects a word, a kind air, or a look of a general, will have upon a day of action; and with what ardour a common man will ruſh into danger, when he believes himſelf not unknown to his general, and thinks his valour will oblige him.

Artaxerxes moved on continually, though with a ſlow pace, and without noiſe and confuſion. That good order and exact diſcipline extremely ſurpriſed the Greeks, who expected to ſee much hurry and tumult in ſo great a multitude, and to hear confuſed cries, as Cyrus had foretold them.

The armies were not diſtant above four or five hundred paces, when the Greeks began to ſing the hymn of battle, and to march on, ſoftly at firſt, and with ſilence. When they came near the enemy, they ſet up great cries, ſtriking their darts upon their ſhields to frighten the horſe, and then moving all together, they ſprung forwards upon the Barbarians with all their force,

force, who did not wait their charge, but took to their heels, and fled univerſally; except Tiſſaphernes, who ſtood his ground with a ſmall part of his troops. ARTAX. MNEMON.

Cyrus ſaw with pleaſure the enemy routed by the Greeks, and was proclaimed king by thoſe around him. But he did not give himſelf up to a vain joy, nor as yet reckon himſelf victor. He perceived, that Artaxerxes was wheeling his right to attack him in flank, and marched directly againſt him with his ſix hundred horſe. He killed Artagerſes, who commanded the king's guards of ſix thouſand horſe, with his own hand, and put the whole body to flight. Diſcovering his brother, he cried out with his eyes ſparkling with rage, *I ſee him*, and ſpurred againſt him, followed only by his principal officers; for his troops had quitted their ranks to follow the run-aways, which was an eſſential fault.

(i) The battle then became a ſingle combat, in ſome meaſure, between Artaxerxes and Cyrus, and the two brothers were ſeen tranſported with rage and fury, endeavouring, like Eteocles and Polynices, to plunge their ſwords into each other's hearts, and to aſſure themſelves of the throne by the death of their rival.

Cyrus, having opened his way through thoſe who were drawn up in battle before Artaxerxes, joined him, and killed his horſe, which fell with him to the ground. He roſe, and was remounted upon another, when Cyrus attacked him again, gave him a ſecond wound, and was preparing to give him a third, in hopes that it would prove his laſt. The king, like a lion wounded by the hunters, was only the more furious from the ſmart, and ſprung forwards, impetuouſly puſhing his horſe againſt Cyrus, who, running headlong, and without regard to his perſon, threw himſelf into the midſt of a flight of darts aimed at him from all ſides, and received a wound from the king's javelin, at the inſtant all the reſt diſcharged upon him. Cyrus fell dead: Some ſay by the wound given him by the king; others affirm, that he was killed by a Carian ſoldier.

(*i*) Diod. l. xiv. p. 254.

ARTAX. MNEMON. Mithridates, a young Perſian nobleman, aſſerted, that he had given him the mortal ſtroke with a javelin, which entered his temple, and pierced his head quite through. The greateſt perſons of his court, reſolving not to ſurvive ſo good a maſter, were all killed around his body; a certain proof, ſays Xenophon, that he well knew how to chooſe his friends, and that he was truely beloved by them. Ariæus, who ought to have been the firmeſt of all his adherents, fled with the left wing, as ſoon as he heard of his death.

Artaxerxes, after having cauſed the head and right hand of his brother to be cut off by the eunuch Meſabates, purſued the enemy into their camp. Ariæus had not ſtopped there, but having paſſed through it, continued his retreat to the place where the army had encamped the day before, which was about four leagues diſtant.

Tiſſaphernes, after the defeat of the greateſt part of his left wing by the Greeks, led on the reſt againſt them, and by the ſide of the river, paſſed through the light-armed infantry of the Greeks, who opened to give him paſſage, and made their diſcharge upon him as he paſſed without loſing a man. They were commanded by Epiſthenes of Amphipolis, who was eſteemed an able captain. Tiſſaphernes kept on without returning to the charge, becauſe he perceived he was too weak, and went forward to Cyrus's camp, where he found the king, who was plundering it; but had not been able to force the quarter defended by the Greeks left to guard it, who ſaved their baggage.

The Greeks on their ſide, and Artaxerxes on his, who did not know what had paſſed elſewhere, believed each of them that they had gained the victory; the firſt, becauſe they had put the enemy to flight, and purſued them; and the king, becauſe he had killed his brother, beat the troops he had fought, and plundered their camp. The event was ſoon cleared up on both ſides. Tiſſaphernes, upon his arrival at the camp, informed the king, that the Greeks had defeated his left wing, and purſued it with great vigour; and the Greeks on their ſide learned, that the king, in purſuing Cyrus's

Cyrus's left, had penetrated into the camp. Upon this advice, the king rallied his troops, and marched in queſt of the enemy; and Clearchus, being returned from purſuing the Perſians, advanced to ſupport the camp. ARTAX. MNEMON.

The two armies were ſoon very near each other, when by a movement made by the king, he ſeemed to intend to charge the Greeks by their left, who fearing to be ſurrounded on all ſides, wheeled about, and halted with the river on their backs, to prevent their being taken in the rear. Upon ſeeing that, the king changed his form of battle alſo, drew up his army in front of them, and marched on to the attack. As ſoon as the Greeks ſaw him approach, they began to ſing the hymn of battle, and advanced againſt the enemy even with more ardour than in the firſt action.

The Barbarians again took to their heels, ran farther than before, and were purſued to a village at the foot of an hill, upon which their horſe halted. The king's ſtandard was obſerved to be there, which was a golden eagle upon the top of a pike, having its wings diſplayed. The Greeks preparing to purſue them, they abandoned alſo the hill, fled precipitately with all their troops, broke, and in the utmoſt diſorder and confuſion. Clearchus having drawn up the Greeks at the bottom of the hill, ordered Lycias the Syracuſan and another to go up it, and obſerve what paſſed in the plain. They returned with an account that the enemies fled on all ſides, and that their whole army was routed.

As it was almoſt night, the Greeks laid down their arms to reſt themſelves, much ſurpriſed, that neither Cyrus, nor any one from him, appeared; and imagining, that he was either engaged in the purſuit of the enemy, or was making haſte to poſſeſs himſelf of ſome important place, for they were ſtill ignorant of his death, and the defeat of the reſt of his army. They determined therefore to return to their camp, and found the greateſt part of the baggage taken, with all the proviſions, and four hundred waggons laden

ARTAX. MNEMON. laden with corn and wine, which Cyrus had expreſsly cauſed to be carried along with the army for the Greeks, in caſe of any preſſing neceſſity. They paſſed the night in the camp, the greateſt part of them without any refreſhment, concluding that Cyrus was alive and victorious.

The ſucceſs of this battle ſhows the ſuperiority of valour and military knowledge to multitude without it. The ſmall army of the Greeks did not amount to more than twelve or thirteen thouſand men; but they were ſeaſoned and diſciplined troops, inured to fatigues, accuſtomed to confront dangers, ſenſible to glory, and who, during the long Peloponneſian war, had not wanted either time or means to acquire, and complete themſelves in the art of war, and the methods of battle. Artaxerxes's ſide was computed at a million of men; but they were ſoldiers only in name, without force, courage, diſcipline, experience, or any ſenſe of honour. Hence it was, that as ſoon as the Greeks appeared, terrour and diſorder enſued amongſt the enemy; and in the ſecond action, Artaxerxes himſelf did not dare to wait their attack but ſhamefully betook himſelf to flight.

Plutarch here blames Clearchus the general of the Greeks very much, and imputes to him, as an unpardonable neglect, his not having followed Cyrus's order, who recommended to him above all things to incline and charge Artaxerxes's perſon. This reproach ſeems groundleſs. It is not eaſy to conceive, how it was poſſible for that captain, who was poſted on the right wing, to attack Artaxerxes immediately, who, in the centre of his own army, lay beyond the utmoſt extent of the enemy's left, as has been ſaid before. It ſeems that Cyrus, depending as he did with great reaſon upon the valour of the Greeks, and deſiring they ſhould charge Artaxerxes in his poſt, ought to have placed them in the left wing, which anſwered directly to the part where the king was; that is, to the main body, and not in the right, which was very remote from it.

Clearchus

Clearchus may indeed be reproached with having followed the purſuit too warmly and too long. If after having put the left wing which oppoſed him into diſorder, he had charged the reſt of the enemy in flank, and had opened his way to the centre, where Artaxerxes was, it is highly probable, that he had gained a complete victory, and placed Cyrus upon the throne. The ſix hundred horſe of that prince's guard committed the ſame fault, and by purſuing the body of troops they had put to flight too eagerly, left their maſter almoſt alone, and abandoned to the mercy of the enemy; without conſidering, that they were choſen from the whole army for the immediate guard of his perſon, and for no other purpoſe whatſoever. Too much ardour is often prejudicial in a battle, and it is the duty of an able general to know how to reſtrain and direct it. ARTAX. MNEMON.

Cyrus himſelf erred highly in this reſpect, and abandoned himſelf too much to his blind paſſion for glory and revenge. In running headlong to attack his brother, he forgot, that there is a wide difference between a general and a private ſoldier. He ought not to have expoſed himſelf, but as it was conſiſtent with a prince; as the head, not the hand; as the perſon who was to give orders, and not as thoſe who were to execute them.

I ſpeak in this maner after the judges in the art of war, and would not chooſe to advance my own opinion upon things out of my ſphere.

SECT. III. *Eulogy of* CYRUS.

(*k*) XENOPHON gives us a magnificent character of Cyrus, and that not upon the credit of others, but from what he ſaw and knew of him in his own perſon. He was, ſays he, in the opinion of all that were acquainted with him, after Cyrus the Great, a prince the moſt worthy of the ſupreme authority, and had the moſt noble, and moſt truely royal ſoul. From his infancy he ſurpaſſed all

(*k*) De Exped. Cyr. l. i. p. 266, 267.

ARTAX. MNEMON. all of his own age in every exerciſe, whether it were in managing the horſe, drawing the bow, throwing the dart, or in the chaſe, in which he diſtinguiſhed himſelf once by fighting and killing a bear that attacked him. Thoſe advantages were exalted in him by the nobleneſs of his air, an engaging aſpect, and by all the graces of nature, that conduce to recommend merit.

When his father had made him ſatrap of Lydia, and the neighbouring * provinces, his chief care was to make the people ſenſible, that he had nothing ſo much at heart, as to keep his word inviolably, not only with regard to publick treaties, but the moſt minute of his promiſes; a quality very rare amongſt princes, and which however is the baſis of all good government, and the ſource of their own, as well as their people's happineſs. Not only the places under his authority, but the enemy themſelves, repoſed an entire confidence in him.

Whether good or ill were done him, he always deſired to return it double, and that he might live no longer, (as he ſaid himſelf) than whilſt he ſurmounted his friends in benefits, and his enemies in vengeance. (It had been more glorious for him to have overcome the latter by the force of favour and benevolence.) Nor was there ever prince, that people were more afraid to offend, nor for whoſe ſake they were more ready to hazard their poſſeſſions, lives, and fortunes.

Leſs intent upon being feared than beloved, his ſtudy was to make his greatneſs appear only where it was uſeful and beneficial, and to extinguiſh all other ſentiments, but thoſe which flow from gratitude and affection. He was induſtrious to do good upon all occaſions, to confer his favours with judgement and in ſeaſon, and to ſhow, that he thought himſelf rich, powerful, and happy, only as he made others ſenſible of his being ſo by his benevolence and liberality. But he took care not to exhauſt the means by an imprudent profuſion.

* *Great Phrygia and Cappadocia.*

profuſion. He did not * laviſh, but diſtribute, his favours. He choſe rather to make his liberalities the rewards of merit, than mere donations, and that they ſhould be ſubſervient in promoting virtue, and not in ſupporting the ſoft and abject ſloth of vice. ARTAX. MNEMON.

He was particularly pleaſed with conferring his favours upon valiant men, and governments and rewards were only beſtowed on thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their actions. He never granted any honour or dignity to favour, intrigue, or faction, but to merit only; upon which depends not only the glory but the proſperity of governments. By that means he ſoon made virtue eſtimable, and the purſuit of men, and rendered vice contemptible and horrid. The provinces, animated with a noble emulation to deſerve, furniſhed him in a very ſhort time with a conſiderable number of excellent ſubjects of every kind; who under a different government would have remained unknown, obſcure, and uſeleſs.

Never did any one know how to oblige with a better grace, or to win the hearts of thoſe who could ſerve him with more engaging behaviour. As he was fully ſenſible that he ſtood in need of the aſſiſtance of others for the execution of his deſigns, he thought juſtice and gratitude required that he ſhould render his adherents all the ſervices in his power. All the preſents made him, whether of ſplendid arms, or rich apparel, he diſtributed among his friends, according to their ſeveral taſtes or occaſions; and uſed to ſay, that the brighteſt ornament, and moſt exalted riches, of a prince, conſiſted in adorning and enriching thoſe who ſerved him well. In effect, ſays Xenophon, to do good to one's friends, and to excel them in liberality, does not ſeem ſo admirable in ſo high a fortune; but to tranſcend them in goodneſs of heart and ſentiments of friendſhip and affection, and to take more pleaſure in conferring, than receiving, obligations; in this, I find Cyrus truely worthy of eſteem and admiration.

The

* Habebit ſinum facilem, non perforatum: ex quo multa exeant, nihil excidat. *Senec de vit. beat*, c. xxiii.

ARTAX. MNEMON. The firſt of theſe advantages he derives from his rank; the other from himſelf and his intrinſick merit.

By theſe extraordinary qualities he acquired the univerſal eſteem and affection as well of the Greeks, as Barbarians. A great proof of what Xenophon here ſays, is, that none ever quitted the ſervice of Cyrus for the king's; whereas great numbers went over every day to him from the king's party after the war was declared, and even of ſuch as had moſt credit at the court; becauſe they were all convinced, that Cyrus knew beſt how to diſtinguiſh and reward their ſervices.

It is moſt certain, that young Cyrus did not want great virtues, and a ſuperior merit; but I am ſurpriſed, that Xenophon, in drawing his character, has deſcribed only the moſt beautiful features, and ſuch as are proper to excite our admiration of him, without ſaying the leaſt word of his defects, and eſpecially of that immoderate ambition, that was the ſoul of all his actions, and which at length put arms into his hands againſt his elder brother and king. Is it allowable in an hiſtorian, whoſe chief duty it is to paint virtue and vice in their proper colours, to relate at large an enterpriſe of ſuch a nature, without intimating the leaſt diſlike or imputation againſt it? But with the Pagans, ambition was ſo far from being conſidered as a vice, that it often paſſed for a virtue.

SECT. IV. *The king is for compelling the Greeks to deliver up their arms. They reſolve to die rather than ſurrender themſelves. A treaty is made with them.* TISSAPHERNES *takes upon him to conduct them back to their own country. He treacherouſly ſeiſes* CLEARCHUS *and four other generals, who were all put to death.*

(*l*) THE Greeks having learned, the day after the battle, that Cyrus was dead, ſent deputies to Ariæus, the general of the Barbarians, who had retired with his troops to the place from whence they had marched the day before the action, to offer him, as victors,

(*l*) Xenoph. in Exped. Cyr. l. ii. p. 272—292. Diod. l. xiv. p. 255—257.

victors, the crown of Perſia in the room of Cyrus. At the ſame time arrived Perſian heralds at arms from the king, to ſummon them to deliver up their arms; to whom they anſwered with an haughty air, that they talked a ſtrange language to conquerors; that if the king would have their arms, he might come and take them if he could; but that they would die before they would part with them: That if he would receive them into the number of his allies, they would ſerve him with fidelity and valour; * but if he imagined to reduce them into ſlavery as conquered, he might know, they had wherewithal to defend themſelves, and were determined to loſe their lives and liberty together. The heralds added, that they had orders to tell them, that if they continued in the place where they were, they would be allowed a ſuſpenſion of arms, but if they advanced or retired, that they would be treated as enemies. The Greeks agreed, and were aſked by the heralds what anſwer they ſhould report. Peace in continuing here, or war in marching, replied Clearchus, without explaining himſelf farther; from the view of keeping the king always in ſuſpence and uncertainty. ARTAX. MNEMON.

The anſwer of Ariæus to the Grecan deputies was, that there were many Perſians more conſiderable than himſelf, who would not ſuffer him upon the throne, and that he ſhould ſet out early the next day to return into Ionia; that, if they would march thither with him, they might join him in the night. Clearchus, with the advice of the officers, prepared to depart. He commanded from thenceforth, as being the ſole perſon of ſufficient capacity; for he had not been actually elected general in chief.

The ſame night, Milthocytes the Thracian, who commanded forty horſe, and about three hundred foot of his own country, went and ſurrendered himſelf to the king; the reſt of the Greeks began their march under the conduct of Clearchus, and arrived about midnight

* Sin ut victis ſervitium indiceretur, eſſe ſibi ferrum et juventutem, et promptum libertati aut ad mortem animum. *Tacit. Annal.* l. iv. c. 46.

ARTAX. MNEMON. midnight at the camp of Ariæus. After they had drawn up in battle, the principal officers went to wait on him in his tent, where they ſwore alliance with him; and the Barbarian engaged to conduct the army without fraud. In confirmation of the treaty, they ſacrificed a wolf, a ram, a boar, and a bull; the Greeks dipped their ſwords, and the Barbarians the points of their javelins, in the blood of the victims.

Ariæus did not think it proper to return by the ſame rout they came, becauſe, having found nothing for their ſubſiſtence the laſt ſeventeen days of their march, they muſt have ſuffered much more, had they taken the ſame way back again. He therefore took another; exhorting them only to make long marches at firſt; in order to evade the king's purſuit; which they could not effect. Towards the evening, when they were not far from ſome villages where they propoſed to halt, the ſcouts came in with advice, that they had ſeen ſeveral equipages and convoys, which made it reaſonable to judge, that the enemy were not far off. Upon which they ſtood their ground, and waited their coming up; and the next day, before ſun-riſing, drew up in the ſame order as in the preceding battle. So bold an appearance terrified the king, who ſent heralds, not to demand, as before, the ſurrender of their arms, but to propoſe peace and a treaty. Clearchus, who was informed of their arrival, whilſt he was buſy in drawing up his troops, gave orders to bid them wait, and to tell them, that he was not yet at leiſure to hear them. He aſſumed purpoſely an air of haughtneſs and grandeur, to denote his intrepidity, and at the ſame time to ſhow the fine appearance and good condition of his phalanx. When he advanced with the moſt ſhowy of his officers, expreſsly choſen for the occaſion, and had heard what the heralds had to propoſe; he made anſwer, that they muſt begin with giving battle, becauſe the army being in want of proviſions, had no time to loſe. The heralds having carried back this anſwer to their maſter, returned immediately; which ſhowed, that the king, or whoever ſpoke in his name, was

was not very diſtant. They ſaid, they had orders to conduct them to villages, where they would find proviſions in abundance, and conducted them thither accordingly. ARTAX. MNEMON.

The army ſtaid there three days, during which, Tiſſaphernes arrived from the king, with the queen's brother and three other Perſian grandees, attended by a great number of officers and domeſticks. After having ſaluted the generals, who advanced to receive him, he told them by his interpreter, that being a neighbour of Greece, and ſeeing them engaged in dangers, out of which it would be difficult to extricate themſelves, he had uſed his good offices with the king, to obtain permiſſion to re conduct them into their own country; being convinced, that neither themſelves, nor their cities, would ever be unmindful of that favour: That the king, without having declared himſelf poſitively upon that head, had commanded him to come to them, to know for what cauſe they had taken arms againſt him; and he adviſed them to make the king ſuch an anſwer, as might not give any offence, and might enable him to do them ſervice. "We call the "gods to witneſs," replied Clearchus, "that we did "not liſt ourſelves to make war with the king, or to "march againſt him. Cyrus, concealing his true "motives under different pretexts, brought us almoſt "hither without explaining himſelf, the better to ſurpriſe you. And when we ſaw him ſurrounded with "dangers, we thought it infamous to abandon him, "after the favours we had received from him. But as "he is dead, we are releaſed from our engagement, "and neither deſire to conteſt the crown with Ar"taxerxes, nor to ravage his country; provided he does "not oppoſe our return. However, if we are attacked "we ſhall endeavour, with the aſſiſtance of the gods, "to make a good defenſe; and ſhall not be ungrate"ful in regard to thoſe, who render us any ſervice." Tiſſaphernes replied, that he would let the king know what they ſaid, and return with his anſwer. But his not coming the next day gave the Greeks ſome anxiety;

ARTAX. MNEMON. He however arrived on the third, and told them, that after much controverſy, he had at length obtained the king's grace for them: For, that it had been repreſented to the king, that he ought not to ſuffer people to return with impunity into their country, who had been ſo inſolent to come thither to make war upon him. "In fine," ſaid he, "you may now aſſure "yourſelves of not finding any obſtacle to your re- "turn, and of being ſupplied with proviſions, or ſuf- "fered to buy them; and you may judge, that you are "to paſs without committing any diſorders in your "march, and that you are to take only what is "neceſſary; provided you are not furniſhed with it." Theſe conditions were ſworn to on both ſides. Tiſſaphernes and the queen's brother gave their hands to the colonels and captains in token of amity. After which Tiſſaphernes withdrew, to diſpoſe his affairs; promiſing to return as ſoon as they would admit, in order to go back with them into his government.

The Greeks waited for him above twenty days, continuing encamped near Ariæus, who received frequent viſits from his brothers, and other relations, as did the officers of his army from the Perſians of the different party; who aſſured them from the king of an entire oblivion of the paſt; ſo that the friendſhip of Ariæus for the Greeks appeared to cool every day more and more. This change gave them cauſe of uneaſineſs. Several of the officers went to Clearchus and the other generals, and ſaid to them, "What do we "here any longer? Are we not ſenſible, that the king "deſires to ſee us all periſh, that others may be terri- "fied by our example? Perhaps he keeps us waiting "here, till he re-aſſembles his diſperſed troops, or "ſends to ſeiſe the paſſes in our way; for he will "never ſuffer us to return into Greece, to divulge our "own glory and his ſhame." Clearchus made anſwer to this diſcourſe, that to depart without conſulting the king, was to break with him, and to declare war by violating the treaty; that they ſhould remain without a conductor in a country where nobody would ſupply

ſupply them with proviſions; that Ariæus would abandon them; and that even their friends would become their enemies; that he did not know, but there might be other rivers to paſs, and that, though the Euphrates were the only one, they could not get over it, were the paſſage ever ſo little diſputed. That if it were neceſſary to come to a battle, they ſhould find themſelves without cavalry againſt an enemy, that had a very numerous and excellent body of horſe; ſo that if they gained the victory, they could make no great advantage of it, and if they were overcome, they were utterly and irretrievably loſt. "Beſides, why ſhould the "king, who has ſo many other means to deſtroy us, "engage his word only to violate it, and thereby ren-"der himſelf execrable in the ſight of gods and men?" ARTAX. MNEMON.

Tiſſaphernes however arrived with his troops, in order to return into his government, and they ſet forwards all together under the conduct of that ſatrap, who ſupplied them with proviſions. Ariæus with his troops encamped with the Barbarians, and the Greeks ſeparately at ſome diſtance, which kept up a continual diſtruſt amongſt them. Beſides which, there happened frequent quarrels for wood or forage, which augmented their averſion for each other. After three days march, they arrived at the wall of Media, which is an hundred feet high, twenty broad, and twenty leagues * in extent, all built of bricks, cemented with bitumen, like the walls of Babylon, from which it was not very diſtant at one of its extremities. When they had paſſed it, they marched eight leagues in two days, and came to the river Tygris, after having croſſed two of its canals, cut expreſsly for watering the country. They then paſſed the † Tygris upon a bridge of twenty-ſeven boats near Sitacum, a very great and populous city. After four days march they arrived

* *Twenty Paraſangas.*

† *The march of the Greeks and the reſt of the army, from the day after the battle till the paſſing of the Tygris, abounds in the text of Xenophon with very great obſcurities, to explain which fully, require a long diſſertation. My plan does not admit me to enter into ſuch diſcuſſions, which I muſt therefore refer to thoſe who are more able than me.*

ARTAX. MNEMON. at another city very powerful alſo, called Opis. They found there a baſtard brother of Artaxerxes with a very conſiderable body of troops, which he was bringing from Suſa and Ecbatana to his aid. He admired the fine order of the Greeks. From thence, having paſſed the deſerts of Media, they came after a march of ſix days to a place called the Lands of Paryſatis; the revenues of which appertained to that princeſs. Tiſſaphernes, to inſult the memory of her ſon Cyrus, ſo dearly beloved by her, gave the villages to be plundered by the Greeks. Continuing their march through the deſert on the ſide of the Tygris, which they had on the left, they arrived at Cænæ, a very great and rich city, and from thence at the river Zabates.

The occaſions of diſtruſt increaſed every day between the Greeks and Barbarians. Clearchus thought it incumbent on him to come to an explanation once for all with Tiſſaphernes. He began with obſerving upon the ſacred and inviolable nature of the treaties ſubſiſting between them. "Can a man," ſaid he, "conſcious of the guilt of perjury, be capable of living at eaſe? How would he ſhun the wrath of the "gods, the witneſſes of treaties, and eſcape their "vengeance, whoſe power is univerſal?" He added afterwards many things to prove, that the Greeks were obliged by their own intereſt to continue faithful to him, and that, by renouncing his alliance, they muſt firſt inevitably renounce not only all religion, but reaſon and common ſenſe. Tiſſaphernes ſeemed to reliſh this diſcourſe, and ſpoke to him with all the appearance of the moſt perfect ſincerity; inſinuating at the ſame time, that ſome perſons had done him bad offices with him. "If you will bring your officers hither," ſaid he, "I will ſhow you thoſe, who have wronged you "in their repreſentations." He kept him to ſupper, and profeſſed more friendſhip for him than ever.

The next day Clearchus propoſed in the aſſembly, to go with the ſeveral commanders of the troops to Tiſſaphernes. He ſuſpected Menon in particular, whom he knew to have had a ſecret conference with the

the ſatrap in the preſence of Ariæus; beſides which, they had already differed ſeveral times with each other. Some objected, that it was not proper that all the generals ſhould go to Tiſſaphernes, and that it did not conſiſt with prudence to rely implicitly upon the profeſſions of a Barbarian. But Clearchus continued to inſiſt upon what he had moved, till it was agreed, that the four other commanders, with twenty captains, and about two hundred ſoldiers, under the pretext of buying proviſions in the Perſian camp, where there was a market, ſhould be ſent along with him. When they came to the tent of Tiſſaphernes, the five commanders, Clearchus, Menon, Proxenes, Agias, and Socrates, were ſuffered to enter, but the captains remained without at the door. Immediately, on a certain ſignal before agreed on, thoſe within were ſeiſed, and the others put to the ſword. Some Perſian horſe afterwards ſcoured the country, and killed all the Greeks they met, whether freemen or ſlaves. Clearchus, with the other generals was ſent to the king, who ordered their heads to be ſtruck off. Xenophon deſcribes with ſufficient extent the characters of thoſe officers. ARTAX. MNEMON.

Clearchus was valiant, bold, intrepid, and of a capacity for forming great enterpriſes. His courage was not raſh, but directed by prudence, and he retained all the coolneſs of his temper and preſence of mind in the midſt of the greateſt dangers. He loved the troops, and let them want for nothing. He knew how to make them obey him; but out of fear. His mien was aweful and ſevere; his language rough; his puniſhments inſtant and rigorous: He gave way ſometimes to paſſion, but preſently came to himſelf, and always chaſtiſed with juſtice. His great maxim was, that nothing could be done in an army without a ſevere diſcipline; and from him came the ſaying, that a ſoldier ought to fear his general more than the enemy. The troops * eſteemed his valour, and did juſtice to

* Manebat admiratio viri et fama; ſed oderant. *Tacit. Hiſtor.* l. ii. c. 68.

ARTAX. MNEMON. his merit; but they were afraid of his humour, and did not love to ſerve under him. In a word, ſays Xenophon, the ſoldiers feared him as ſcholars do a ſevere pedagogue. We may ſay of him with Tacitus, that by an exceſs of ſeverity he made, what had otherwiſe been well done by him, unamiable; (*a*) *Cupidine ſeveritatis in his etiam, quæ rite faceret, acerbus.*

Proxenes was of Bœotia. From his infancy he aſpired at great things, and was induſtrious to make himſelf capable of them. He ſpared no means for the attainment of inſtruction, and was the diſciple of Gorgias the Leontine, a celebrated rhetoriciat, who ſold his lectures at a very high price. When he found himſelf of capable commanding, and of doing good to his friends, as well as of being ſerved by them, he entered into Cyrus's ſervice with the view of advancing himſelf. He did not want ambition, but would take no other path to glory than that of virtue. He had been a perfect captain, had he had to do with none but brave and diſciplined men, and it had been only neceſſary to be beloved. He was more apprehenſive of being in his ſoldiers diſpleaſure, than his ſoldiers in his. He thought it ſufficient for a commander to praiſe good actions, without puniſhing bad ones; for which reaſon he was beloved by the worthy; but thoſe of a different character abuſed his facility. He died at thirty years of age.

* Could the two great perſons, we have here drawn after Xenophon, have been moulded into one, ſomething perfect might have been made of them; retrenching their ſeveral defects, and retaining only their virtues: But it rarely happens, that the ſame man †, as Tacitus ſays of Agricola, behaves, according to the exigency of times and circumſtances, ſometimes with gentleneſs, and ſometimes with ſeverity, without leſſening

(*a*) Tacit. Annal. c. lxxv.

* Egregium principatus temperamentum, ſi, demptis utriuſque vitiis, ſolæ virtutes miſcerentur. *Tacit. Hiſtor.* l. ii. c. 5.

† Pro variis temporibus ac negotiis ſeverus et comis—nec illi, quod eſt rariſſimum, aut facilitas authoritatem, aut ſeveritas amorem, deminuit. *Tacit. in Agric.* c. ix.

leſſening his authority by the former, or the people's affection by the latter. ARTAX. MNEMON.

Menon was a Theſſalian, avaricious and ambitious, but ambitious only from the motive of avarice, purſuing honour and eſtimation for the mere lucre of money. He courted the friendſhip of the great, and of perſons in authority, that he might have it in his power to commit injuſtice and oppreſſion with impunity. To obtain his ends, all means with him were virtue; falſehood, fraud, perjury; whilſt ſincerity, and integrity of heart, ſtood in his ſcheme for weakneſs and ſtupidity. He loved nobody; and, if he profeſſed friendſhip, it was only to deceive. As others made their glory conſiſt in religion, probity, and honour, he valued himſelf upon injuſtice, deceit, and treachery. He gained the favour of the great by falſe reports, whiſpering, and calumny; and that of the ſoldiery by licence and impunity. In fine, he endeavoured to render himſelf terrible by the miſchief it was in his power to do, and imagined he favoured thoſe to whom he did none.

It was in my thoughts to have retrenched theſe characters, which interrupt the thread of the hiſtory. But as they are a lively image of the manners of men, which in all times are the ſame, I thought retaining them would neither be uſeleſs nor diſagreeable to the reader.

SECT. V. *Retreat of the ten thouſand Greeks from the province of Babylon to Trebiſond.*

(*b*) THE generals of the Greeks having been ſeiſed, and the officers who attended them maſſacred, the troops were in the higheſt conſternation. They were five or ſix hundred leagues from Greece, ſurrounded with great rivers and enemy nations, without any ſupplies of proviſions. In this ſtate of general dejection, they could not think of taking either nouriſhment or repoſe. In the middle of the night, Xenophon, a young Athenian, but of prudence and

(*b*) Xenoph. in Exped. Cyr. l. iii. & iv.

ANTAX. MENON. capacity ſuperior to his years, went to ſome of the officers, and repreſented to them, that they had no time to loſe; that it was of the laſt importance to prevent the bad deſigns of the enemy; that, however ſmall their number, they would render themſelves formidable, if they behaved with boldneſs and reſolution; that valour and not multitude determines the ſucceſs of arms; and that it was neceſſary above all things to nominate generals immediately; becauſe an army without commanders is like a body without a ſoul. A council was immediately held, at which an hundred officers were preſent, and Xenophon, being deſired to ſpeak, deduced the reaſons at large, he had at firſt but lightly touched upon; and by his advice commanders were appointed. They were Timaſion for Clearchus, Xanthicles for Socrates, Cleanor for Agias, Phileſius for Menon, and Xenophon for Proxenes.

Before the break of day, they aſſembled the army. The generals made ſpeeches to animate the troops, and Xenophon amongſt the reſt. "Fellow ſoldiers," ſaid he, "the loſs of ſo many brave men by vile treachery, "and the being abandoned by our friends, is very de- "plorable: But we muſt not ſink under our misfor- "tunes, and, if we cannot conquer, let us chooſe "rather to periſh glorioufly, than to fall into the hands "of Barbarians, who would inflict upon us the greateſt "miſeries. Let us call to mind the glorious battles "of Platæa, Thermopylæ, Salamin, and the many "others wherein our anceſtors, though with a ſmall "number, have fought and defeated the innumerable "armies of the Perſians, and thereby rendered the "name alone of Greek for ever formidable. It is to "their invincible valour we owe the honour we poſ- "ſeſs, of acknowleding no maſters upon earth but "the gods, nor any happineſs but what conſiſts with "liberty. Thoſe gods, the avengers of perjury, and "witneſſes of the enemy's treaſon, will be favourable "to us; and as they are attacked in the violation of "treaties, and take pleaſure in humbling the proud, "and exalting the low, they will alſo follow us to "battle,

" battle, and combat for us. For the reſt, fellow-ſoldiers, ARTAX. MNEMON.
" as we have no refuge but in victory, which muſt be
" our hope, and will make us ample amends for what-
" ever it coſts to attain it; I ſhould believe, if it were
" your opinion, that, for the making a more ready
" and leſs difficult retreat, it would be very proper to
" rid ourſelves of all the uſeleſs baggage, and to keep
" only what is abſolutely neceſſary in our march." All the ſoldiers that moment lifted up their hands to ſignify their approbation and conſent to all that had been ſaid, and without loſs of time ſet fire to their tents and carriages; ſuch of them as had too much equipage giving it others who had too little, and deſtroying the reſt.

It was reſolved to march the army without tumult or violence, if their return was not oppoſed; but otherwiſe to open themſelves a paſſage ſword in hand through the enemy. They began their march in the form of a great hollow ſquare with the baggage in the centre. Chiriſophus the Lacedæmonian had the vanguard; two of the oldeſt captains the right and left; and Timaſion with Xenophon were poſted in the rear as the youngeſt officers. The firſt day was rude; becauſe, having neither horſe nor ſlingers, they were extremely harraſſed by a detachment ſent againſt them: But they provided againſt that inconvenience by following Xenophon's advice. They choſe two hundred men out of the Rhodians in the army, whom they armed with ſlings, and augmented their pay for their encouragement. They could throw as far again as the Perſians, becauſe they diſcharged balls of lead, and the others made uſe of large flints. They mounted alſo a ſquadron of fifty men upon the horſes intended for the baggage, and ſupplied their places with other beaſts of burthen. By the means of this ſupply a ſecond detachment of the enemy were very ſeverely handled.

After ſome days march, Tiſſaphernes appeared with all his forces. He contented himſelf with harraſſing the Greeks, who moved on continually. The latter obſerving

ARTAX. MNEMON. obſerving the difficulty of retreating in an hollow ſquare in the face of an enemy, from the unevenneſs of ground, hedges, and other obſtacles, which might oblige them to break it, changed their order of battle, and marched in two columns, with the little baggage they had in the ſpace between them. They formed a body of reſerve of ſix hundred choſen men, whom they divided into ſix companies, and ſub-divided by fifties and tens, to facilitate their motions according to occaſion. When the columns came cloſe to each other, they either remained in the rear, or filed off upon the flanks on both ſides, to avoid diſorder; and when they opened, they fell into the void ſpace in the rear between the two columns. Upon any occaſion of attack, they immediately ran where it was neceſſary. The Greeks ſtood ſeveral charges, but they were neither conſiderable, nor attended with much loſs.

They arrived at the river Tygris. As its depth would not admit them to repaſs it without boats, they were obliged to croſs the Carducian mountains, becauſe there was no other way, and the priſoners reported, that from thence they would enter Armenia, where they might paſs the Tygris at its ſource, and afterwards the Euphrates, not very diſtant from it. To gain thoſe defiles before the enemy could ſeiſe them, it was thought proper to ſet forwards in the night, in order to arrive at the foot of the mountains by the break of day; which was done accordingly. Chiriſophus continued at the head of the advanced guard, with the troops armed with miſſive weapons, beſides his ordinary corps; and Xenophon in the rear, with only the heavy-armed ſoldiers, becauſe at that time there was nothing to fear on that ſide. The inhabitants of the country had taken poſſeſſion of ſeveral of the heights, from whence it was neceſſary to drive them. which could not be done without great danger and difficulty.

The officers, having held a council of war, were of opinion, that it was proper to leave behind them all the beaſts of burthen not abſolutely neceſſary, with all

the ſlaves lately taken; becauſe both the one and the other would retard their march too much in the great defiles they had to paſs; beſides which, it required a greater quantity of proviſions to ſupport them, and thoſe who had the care of the beaſts were uſeleſs in fight. That regulation was executed without delay, and they continued their march, ſometimes fighting, and ſometimes halting. The paſſing of the mountains, which took up ſeven days, fatigued the troops exceedingly, and occaſioned ſome loſs; but at length they arrived at villages, where they found proviſions in abundance, and reſted ſome days, to recover the ſevere fatigues the army had ſuffered; in compariſon with which all they had undergone in Perſia was trivial. ARTAX. MNEMON.

They found themſelves ſoon after expoſed to new danger. Almoſt at the foot of the mountains they came to a river, two hundred feet in breadth, called Centrites, which ſtopped their march. They had to defend themſelves againſt the enemy, who purſued them in the rear, and the Armenians, the ſoldiers of the country, who defended the oppoſite ſide of the river. They attempted in vain to paſs it in a place where the water came up to their arm-pits, and were carried away by the rapidity of the current, againſt which the weight of their arms made them unable to reſiſt. By good fortune they diſcovered another place not ſo deep, where ſome ſoldiers had ſeen the people of the country paſs. It required abundance of addreſs, diligence, and valour, to keep off the enemy on both ſides of them. The army however paſſed the river at length without much loſs.

They marched afterwards with leſs interruption; paſſed the ſource of the Tygris, and arrived at the little river Teleboa, which is very beautiful, and has many villages on its banks. Here began the weſtern Armenia; which was governed by Tiribaſus, a ſatrap much beloved by the king, and had the honour to help him to * mount on horſeback when at the court: He

* *The French tranſlator of Xenophon ſays,* he held the king's ſtirrup when he got on horſeback, *without conſidering, that the ancients uſed none.*

ARTAX. MNEMON. He offered to let the army paſs, and to ſuffer the ſoldiers to take all they wanted, upon condition that they ſhould commit no ravages in their march; which propoſal was accepted and ratified on each ſide. Tirabaſus kept always a flying camp at a ſmall diſtance from the army. There fell a great quantity of ſnow, which gave the troops ſome inconvenience; and they learnt from a priſoner, that Tiribaſus had a deſign to attack the Greeks at a paſs of the mountains, in a defile, through which they muſt neceſſarily march. They prevented him by ſeiſing that poſt, after having put the enemy to flight. After ſome days march through deſerts, they paſſed the Euphrates near its ſource, not having the water above their middles.

They ſuffered exceedingly afterwards from a north wind which blew in their faces, and prevented reſpiration; ſo that it was thought neceſſary to ſacrifice to the wind, upon which it ſeemed to abate. They marched on in ſnow five or ſix feet deep, which killed ſeveral ſervants and beaſts of burthen, beſides thirty ſoldiers. They made fires during the night, for they found plenty of wood. All the next day, they continued their march through the ſnow, when many of them from the exceſs of hunger, followed with languor or fainting, continued lying upon the ground, through weakneſs and want of ſpirits. When ſomething had been given them to eat, they found themſelves relieved, and continued their march.

The enemy ſtill purſued them, of whom many, overtaken by the night, remained on the way without fire or proviſions, ſo that ſeveral died of their hardſhips, and the enemy who followed them took ſome baggage. Some ſoldiers were alſo left behind, that had loſt their ſight, and others their toes, by the ſnow. Againſt the firſt evil it was good to wear ſomething black before the eyes; and againſt the other, to keep the legs always in motion, and to bare the feet at night. Arriving in a more commodious place, they diſperſed themſelves into the neighbouring villages, to recover and repoſe after their fatigues. The houſes

houſes were built under-ground, with an opening at top, like a well, through which the deſcent was by a ladder; but there was another enterance for cattle. They found there, ſheep, cows, goats, poultry; with wheat, barley, and pulſe; and for drink, there was beer, which was very ſtrong, when not mingled with water, but was agreeable to thoſe who were uſed to it. They drank this with a reed out of the veſſels that held the beer, upon which they ſaw the barley ſwim. The maſter of the houſe, where Xenophon lay, received him very kindly, and even ſhowed him where he had concealed ſome wine; beſides which he made him a preſent of ſeveral horſes. He taught him alſo to faſten a kind of hurdles to their feet, and to do the ſame to the other beaſts of burthen, to prevent their ſinking in the ſnow; without which they would have been up to the girth in it at every ſtep. The army, after having reſted ſeven days in theſe villages, reſumed their rout. ARTAX. MNEMON.

After a march of ſeven days they arrived at the river Araxes, called alſo the Phaſus, which is about an hundred feet in breadth. Two days after they diſcovered the Phaſians, the Chalybes, and the Taochians, who kept the paſs of the mountains, to prevent their deſcending into the plain. They ſaw it was impoſſible to avoid coming to a battle with them, and reſolved to give it the ſame day. Xenophon, who had obſerved that the enemy defended only the ordinary paſſage, and that the mountain was three leagues in extent, propoſed the ſending of a detachment to take poſſeſſion of the heights, that commanded the enemy; which would not be difficult, as they might prevent all ſuſpicion of their deſign by a march in the night, and by making a falſe attack by the main road, to amuſe the Barbarians. This was accordingly executed, the enemy put to flight, and the paſs cleared.

They croſſed the country of the Chalybes, who are the moſt valiant of all the Barbarians in thoſe parts. When they killed an enemy, they cut off his head, and carried it about in triumph, ſinging and dancing.

They

ARTAX. MNEMON. They kept themſelves cloſe ſhut up in their cities, and when the army marched, fell ſuddenly upon the rear, after having carried every thing of value in the country into places of ſafety. After twelve or fifteen days march, they arrived at a very high mountain, called Tecqua, from whence they deſcried the ſea. The firſt who perceived it, raiſed great ſhouts of joy for a conſiderable time; which made Xenophon imagine, that the van-guard was attacked, and go with all haſte to ſupport it. As he approached nearer, the cry of *the ſea! the ſea!* was heard diſtinctly, and the alarm changed into joy and gaiety; and when they came to the top, nothing was heard but a confuſed noiſe of the whole army, crying out together, *the ſea! the ſea!* whilſt they could not refrain from tears, nor from embracing their generals and officers. And then, without waiting for orders, they heaped up a pile of ſtones, and erected a trophy with broken bucklers and other arms.

From thence they advanced to the mountains of Colchis, one of which was higher than the reſt, and of that the people of the country had poſſeſſed themſelves. The Greeks drew up in battle at the bottom of it to aſcend, for the acceſs was not impracticable. Xenophon did not judge it proper to march in line of battle, but by files; becauſe the ſoldiers could not keep their ranks, from the inequality of the ground, that in ſome places was eaſy, and in others difficult, to climb, which might diſcourage them. That advice was approved, and the army formed according to it. The heavy-armed troops amounted to fourſcore files, each conſiſting of about an hundred men, with eighteen hundred light-armed ſoldiers, divided in three bodies, one of which was poſted on the right, another on the left, and a third in the centre. After having encouraged his troops, by repreſenting to them that this was the laſt obſtacle they had to ſurmount, and implored the aſſiſtance of the gods, the army began to aſcend the hill. The enemy were not able to ſupport their charge, and diſperſed. They paſſed the mountain, and

and encamped in villages, where they found proviſions in abundance. ARTAX. MNEMON.

A very ſtrange accident happened there to the army, which put them into great conſternation. For the ſoldiers, finding abundance of bee-hives in that place, and eating the honey, they were taken with violent vomiting and fluxes, attended with raving fits; ſo that thoſe, who were leaſt ill, ſeemed like drunken men, and the reſt, either furiouſly mad, or dying. The earth was ſtrewed with their bodies as after a defeat; however, none of them died, and the diſtemper ceaſed the next day about the ſame hour it had taken them. The third or fourth day the ſoldiers got up, but in the condition people are after taking a violent medicine.

Two days after the army arrived near Trebiſond, a Greek colony of Sinopians, ſituate upon the Euxine or Black Sea, in the province of Colchis. Here they lay encamped for thirty days, and acquitted themſelves of the vows they had made to Jupiter, Hercules, and the other deities, to obtain an happy return into their own country. They alſo celebrated the games of the horſe and foot races, wreſtling, boxing, the pancratium; the whole attended with the greateſt joy and ſolemnity.

SECT. VI. *The Greeks, after having undergone exceſſive fatigues, and ſurmounted many dangers, arrive upon the ſea-coaſt oppoſite to Byzantium. They paſs the ſtrait, and engage in the ſervice of* SEUTHES *prince of Thrace.* XENOPHON *afterwards repaſſes the ſea, advances to Pergamus, and joins* THIMBRON *general of the Lacedæmonians, who marches againſt* TISSAPHERNES *and* PHARNABASUS.

(c) AFTER having offered ſacrifices to the ſeveral divinities, and celebrated the games, they deliberated upon the proper meaſures for their return into Greece. They concluded upon going thither by ſea, and for that purpoſe Chiriſophus offered to go to Anaxibius, the admiral of Sparta, who was his friend, to

(c) Xenoph. l. iii.

ARTAX. MNEMON. to obtain ſhips of him. He ſet out directly, and Xenophon regulated the order it was neceſſary to obſerve, and the precautions to be taken for the ſecurity of the camp, proviſions, and forage. He believed it alſo proper to make ſure of ſome veſſels, beſides thoſe that were expected, and made ſome expeditions againſt the neighbouring people.

As Chiriſophus did not return ſo ſoon as was expected, and proviſions began to be wanting, it was reſolved to proceed by land; becauſe there was not a ſufficient number of ſhips to tranſport the whole army, and thoſe, which the precaution of Xenophon had procured, were allotted to carry the women, the old and ſick men, with all the unneceſſary baggage. The army continued its march, and lay ten days at * Ceraſus, where there was a general review of the troops, who were found to amount to eight thouſand ſix hundred men, out of about ten thouſand; the reſt having died in their retreat, of their wounds, fatigues, or diſeaſes.

In the ſmall time the Greeks continued in theſe parts, ſeveral diviſions aroſe, as well with the inhabitants of the country, as with ſome of the officers, who were jealous of Xenophon's authority, and endeavoured to render him odious to the army. But his wiſdom and moderation put a ſtop to thoſe diſorders; having made the ſoldiers ſenſible, that their ſafety depended upon preſerving union and a good underſtanding amongſt themſelves, and obedience to their generals.

From Ceraſus they went to Cotyora, which is not very remote from it. They there deliberated again upon the proper meaſures for their return. The inhabitants of the country repreſented the moſt inſuperable difficulties of going by land, from the defiles and rivers they had to paſs, and offered to ſupply the Greeks with ſhips. This ſeemed the beſt expedient, and the army embarked accordingly. They arrived the next day at Sinope, a city of Paphlagonia, and a colony of the Mileſians. Chiriſophus repaired thither with gallies, but

* *This city of Ceraſus became famous for the cherry-trees, which Lucullus firſt brought into Italy, and which from thence have been diſperſed all over the weſtern world.*

lies, but without money, though the troops expected to receive ſome. He aſſured them that the army ſhould be paid, as ſoon as they were out of the Euxine ſea; and that their retreat was univerſally celebrated, and the ſubject of the diſcourſe and admiration of all Greece. ARTAX. MNEMON.

The ſoldiers, finding themſelves near enough to Greece, deſired to make ſome booty before they arrived there, and with that view reſolved to nominate a general with full authority, whereas, till then, all affairs were determined in the council of war by the plurality of voices. They caſt their eyes upon Xenophon, and cauſed him to be deſired to accept that office. He was not inſenſible of the honour of commanding in chief; but he foreſaw the conſequences, and deſired time to conſider. After having expreſſed the higheſt ſenſe of gratitude for an offer ſo much to his honour, he repreſented, that, to avoid jealouſy and diviſion, the ſucceſs of affairs, and the intereſt of the army, ſeemed to require that they ſhould chooſe a Lacedæmonian for their general; the Spartan ſtate at that time actually ruling Greece, and in conſideration of that choice, would be diſpoſed to ſupport them. This reaſon was not reliſhed, and they objected to it, that they were far from intending a ſervile dependence upon Sparta, or to ſubmit to regulate their enterpriſes by the pleaſure or diſlike of that ſtate; and preſſed him again to accept the command. He was then obliged to explain himſelf ſincerely, and without evaſion; and declared, that having conſulted the gods by ſacrifice, upon the offer they made him, they had manifeſted their will by evident ſigns, from whence it appeared that they did not approve their choice. It was ſurpriſing to ſee the impreſſion, which the ſole mention of the gods made upon the ſoldiers, otherwiſe very warm and tenacious; and who beſides are commonly little affected with the motives of religion. Their great ardour abated immediately, and without making any reply, they proceeded to elect Chiriſophus, though a Lacedæmonian, for their general.

His authority was of no long continuance. Diſcord, as Xenophon had foreſeen, aroſe amongſt the troops,

ARTAX. MNEMON. who were angry that their general prevented their plundering the Grecian cities, by which they paſſed. This diſturbance was principally excited by the Peloponneſians, who compoſed one half of the army, and could not ſee Xenophon an Athenian in authority without pain. Different meaſures were propoſed; but nothing being concluded, the troops divided themſelves into three bodies, of which the Achaians and Arcadians, that is, the Peloponneſians, were the principal, amounting to four thouſand five hundred heavy-armed foot, with Lycon and Callimachus for their generals. Chiriſophus commanded another part of about fourteen hundred men, beſides ſeven hundred light-armed infantry. Xenophon had the third, almoſt the ſame in number, of which three hundred were light-armed ſoldiers, with about forty horſe, which were all the cavalry of the army. The firſt having obtained ſhips from the people of * Heraclea, to whom they had ſent to demand them, ſet out before the reſt to make ſome booty, and made a deſcent in the port of Calpe. Chiriſophus, who was ſick, marched by land; but without quitting the coaſt. Xenophon landed at Heraclea, and entered into the heart of the country.

New diviſions aroſe. The imprudence of the troops and their leaders had involved them in ill meaſures, not without loſs, from whence the addreſs of Xenophon extricated them more than once. Being all reunited again, after various ſucceſs, they arrived by land at Chryſopolis in Caledonia facing Byzantium, whither they repaired ſome days after, having paſſed the ſmall arm of the ſea which ſeparates the two continents. They were upon the point of plundering that rich and powerful city, to revenge a fraud and injury which had been done them, and from the hope of enriching themſelves once for all, when Xenophon made all poſſible haſte thither. He admitted the juſtneſs of their revenge, but he made them ſenſible of the fatal conſequences which would attend it. "After your plundering this city, and deſtroying the Lacedæmonians eſtabliſhed

* *A city of Pontus.*

" eſtabliſhed in it, you will be deemed the mortal ene- ARTAX. MNEMON.
" mies of their republick, and of all their allies. Athens
" my country, that had four hundred gallies at ſea
" and in the arſenals, when it took up arms againſt
" them, great ſums of money in its treaſury, a re-
" venue of a thouſand talents, and was in poſſeſſion of
" all the iſles of Greece, and of many cities in Europe
" and Aſia, of which this was one, has nevertheleſs
" been reduced to yield to their power, and ſubmit to
" their ſway. And do you hope, who are but an
" handful of men, without generals, proviſions, allies,
" or any reſource, either from Tiſſaphernes, who has
" betrayed you, or the king of Perſia, whom you
" have attempted to dethrone; can you hope, I ſay,
" in ſuch a condition to make head againſt the Lace-
" dæmonians? Let us demand ſatisfaction from the
" Byzantines, and not avenge their fault by a much
" greater of our own, which muſt draw upon us
" inevitable ruin." He was believed, and the affair accommodated.

(d) From thence he led them to Salmydeſſa, to ſerve Seuthes prince of Thrace, who had before ſollicited him by his envoys to bring troops to his aid, in order to his re-eſtabliſhment in his father's dominions, of which his enemies had deprived him. He had made Xenophon great promiſes for himſelf and his troops; but when he had done him the ſervice he wanted, he was ſo far from keeping his word, that he did not give them the pay agreed upon. Xenophon reproached him exceedingly with this breach of faith; imputing his perfidy to his miniſter Heraclides, who thought to make his court to his maſter, by ſaving him a ſum of money at the expenſe of juſtice, faith, and honeſty; qualities which ought to be dearer than all others to a prince, as they contribute the moſt to his reputation, as well as to the ſucceſs of affairs, and the ſecurity of a ſtate. But that treacherous miniſter, who looked upon honour, probity, and juſtice, as mere chimeras, and that there was nothing real but the poſſeſſion of

(d) Xenoph. l. vii.

ARTAX. MNEMON. much money, had no thoughts, in conſequence, but of enriching himſelf by any means whatſoever, and robbed his maſter firſt with impunity, and all his ſubjects along with him. "However," continued Xenophon, "every wiſe man, eſpecially in authority and command, ought to regard juſtice, probity, and the faith "of engagements, as the moſt precious treaſure he "can poſſeſs; and as an aſſured reſource, and an infal-"lible ſupport in all the events that can happen." Heraclides was the more in the wrong for acting in this manner with regard to the troops, as he was a native of Greece, and not a Thracian: but avarice had extinguiſhed all ſenſe of honour in him.

Whilſt the diſpute between Seuthes and Xenophon was warmeſt, Charminus and Polynices arrived, as ambaſſadors from Lacedæmon, and brought advice, that the republick had declared war againſt Tiſſaphernes and Pharnabaſus; that Thimbron had already embarked with the troops, and promiſed a Darick a month to every ſoldier, two to each officer, and four to the colonels, who ſhould engage in the ſervice. Xenophon accepted the offer, and having obtained from Seuthes, by the mediation of the ambaſſadors, part of the pay due to him, he went by ſea to Lampſacus with the army, which amounted at that time to almoſt ſix thouſand men. From thence he advanced to Pergamus, a city in the province of Troas. Having met near Parthenia, where ended the expedition of the Greeks, a great nobleman returning into Perſia, he took him, his wife, and children, with all his equipage, and by that means found himſelf in a condition to beſtow great liberalities amongſt the ſoldiers, and to make them a ſatisfactory amends for all the loſſes they had ſuſtained. Thimbron at length arrived, who took upon him the command of the troops, and having joined them with his own, marched againſt Tiſſaphernes and Pharnabaſus.

(*e*) Such was the event of Cyrus's expedition. Xenophon reckons from the firſt ſetting out of that prince's

(*e*) Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. l. ii. p. 276.

ARTAX. MNEMON.

prince's army from the city of Epheſus to their arrival where the battle was fought, five hundred and thirty paraſangas or leagues, and fourſcore and thirteen days march; (f) and in their return from the place of battle to Cotyora, a city upon the coaſt of the Euxine or Black ſea, ſix hundred and twenty paraſangas or leagues, and an hundred and twenty days march. And adding both together, he ſays, the way, going and coming, was eleven hundred and fifty * five paraſangas or leagues, (g) and two hundred and fifteen days march; and that the whole time the army took to perform that journey, including the days of reſt, was fifteenth months.

It appears by this calculation, that the army of Cyrus marched daily, one day with another, almoſt ſix paraſangas † or leagues in going, and only five in their return. It was natural, that Cyrus, who deſired to ſurpriſe his brother, ſhould uſe all poſſible diligence for that purpoſe.

This retreat of the ten thouſand Greeks has always paſſed amongſt the judges in the art of war, as I have already obſerved, for a perfect model in its kind, and never had a parallel. Indeed no enterpriſe could be formed with more valour and bravery, nor conducted with more prudence, nor executed with more ſucceſs.

(f) Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. l. iii. p. 355. (g) Xenoph. l. vii. p. 427.

* *I add,* five, *which are left out in the text, to make the total agree with the two parts.*

† *The paraſanga is a meaſure of the ways peculiar to the Perſians, and conſiſts of three ſtadia. The ſtadium is the ſame with the Greeks, and contains, according to the moſt received opinion, one hundred and twenty-five geometrical paces; twenty of which in conſequence are required to the common French league. And this has been my rule hitherto, according to which the paraſanga is a league and a half.*

I obſerve here a great difficulty. In this calculation we find, the ordinary days marches of Cyrus, with an army of more than an hundred thouſand men, would have been one day with another nine leagues, during ſo long a time; which according to the judges in military affairs is abſolutely impoſſible. This is what has determined me to compute the paraſanga at no more than a league. Several authors have remarked, and indeed it is not to be doubted, that the ſtadium, and all the other meaſures of ways of the ancients, have differed widely according to times and places, as they ſtill do amongſt us.

ARTAX. MNEMON. Ten thouſand men, five or ſix hundred leagues from their own country, who had loſt their generals and beſt officers, and find themſelves in the heart of the enemy's vaſt empire, undertake, in the ſight of a victorious and numerous army, with the king at the head of them, to retire through the ſeat of his empire and in a manner from the gates of his palace, and to traverſe a vaſt extent of unknown countries, almoſt all in arms againſt them, without being diſmayed by the proſpect of the innumerable obſtacles and dangers, to which they were every moment expoſed; paſſes of rivers, of mountains and defiles; open attacks; ſecret ambuſcades from the people upon their rout; famine, almoſt inevitably in vaſt and deſert regions; and above all, the treachery they had to fear from the troops, who ſeemed to be employed in eſcorting them, but in reality had orders to deſtroy them. For Artaxerxes, who was ſenſible how much the return of thoſe Greeks into their country would cover him with diſgrace, and decry the majeſty of the empire in the ſenſe of all nations, had left nothing undone to prevent it; and he deſired their deſtruction, ſays Plutarch, more paſſionately, than to conquer Cyrus himſelf, or to preſerve the ſovereignty of his eſtates. Thoſe ten thouſand men, however, notwithſtanding ſo many obſtacles, carried their point, and arrived, through a thouſand dangers, victorious and triumphant in their own country. (*b*) Anthony long after, when purſued by the Parthians almoſt in the ſame country, finding himſelf in like danger, cried out in admiration of their invincible valour, *Oh the retreat of the ten thouſand!*

And it was the good ſucceſs of this famous retreat, which filled the people of Greece with contempt for Artaxerxes, by demonſtrating to them, that gold, ſilver, luxury, voluptuouſneſs, and a numerous ſeraglio of women, were the ſole merit of the grand monarch; but that, as to the reſt, his opulence and all his boaſted power were only pride and vain oſtentation. It was this prejudice, more univerſal than ever in

(*b*) Plut. in Anto. p. 937. Ὦ μάχα.

in Greece after this celebrated expedition, that gave birth to thoſe bold enterpriſes of the Greeks, of which we ſhall ſoon treat, that made Artaxerxes tremble upon his throne, and brought the Perſian empire to the very brink of deſtruction. ARTAX. MNEMON.

SECT. VII. *Conſequences of* CYRUS's *death in the court of* ARTAXERXES. *Cruelty and jealouſy of* PARYSATIS. STATIRA *poiſoned.*

(*i*) I Return to what paſſed after the battle of Cunaxa in the court of Artaxerxes. As he believed that he killed Cyrus with his own hand, and looked upon that action as the moſt glorious of his life, he deſired that all the world ſhould think the ſame; and it was wounding him in the moſt tender part, to diſpute that honour, or endeavour to divide it, with him. The Carian ſoldier, whom we mentioned before, not contented with the great preſents the king had made him upon a different pretext, perpetually declared to all that would hear him, that none but himſelf had killed Cyrus, and that the king did him great injuſtice in depriving him of the glory due to him. The prince, upon being informed of that inſolence, conceived a jealouſy equally baſe and cruel, and had the weakneſs to cauſe him to be delivered to Paryſatis, who had ſworn the deſtruction of all thoſe that had any ſhare in the death of her ſon. Animated by her barbarous revenge, ſhe commanded the executioners to take that unfortunate wretch, and to make him ſuffer the moſt exquiſite tortures during ten days; then after they had torn out his eyes, to pour melted braſs into his ears, till he expired in that cruel miſery; which was accordingly executed.

Mithridates alſo, having boaſted in an entertainment where he had heated his brain with wine, that it was he gave Cyrus his mortal wound, paid very dear for that ſottiſh and imprudent vanity. He was condemned to ſuffer the puiſhment of the * troughs, one

(*i*) Plut. in Artax. p. 1018—1021.

* *See the deſcription of this torture, as before given in this Volume.*

ARTAX. MNEMON. one of the moſt cruel that was ever invented, and after having languiſhed in torment during ſeventeen days, died at laſt ſlowly in exquiſite miſery.

There only remained, for the final execution of her project, and fully to ſatiate her vengeance, the puniſhment of the king's eunuch Meſabates, who by his maſter's order had cut off the head and hand of Cyrus. But as there was nothing to take hold of in in his conduct, Paryſatis laid this ſnare for him. She was a woman of great addreſs, had abundance of wit, and excelled in playing at a certain game with dice. After the war, ſhe had been reconciled with the king, played often with him, was of all his parties, had an unbounded complaiſance for him, and far from contradicting him in any thing, prevented his deſires, did not bluſh at indulging his paſſions, and even at ſupplying him with the means of gratifying them. But ſhe took eſpecial care never to loſe ſight of him, and to leave Statira as little alone with him as ſhe could, deſiring to gain an abſolute aſcendant over her ſon.

One day ſeeing the king entirely unemployed, and with no thoughts but of diverting himſelf, ſhe propoſed playing at dice with him for a thouſand Daricks *, to which he readily conſented. She ſuffered him to win, and paid down the money. But affecting regret and vexation, ſhe preſſed him to begin again, and to play with her for an eunuch. The king, who ſuſpected nothing, complied, and they agreed to except five of the favourite eunuchs on each ſide, that the winner ſhould take their choice out of the reſt, and the loſer be bound to deliver him. Having made theſe conditions, they ſat down to play. The queen was all attention to the game, and made uſe of all her ſkill and addreſs in it; beſides which the dice favoured her. She won, and choſe Meſabates, for he was not one of the excepted. As ſoon as ſhe got him into her hands, before the king could have the leaſt ſuſpicion of the revenge ſhe meditated, ſhe delivered him to the executioners, and commanded them to flea him alive, to lay

* *The Darick was worth ten Livres.*

lay him afterwards upon three * croſs bars, and to ſtretch his ſkin at large before his eyes upon two ſtakes prepared for that purpoſe; which was performed accordingly. When the king knew this, he was very ſorry for it, and violently angry with his mother. But without giving herſelf any further trouble about it, ſhe told him with a ſmile, and in a jeſting way, "Really, you are a great loſer, and muſt be highly "in the right, to be ſo much out of humour for a "decrepid wretch of an eunuch, when I, who loſt a "thouſand good Daricks, and paid them down upon "the ſpot, do not ſay a word, and am ſatisfied." ARTAX. MNEMON.

All theſe cruelties ſeem to have been only eſſays and preparations for a greater crime Paryſatis meditated. She had retained at heart a violent hatred for queen Statira, which ſhe had ſuffered to eſcape her upon many occaſions. She perceived plainly, that her credit with the king her ſon, was only the effect of his reſpect and conſideration for her as his mother; whereas that for Statira was founded in love and confidence, the beſt ſecurity of credit with him. Of what is not the jealouſy of an ambitious woman capable! She reſolved to rid herſelf, whatever it coſt her, of ſo formidable a rival.

For the more certain attainment of her ends, ſhe feigned a reconciliation with her daughter-in-law, and treated her with all the exterior marks of ſincere friendſhip and real confidence. The two queens, appearing therefore to have forgot their former ſuſpicions and differences, lived well together, ſaw one another as before, and eat at each other's apartments. But as both of them knew how much the friendſhips and careſſes of the court were to be relied upon, eſpecially amongſt the women, they were neither of them deceived in the other; and the ſame fears always ſubſiſting, they kept upon their guard, and never eat but of the ſame diſhes and pieces. Could one believe it poſſible to deceive ſo attentive and cautious a vigilance? Paryſatis one day, when her daughter-in-law was at table with her,

* *Plutarch explains this circumſtance no farther.*

Artax. Mnemon. her, took an extremely exquiſite bird, that had been ſerved up, cut it in two parts, gave one half to Statira, and eat the other herſelf. Statira ſoon after was ſeiſed with ſharp pains, and having quitted the table, died in the moſt horrible convulſions, not without inſpiring the king with the moſt violent ſuſpicions of his mother, of whoſe cruelty, and implacable and revengeful ſpirit, he was ſufficiently ſenſible before. He made the ſtricteſt enquiry into the crime. All his mother's officers and domeſticks were ſeiſed and put to the queſtion; when Gygis, one of Paryſatis's women and confidents, confeſſed the whole. She had cauſed one ſide of a knife to be rubbed with poiſon, ſo that Paryſatis, having cut the bird in two, put the ſound part into her own mouth directly, and gave Statira the other that was poiſoned. Gygis was put to death after the manner the Perſians puniſhed poiſoners, which is thus: They lay their heads upon a great and very broad ſtone, and beat upon it with another till they are entirely cruſhed, and have no remains of their former figure. As for Paryſatis, the king contented himſelf with confining her to Babylon, where ſhe demanded to retire, and told her, that he would never ſet his foot within it whilſt ſhe was there.

CHAP. III.

SECT. I. *The Grecian cities of Ionia implore aid of the Lacedæmonians againſt* ARTAXERXES. *Rare prudence of a lady continued in her huſband's government after his death.* AGESILAUS *elected king of Sparta. His character.*

(*k*) THE cities of Ionia, that had taken party with Cyrus, apprehending the reſentment of Tiſſaphernes, had applied to the Lacedæmonians, as the deliverers of Greece, for their ſupport in the poſſeſſion of the liberty they enjoyed, and to prevent their country from being ravaged. We have already ſaid that Thimbron

(*k*) Xenop. Hiſt. Græc. l. iii. p. 479—487.

Thimbron was ſent thither, to whoſe troops Xenophon had joined his, after their return from Perſia. Thimbron was ſoon recalled upon ſome diſcontent, and had for his ſucceſſor Dercyllidas, ſurnamed Siſyphus, from his induſtry in finding reſources, and his capacity in inventing machines of war. He took upon him the command of the army at Epheſus. When he arrived there, he was appriſed, that there was a difference between the two ſatraps, who commanded in the country. ARTAX. MNEMON. A.M. 3605. Ant. J. C. 399.

The provinces of the Perſian monarchy, of which ſeveral, ſituate at the extremity of the empire, required too much application to be governed immediately by the prince, were confided to the care of the great lords commonly called ſatraps. They had each of them in their government an almoſt ſovereign authority, and were, properly ſpeaking, not unlike the vice-roys we ſee in our days in ſome neighbouring ſtates. They were ſupplied with a number of troops ſufficient for the defenſe of the country. They appointed all officers, diſpoſed of the governments of cities, and were charged with levying and remitting the tributes to the prince. They had power to raiſe troops, to treat with neighbouring ſtates, and even with the generals of the enemy; in a word, to do every thing neceſſary to the good order and tranquillity of their governments. They were independent of one another; and though they ſerved the ſame maſter, and it was their duty to concur to the ſame ends, nevertheleſs each being more affected with the particular advantage of his own province than the general good of the empire, they often differed among themſelves, formed oppoſite deſigns, refuſed aid to their colleagues in neceſſity, and ſometimes even acted entirely againſt them. The remoteneſs of the court, and the abſence of the prince, gave room for theſe diſſenſions; and perhaps a ſecret policy contributed to keep them up, to elude, or prevent, conſpiracies, which too good an underſtanding amongſt the governors might have excited.

Dercyllidas

ARTAX. MNEMON. Dercyllidas, having heard therefore, that Tiſſaphernes and Pharnabaſus were at variance, made a truce with the former, that he might not have them both upon his hands at the ſame time, entered Pharnabaſus's province, and advanced as far as Æolia.

Zenis, the Dardanian, had governed that province under the ſatrap's authority; and as after his death it was to have been given to another, Mania, his widow, went to Pharnabaſus with troops and preſents, and told him, that having been the wife of a man who had rendered him great ſervices, ſhe deſired him not to deprive her of her huſband's reward; that ſhe would ſerve him with the ſame zeal and fidelity; and that, if ſhe failed in either, he was always at liberty to take her government from her. She was continued in it by this means, and acquitted herſelf with all the judgement and ability that could have been expected from the moſt conſummate perſon in the arts of ruling. To the ordinary tributes which her huſband had paid, ſhe added preſents of an extraordinary magnificence, and when Pharnabaſus came into her province, ſhe entertained him more ſplendidly than any of the other governors. She was not contented with the conſervation of the cities committed to her care, ſhe made new conqueſts, and took * Lariſſa, Amixita, and Colona.

Hence we may obſerve, that prudence, good ſenſe, and courage, are of all ſexes. She was preſent in all expeditions in a chariot, and in perſon decreed rewards and puniſhments. None of the neighbouring provinces had a finer army than hers, in which ſhe had a great number of Greek ſoldiers in her pay. She even attended Pharnabaſus in all his enterpriſes, and was of no common ſupport to him. So that the ſatrap, who knew all the value of ſo extraordinary a merit, did more honour to this lady, than to all the other governors. He even admitted her into his council, and treated her with ſuch a diſtinction, as might have excited jealouſy, if the modeſty and affability of that lady

* *From the Lydians and Piſidians.*

lady had not prevented bad effects, by throwing in a manner a veil over all her perfections, which ſoftened their luſtre, and let them only appear to be the objects of admiration. ARTAX. MNEMON.

She had no enemies but in her own family. Midias, her ſon-in-law, ſtung with the reproach of ſuffering a woman to command in his place, and abuſing the entire confidence ſhe repoſed in him, which gave him acceſs to her at all times, ſtrangled her with her ſon. After her death he ſeiſed two fortreſſes, wherein ſhe had ſecured her treaſures; the other cities declared againſt him. He did not long enjoy the fruits of his crime. Dercyllidas happily arrived at this juncture. All the fortreſſes of Æolia, either voluntarily or by force, ſurrendered to him, and Midias was deprived of the poſſeſſions he had ſo unjuſtly acquired. The Lacedæmonian general, having granted Pharnabaſus a truce, took up his winter-quarters in Bithynia, to avoid being chargeable to his allies.

(*m*) The next year, being continued in the command, he marched into Thrace, and arrived at the Cherſoneſus. He knew, that the deputies of the country had been at Sparta to repreſent the neceſſity of fortifying the Iſthmus with a good wall againſt the frequent incurſions of the Barbarians, which prevented the cultivation of the lands. Having meaſured the ſpace, which is more than a league in breadth, he diſtributed the work amongſt the ſoldiers, and the wall was finiſhed in the autumn of the ſame year. Within this ſpace were encloſed eleven cities, ſeveral ports, a great number of arable lands, and plantations, with paſture of all kinds. The work being finiſhed, he returned into Aſia, after having reviewed the cities, and found them all in good condition. A. M. 3606. Ant. J. C. 398.

(*n*) Conon the Athenian, after loſing the battle of Ægoſopotamos, having condemned himſelf to a voluntary baniſhment, continued in the iſle of Cyprus with king Evagoras, not only for the ſafety of his perſon, but in expectation of a change in affairs; like one, ſays Plutarch,

(*m*) Xenoph. p. 487, 488. (*n*) Plut. in Artax. p. 1011.

ARTAX. MNEMON.

Plutarch, who waits the return of the tide before he embarks. He had always in view the re-eſtabliſhment of the Athenian power, to which his defeat had given a mortal wound; and full of fidelity and zeal for his country, though little favourable to him, perpetually meditated the means to raiſe it from its ruins, and reſtore it to its ancient ſplendour.

This Athenian general, knowing the ſucceſs of his views had occaſion for a powerful ſupport, wrote to Artaxerxes to explain his projects to him, and ordered the perſon who carried his letter, to apply himſelf to Cteſias, who would give it to the king. It was accordingly delivered to that phyſician, who, it is ſaid, though he did not approve the contents of it, added to what Conon had wrote, *that he deſired the king would ſend Cteſias to him, being a perſon very capable of his ſervice, eſpecially in maritime affairs.* (*o*) Pharnabaſus, in concert with Conon, was gone to court to complain againſt the conduct of Tiſſaphernes, as too much in favour of the Lacedæmonians. Upon the warm inſtances of Pharnabaſus, the king ordered five hundred talents * to be paid him for the equipment of a fleet, with inſtructions to give Conon the command of it. He ſent Cteſias into Greece, who, after having viſited Cnidos, his native country, went to Sparta.

(*p*) This Cteſias was at firſt in the ſervice of Cyrus, whom he had followed in his expedition. He was taken priſoner in the battle wherein Cyrus was killed, and was made uſe of to dreſs the wounds Artaxerxes had received, of which he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that the king retained him in his ſervice, and made him his firſt phyſician. He paſſed ſeveral years in his ſervice in that quality. Whilſt he was there, the Greeks, upon all their occaſions at the court, applied themſelves to him; as Conon did on this. His long reſidence in Perſia, and at the court, had given him the neceſſary time and means for his information in the hiſtory

(*o*) Diod. l. xiv. p. 267. Juſtin. l. iv. c. 1. (*p*) Strab. l. xiv. p. 656. Plut. in Artax. p. 1014—1017—1020. Diod. l. xiv. p. 273. Ariſtot. de Hiſt. anim. l. viii. c. 28. Phot. Cod. LXII.

* 500,000 *crowns, or about* 112,000*l. ſterling.*

history of the country, which he wrote in three-and-twenty books. The first contained the history of the Assyrians and Babylonians from Ninus and Semiramis down to Cyrus. The other seventeen treated of the Persian affairs from the beginning of Cyrus's reign to the third year of the XCVth Olympiad, which agrees with the three hundred and ninety-eighth before JESUS CHRIST. He wrote also an history of India. Photius has given us several extracts of both these histories, which are all that remain of Ctesias. He often contradicts Herodotus, and differs sometimes also from Xenophon. He was in no great estimation with the ancients, who speak of him as of a very vain man, whose veracity is not to be relied on, and who has inserted fables, and sometimes even lies, in his history. ARTAX. MNEMON.

(q) Tissaphernes and Pharnabasus, though secretly each other's enemies, had upon the king's orders united their troops, to oppose the enterprises of Dercyllidas, who had marched into Caria. They had reduced him to post himself so disadvantageously, that he must inevitably have perished, had they charged him immediately, without giving him time to look about him. Pharnabasus was of this opinion: But Tissapernes apprehending the valour of the Greeks, who had been of Cyrus's army, which he had experienced, and to whom he conceived all others resembled, proposed an interview, which was accepted. Dercyllidas having demanded, that the Grecian cities should continue free, and Tissaphernes, that the army and generals of Lacedæmon should retire; they made a truce, till the answers of their respective masters could be known. A. M. 3607. Ant. J. C. 397.

(r) Whilst these things passed in Asia, the Lacedæmonians resolved to chastise the insolence of the people of Elis, who, not content with having entered into an alliance with their enemies in the Peloponnesian war, prevented their disputing the prizes in the Olympick games. Upon pretence of the non-payment of a fine by Sparta, they had insulted their citizens during the

(q) Xenoph. Hist. Græc. l. iii. 489, 490. Diod. l. xiv. p. 267.
(r) Ibid. p. 292.

ARTAX. MNEMON. the games, and hindered Agis from ſacrificing in the temple of Jupiter Olympius. That king was charged with this expedition, which did not terminate till the third year after. He could have taken their city Olympia, which had no works, but contented himſelf with plundering the ſuburbs, and the places for the exerciſes, which were very fine. They demanded peace, which was granted, and were ſuffered to retain the ſuperintendency of the temple of Jupiter Olympius, to which they had not much right, but were more worthy of that honour than thoſe who diſputed it with them.

(*s*) Agis in his return fell ſick, and died upon arriving at Sparta. Almoſt divine honours were paid to his memory, and after the expiration of ſome days, according to the cuſtom, Leotychides and Ageſilaus, the one ſon, and the other brother of the deceaſed, diſputed the crown. The latter maintained, that his competitor was not the ſon of Agis, and ſupported his aſſertion by the confeſſion of the queen herſelf, who knew beſt, and who had often, as well as her huſband, acknowledged as much. In effect there was a current report, that ſhe had him by Alcibiades (*t*), as has been related in its place, and that the Athenian general had corrupted her by a preſent of a * thouſand Daricks. Agis proteſted the contrary at his death. Leotychides having thrown himſelf at his feet all bathed in his tears, he could not refuſe the grace he implored of him, and owned him for his ſon before all that were preſent.

Moſt of the Spartans, charmed with the virtue and great merit of Ageſilaus, and deeming it an extraordinary advantage to have a perſon for their king, who had been educated amongſt them, and paſſed like them through all the rigour of the Spartan education, ſupported him with their whole power. An ancient oracle, that adviſed Sparta to beware of a *lame reign*, was urged againſt him. Lyſander only made a jeſt of it, and turned its ſenſe againſt Leotychides himſelf; endeavouring

(*s*) Xenoph. p. 493. Plut. in Lyſ. p. 445. In Ageſil. p. 597.
(*t*) Athen. l. xii. p. 534.

* 1000 *piſtoles*.

endeavouring to prove, that as a baſtard, he was the lame king the oracle intended to caution them againſt, Ageſilaus as well by his own great qualities, as the powerful ſupport of Lyſander, carried it againſt his nephew, and was declared king. ARTAX. MNEMON.

As by the laws the kingdom had devolved to Agis, his brother Ageſilaus, who ſeemed to be deſtined to paſs his life as a private perſon, was educated like other children in the Spartan diſcipline, which was a very rough manner of life, and full of laborious exerciſe, but * taught youth obedience perfectly well. The law diſpenſed with this education only to ſuch children, as were deſigned for the throne. Ageſilaus therefore had this in peculiar, that he did not arrive at commanding, till he had firſt learned perfectly well how to obey. From thence it was, that of all the kings of Sparta he beſt knew how to make his ſubjects love and eſteem him †, becauſe that prince, to the great qualities with which nature had endowed him for commanding and the ſovereignty, had united by his education the advantage of being humane and popular.

It is ſurpriſing that Sparta, a city ſo renowned in point of education and policy, ſhould conceive it proper to abate any thing of its ſeverity and diſcipline in favour of the princes who were to reign; they having moſt need of being early habituated to the yoke of obedience, in order to their being the better qualified to command.

(*u*) Plutarch obſerves, that from his infancy Ageſilaus was remarkable for uniting qualities in himſelf, which are generally incompatible; a vivacity of ſpirit, a vehemence, an invincible reſolution in appearance, an ardent paſſion for being firſt and ſurpaſſing

(*u*) In Ageſil. p. 596.

* *Hence it was, that the poet Simonides called Sparta,* the tamer of men, δαμασιάδροτον, *as that of the Grecian cities, which rendered its inhabitants by good habits the moſt active and vigorous, and at the ſame time the moſt obedient to the laws, of all mankind,* ὡς μάλιστα διὰ τῶν ἐθῶν τοὺς πολίτας τοῖς νομοῖς πειθομένους καὶ χειροήθεις ποιῆσαν.

† Τῷ φύσει ἡγεμονικῷ καὶ βασιλικῷ προστιθησάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγωγῆς τὸ δημότικον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον.

PTAX. ANEMON. passing all others, with a gentleneſs, ſubmiſſion, and docility, that complied at a ſingle word, and made him infinitely ſenſible of the lighteſt reprimand, ſo that every thing might be obtained of him from the motives of honour, but nothing by fear or violence.

He was lame, but that defect was covered by the gracefulneſs of his perſon, and ſtill more by the gaiety with which he ſupported and rallied it firſt himſelf. It may even be ſaid, that the infirmity of his body ſet his valour and paſſion for glory in a ſtronger light; there being no labour nor enterpriſe, however difficult, that he would refuſe upon account of that inconvenience.

(*x*) Praiſe, without an air of truth and ſincerity, was ſo far from giving him pleaſure, that it offended him, and was never received by him as ſuch, but when it came from the mouths of thoſe, who upon other occaſions had repreſented his failings to him with freedom. He would never ſuffer during his life that his picture ſhould be drawn, and even in dying, expreſsly forbad any image to be made of him, either in colours or relievo. (*y*) His reaſon was, that his great actions, if he had done any, would ſupply the place of monuments; without which all the ſtatues in the world would do him no manner of honour. We only know, that he was of ſmall ſtature, which the Spartans did not affect in their kings; and Theophraſtus affirms, that the Ephori laid a fine upon their king Archidamus, the father of him we ſpeak of, for having eſpouſed a very little woman: * *For*, ſaid they, *ſhe will give us poppets inſtead of kings.*

(*z*) It has been remarked, that Ageſilaus, in his way of living with the Spartans, behaved better with regard to his enemies than his friends; for he never did the leaſt wrong to the former, and often violated juſtice in favour of the latter. He would have been aſhamed not to have honoured and rewarded his enemies, when their actions deſerved it; and was not able to reprove his

(*x*) Plut. in Moral. p. 55. (*y*) Ibid. p. 191. (*z*) Plut. in Ageſil. p. 598.

* Οὐ γὰρ βασιλεῖς, ἔφασαν, ἄμμιν, ἀλλὰ βασιλείδια γεννάσει.

his friends, when they committed faults. He would even ſupport them when they were in the wrong (*a*), and upon ſuch occaſions looked upon the zeal for juſtice as a vain pretence to cover the refuſal of ſerving them. And in proof of this, a ſhort letter is cited, written by him to a judge in recommendation of a friend; the words are: *If Nicias be not guilty, acquit him for his innocence; if he be, acquit him for my ſake; but however it be, acquit him.* ARTAX. MNEMON.

It is underſtanding the rights and privileges of friendſhip very ill, to be capable of rendering it in this manner the accomplices of crimes, and the protectreſs of bad actions. It is the fundamental law of friendſhip, ſays Cicero, never to aſk of, or grant any thing to, friends, that does not conſiſt with juſtice and honour: (*b*) *Hæc prima lex in amicitia ſanciatur, ut neque rogemus res turpes, nec faciamus rogati.*

Ageſilaus was not ſo delicate in this point, at leaſt in the beginning, and omitted no occaſion of gratifying his friends, and even his enemies. By this officious and obliging conduct, ſupported by his extraordinary merit, he acquired great credit, and almoſt abſolute power in the city, which ran ſo high as to render him ſuſpected by his country. The Ephori, to prevent its effects, and give a check to his ambition, laid a fine upon him; alledging as their ſole reaſon, * that he attached the hearts of the citizens to himſelf alone, which were the right of the republick, and ought not to be poſſeſſed but in common.

When he was declared king, he was put into poſſeſſion of the whole eſtate of his brother Agis, of which Leotychides was deprived as a baſtard. But ſeeing the relations of that prince, on the ſide of his mother Lampito, were all very poor, he divided the whole inheritance with them, and by that act of generoſity acquired great reputation, and the good-will of all the world, inſtead of the envy and hatred he might have drawn upon himſelf by the inheritance. Theſe

(*a*) Plut. in Ageſil. p. 603. (*b*) De amicit. n. 40.

* Ὅτι τὰς κοινὰς πολιτὰς, ἰδίας κέκτηται.

Artax. Mnemon. ſort of ſacrifices are glorious, though rare, and can never be ſufficiently eſteemed.

Never was king of Sparta ſo powerful as Ageſilaus, and it was only, as Xenophon ſays, by obeying his country in every thing, that he acquired ſo great an authority; which ſeems a kind of paradox, thus explained by Plutarch. The greateſt power was veſted at that time in the Ephori and ſenate. The office of the Ephori ſubſiſted only one year; they were inſtituted to limit the too great power of the kings, and to ſerve as a barrier againſt it, as we have obſerved elſewhere. For this reaſon, the kings of Sparta, from their eſtabliſhment, had always retained a kind of hereditary averſion for them, and continually oppoſed their meaſures. Ageſilaus took a quite contrary method. Inſtead of being perpetually at war with them, and claſhing upon all occaſions with their meaſures he made it his buſineſs to cultivate their good opinion, treated them always with the utmoſt deference and regard, never entered upon the leaſt enterpriſe without having firſt communicated it to them, and upon their ſummons quitted every thing, and repaired to the ſenate with the utmoſt promptitude and reſignation: Whenever he ſat upon his throne to adminiſter juſtice, if the Ephori entered, he never failed to riſe up to do them honour. By all theſe inſtances of reſpect, he ſeemed to add new dignity to their office, whilſt in reality he augmented his own power, without its being obſerved, and added to the ſovereignty a grandeur the more ſolid and permanent, as it was the effect of the people's good-will and eſteem for him. The greateſt of the Roman emperors, as Auguſtus, Trajan, and Marcus Antoninus, were convinced, that the utmoſt a prince could do, to honour and exalt the principal magiſtrates, was only adding to his own power, and ſtrengthening his authority, which neither ſhould, nor can be founded in any thing but juſtice.

Such was Ageſilaus, of whom much will be ſaid hereafter, and with whoſe character it was therefore neceſſary to begin.

Sect.

SECT. II. AGESILAUS *ſets out for Aſia.* LYSANDER *falls out with him, and returns to Sparta. His ambitious deſigns to alter the ſucceſſion to the throne.*

(*c*) AGESILAUS had ſcarce aſcended the throne, when accounts came from Aſia, that the king of Perſia was fitting out a great fleet, with intent to deprive the Lacedæmonians of their empire at ſea. Conon's letters, ſeconded by the remonſtrances of Pharnabaſus, who had in concert repreſented to Artaxerxes the power of Sparta, as formidable, had made a ſtrong impreſſion upon that prince. From that time he had it ſeriouſly in his thoughts to humble that proud republick, by raiſing up its rival, and by that means re-eſtabliſhing the ancient balance between them, which could alone aſſure his ſafety, by keeping them perpetually employed againſt each other, and thereby prevented from uniting their forces againſt him. ARTAX. MNEMON. A. M. 3608. Ant. J. C. 396.

Lyſander, who deſired to be ſent into Aſia, in order to re-eſtabliſh his creatures and friends in the government of the cities, from which Sparta had removed them, ſtrongly diſpoſed Ageſilaus to take upon himſelf the charge of the war, and to prevent the Barbarian king, by attacking him remote from Greece, before he ſhould have finiſhed his preparations. The republick having made this propoſal to him, he could not refuſe it, and charged himſelf with the expedition againſt Artaxerxes, upon condition that thirty Spartan captains ſhould be granted him, to aſſiſt him and compoſe his council, with two thouſand new citizens to be choſen out of the helots who had been lately made freemen, and ſix thouſand troops of the allies, which was immediately reſolved. Lyſander was placed at the head of the thirty Spartans, not only upon account of his great reputation, and the authority he had acquired, but for the particular friendſhip between him and Ageſilaus, who was indebted to him for the throne, as well

(*c*) Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. l. iii. p. 495, 496. Ibid. de Ageſil. p. 652. Plut. in Ageſil. p. 598, & in Lyſand. p. 446.

ARTAX. MNEMON. well as the honour which had been lately conferred upon him of being elected generaliſſimo.

The glorious return of the Greeks who had followed Cyrus, and whom the whole power of Perſia was not able to prevent from retreating into their own country, had inſpired all Greece with a wonderful confidence in their forces, and a ſupreme contempt for the Barbarians. In this diſpoſition of the people, the Lacedæmonians conceived it would reproach them, to neglect ſo favourable a conjuncture for delivering the Greeks in Aſia from their ſubjection to thoſe Barbarians, and for putting an end to the outrages and violences with which they were continually oppreſſing them. They had already attempted this by their generals Thimbron and Dercyllidas; but all their endeavours having hitherto proved ineffectual, they referred the conduct of this war to the care of Ageſilaus. He promiſed them either to conclude a glorious peace with the Perſians, or to employ them ſo effectually, as ſhould leave them neither leiſure nor inclination to carry the war into Greece. The king had great views, and thought of nothing leſs than attacking Artaxerxes in Perſia itſelf.

When he arrived at Epheſus, Tiſſaphernes ſent to demand what reaſon had induced his coming into Aſia, and why he had taken up arms. He replied, that he came to aid the Greeks who inhabited there, and to re-eſtabliſh them in their ancient liberty. (*d*) The ſatrap, who was not yet prepared, preferred art to force, and aſſured him, that his maſter would give the Grecian cities of Aſia their liberty, provided he committed no acts of hoſtility till the return of the couriers. Ageſilaus agreed, and the truce was ſworn on both ſides. Tiſſaphernes, who laid no great ſtreſs upon an oath, took the advantage of this delay to aſſemble troops on all ſides. The Lacedæmonian general was appriſed of it, but however kept his word; being convinced, that in affairs of ſtate, the breach of faith can have but a very ſhort and precarious ſucceſs; whereas a reputation

(*d*) Xenoph. p. 496, & 652.

tion eſtabliſhed upon inviolable fidelity in the obſervance of engagements, which the perfidy itſelf of other contracting parties has not power to alter, will eſtabliſh a credit and confidence, equally uſeful and glorious. In effect, Xenophon remarks, that this religious obſervation of treaties gained him the univerſal eſteem and opinion of the cities; whilſt the different conduct of Tiſſaphernes entirely loſt him their favour. ARTAX. MNEMON.

Ageſilaus made uſe of this interval in acquiring an exact knowledge of the ſtate of the cities, and in making ſuitable regulations. He found great diſorder every where, their government being neither democratical, as under the Athenians, nor ariſtocratical, as Lyſander had eſtabliſhed it. (*e*) The people of the country had no communication with Ageſilaus, nor had ever known him; for which reaſon they made no court to him, conceiving, that he had the title of general for form-ſake only, and that the whole power was really veſted in Lyſander. As no governour had ever done ſo much good to his friends, or hurt to his enemies, it is not wonderful that he was ſo much beloved by the one and feared by the other. All therefore were eager to pay their homage to him, were every day in crowds at his door, and made his train very numerous when he went abroad; whilſt Ageſilaus remained almoſt alone. Such a conduct could not fail of offending a general and king, extremely ſenſible and delicate in what regarded his authority; though otherwiſe not jealous of any one's merit, but, on the contrary, much inclined to diſtinguiſh it with his favour. He did not diſſemble his diſguſt. He paid no regard to Lyſander's recommendations, and ceaſed to employ him himſelf. Lyſander preſently perceived this alteration in regard to him. He diſcontinued his applications for his friends to the king, deſired them not to viſit him any more, nor attach themſelves to him, but to addreſs themſelves directly to the king, and to cultivate the favour of thoſe, who in the preſent times had power to ſerve and advance their creatures. The A.M. 3609. Ant. J.C. 395.

(*e*) Plut. in Ageſil. p. 599, 600. In Lyſand. p. 446, 447.

ARTAX. MNEMON. greateſt part of them gave over importuning him with their affairs, but did not ceaſe to pay their court to him. On the contrary, they were only more aſſiduous than ever about his perſon, attended him in throngs when he took the air abroad, and regularly aſſiſted at all his exerciſes. Lyſander, naturally vain, and long accuſtomed to the homage and ſubmiſſion that attended abſolute power, did not take ſufficient care to remove the buſy crowd from his perſon, that continually made their addreſſes to him with more application than ever.

This ridiculous affectation of authority and grandeur grew ſtill more and more offenſive to Ageſilaus, and ſeemed as if intended to inſult him. He reſented it ſo highly, that having given the moſt conſiderable commands and beſt governments to private officers, he appointed Lyſander commiſſary of the ſtores, and diſtributor of proviſions; and afterwards to inſult and deride the Ionians, he told them, *that they might now go and conſult his maſter-butcher.*

Lyſander thought it then incumbent upon him to ſpeak, and to come to an explanation with him. Their converſation was brief and laconick. *Certainly, my lord,* ſaid Lyſander, *you very well know how to depreſs your friends.—Yes, when they would ſet themſelves above me; but when they are ſtudious of my dignity, I know alſo how to let them ſhare in it.—But perhaps, my lord,* replied Lyſander, *I have been injured by falſe reports, and things I never did have been imputed to me. I muſt beg therefore, if it be only upon account of the ſtrangers, who have all of them their eyes upon us, that you would give me an employment in your army, wherein you ſhall think me leaſt capable of diſpleaſing, and moſt of ſerving you effectually.*

The effect of this converſation was the lieutenantcy of the Helleſpont, which Ageſilaus gave him. In this employment he retained all his reſentment, without however neglecting any part of his duty, or of what conduced to the ſucceſs of affairs. Some ſmall time after he returned to Sparta, without any marks of honour

honour and diſtinction, extremely incenſed againſt Ageſilaus, and with the hope of making him perfectly ſenſible of it. ARTAX. MNEMON.

It muſt be allowed that Lyſander's conduct, as we have here repreſented it, denotes a vanity and narrowneſs of mind on his ſide, much unworthy of his reputation. Perhaps Ageſilaus carried too far his ſenſibility and delicacy in point of honour, and that he was a little too ſevere upon a friend and benefactor, whom ſecret animadverſions, attended with openneſs of heart and expreſſions of kindneſs, might have reclaimed to his duty. But as ſhining as Lyſander's merit, and as conſiderable as the ſervices he had rendered Ageſilaus, might be, they could not all of them give him a right, not only to an equality with his king and general, but to the ſuperiority he affected, which in ſome meaſure tended to making the other inſignificant. He ought to have remembered, that it is never allowable for an inferior to forget himſelf, and ſo exceed the bounds of a juſt ſubordination.

(g) Upon his return to Sparta he had it ſeriouſly in his thoughts to execute a project, which he had many years revolved in his mind. At Sparta there were only two families, or rather branches, of the poſterity of Hercules, who had a right to the throne. When Lyſander had attained to that high degree of power, which his great actions had acquired him, he began to ſee with pain a city, whoſe glory had been ſo much augmented by his exploits, under the government of princes, to whom he gave place neither in valour nor birth; for he deſcended, as well as themſelves, from Hercules. He therefore ſought means to deprive thoſe two houſes of the ſole ſucceſſion to the crown, and to extend that right to all the other branches of the Heraclides, and even, according to ſome, to all the natives of Sparta; flattering himſelf, that if his deſign took effect, no Spartan could be capable of diſputing that honour with him, and that he ſhould have the preference to all others.

This

(g) Plut. in Lyſand. p. 447, 448. Diod. l. xiv. p. 244, 245.

ARTAX. MNEMON. This ambitious project of Lyſander ſhows, that the greateſt captains are often thoſe, from whom a republick has moſt to apprehend. Thoſe haughty valiant ſpirits, accuſtomed to abſolute power in armies, bring back with victory a daring loftineſs of mind, always to be dreaded in a free ſtate. Sparta, in giving Lyſander unlimited power, and leaving it for ſo many years in his hands, did not ſufficiently conſider, that nothing is more dangerous than to confide to perſons of ſuperior merit and abilities, employments of ſupreme authority, which naturally expoſes them to the temptation of rendering themſelves independent, and abſolute maſters of power. Lyſander was not proof againſt it, and practiſed ſecretly to open himſelf a way to the throne.

The undertaking was bold, and required long preparations. He thought it impoſſible to ſucceed without firſt making uſe of the fear of the divinity, and the terrours of ſuperſtition, to amaze and ſubdue the citizens into a more eaſy diſpoſition to receive what he wanted to have them underſtand; for he knew that at Sparta, as well as throughout all Greece, nothing of the leaſt importance was determined, without the oracle's being previouſly conſulted. He tempted with great preſents the prieſts and prieſteſſes of Delphos, Dodona, and Ammon; though ineffectually at that time; and the latter even ſent ambaſſadors to Sparta, to accuſe him of impiety and ſacrilege; but he extricated himſelf from that bad affair by his credit and addreſs.

It was neceſſary to ſet other engines at work. A woman in the kingdom of Pontus, affirming that ſhe was with child by Apollo, had been delivered ſome years before of a ſon, to whom the name of Silenus was given, and the greateſt perſons of that nation had diſputed the honour of nurſing and educating him. Lyſander, taking this wonderous birth for the commencement, and in a manner the foundation, of the piece he meditated, ſupplied the reſt himſelf, by employing a good number of perſons, and thoſe not inconſiderable,

inconſiderable, to diſperſe, by way of prologue to the performance, the miraculous birth of this infant; whereby, no affectation appearing in them, people were diſpoſed to believe it. This being done, they brought certain diſcourſes from Delphos to Sparta, which were induſtriouſly ſpread abroad every where: That the prieſts of the temple had in their cuſtody ſome books of very ancient oracles, which they kept concealed from all the world, and of which it was not permitted, either for them or any other perſons whatſoever, to have any knowledge; and that only a ſon of Apollo, who was to come in proceſs of time, after having given undoubted proofs of his birth to thoſe who had the books in their keeping, was to take and carry them away. ARTAX. MNEMON.

All this being well premiſed, Silenus was to preſent himſelf to the prieſts, and demand thoſe oracles as the ſon of Apollo; and the prieſts, who were in the ſecret, as actors well prepared and fully inſtructed in their parts, were on their ſide to make the moſt exact and circumſtantial enquiry into every thing, not without affecting great difficulty, and aſking endleſs queſtions for the full proof of his birth. At length, as abſolutely convinced, that this Silenus was the real ſon of Apollo, they were to produce the books, and deliver them to him; after which, this ſon of Apollo was to read the prophecies contained in them, in the preſence of all the world; and particularly that for which the whole contrivance had been cooked up. The ſenſe of this was, *That it was more expedient and advantageous for the Spartans to elect no king for the future but the moſt worthy of their citizens.* Lyſander in conſequence was to mount the tribunal, to harangue the citizens, and induce them to make this alteration. Cleon of Halicarnaſſus, a celebrated rhetorician, had compoſed a very eloquent diſcourſe for him upon this ſubject, which he had got by heart.

Silenus grew up, and repaired to Greece in order to play his part, when Lyſander had the mortification to ſee his piece miſcarry, by the timidity and deſertion

ARTAX. MNEMON. tion of one of his principal actors, who broke his word, and diſappeared at the very inſtant it was to have been performed. Though this intrigue had been carried on a great while, it was tranſacted with ſo much ſecrecy to the time it was to have made its appearance, that nothing of it was known during the life of Lyſander. How it came to light after his death we ſhall ſoon relate, but muſt at preſent return to Tiſſaphernes.

SECT. III. *Expedition of* AGESILAUS *in Aſia. Diſgrace and death of* TISSAPHERNES. *Sparta gives* AGESILAUS *the command of its armies by ſea and land. He deputes* PISANDER *to command the fleet. Interview of* AGESILAUS *and* PHARNABASUS.

(*b*) WHEN Tiſſaphernes had received the troops aſſigned him by the king, and drawn together all his forces, he ſent to command Ageſilaus to retire out of Aſia, and declared war againſt him in caſe of refuſal. His officers were all alarmed, not believing him in a condition to oppoſe the great army of the Perſian king. For himſelf, he heard Tiſſaphernes's heralds with a gay and eaſy countenance, and bade them tell their maſter, that he was under a very great obligation to him *for having made the gods, by his perjury, the enemies of Perſia and the friends of Greece.* He promiſed himſelf great things from this expedition, and would have thought it an exceeding diſgrace for him, that ten thouſand Greeks, under the command of Xenophon, ſhould have paſſed through the heart of Aſia to the Grecian ſea, and beat the king of Perſia, as often as he appeared againſt them; and that he, who commanded the Lacedæmonians, whoſe empire extended all over Greece by ſea and land, ſhould not execute ſome exploit worthy of glory and remembrance.

At firſt, therefore, to revenge the perfidy of Tiſſaphernes by a juſt and allowable deceit, he made a feint

(*b*) Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. l. iii. p. 497—502. Idem, de Ageſil. p. 652—656. Plut. in Ageſil. p. 600.

feint of marching his army into Caria, the reſidence of that ſatrap; and as ſoon as the Barbarian had cauſed his troops to march that way, he turned ſhort, and fell upon Phrygia, where he took many towns, and amaſſed immenſe treaſures, which he diſtributed amongſt the officers and ſoldiers; letting his friends ſee, ſays Plutarch, that to break a treaty, and violate an oath, is to deſpiſe the gods themſelves; and that, on the contrary, to deceive an enemy by the ſtratagems of war, is not only juſt and glorious, but a ſenſible delight attended with the greateſt advantages. ARTAX. MNEMON.

The ſpring being come, he aſſembled all his forces at Epheſus; and to exerciſe his ſoldiers, he propoſed prizes both for the horſe and foot. This ſmall inducement ſet every thing in motion. The place for exerciſes was perpetually full of all kind of troops, and the city of Epheſus ſeemed only a palæſtra, and a ſchool of war. The whole market-place was filled with horſes and arms, and the ſhops with different kinds of military equipage. Ageſilaus was ſeen returning from the exerciſes, followed by a crowd of officers and ſoldiers, all of them crowned with wreaths, which they were going to depoſit in the temple of Diana, to the great admiration and delight of all the world. For, ſays Xenophon, where piety and diſcipline are ſeen to flouriſh, the beſt hopes muſt be conceived.

To give his ſoldiers new valour from the contempt of their enemies, he made uſe of this contrivance. He ordered the commiſſaries, who had charge of the booty, to ſtrip the priſoners and expoſe them to ſale. There were abundance of buyers for their habits; but for themſelves, their bodies were ſo ſoft, white, and delicate, having been nurtured and brought up in the ſhade, that they laughed at them, as of neither ſervice nor value. Ageſilaus took this occaſion to approach and ſay to his ſoldiers, pointing to the men, *See there againſt whom ye fight*; and ſhowing them their rich ſpoils, *and there for what you fight*.

When the ſeaſon for taking the field returned, Ageſilaus gave out, that he would march into Lydia. Tiſſaphernes,

ARTAX. MNEMON. Tiſſaphernes, who had not forgot the firſt ſtratagem he had uſed in regard to him, and was not willing to be deceived a ſecond time, made his troops march directly for Caria; not doubting, but at this time, Ageſilaus would turn his arms that way; the rather, becauſe it was natural for him, as he wanted cavalry, to endeavour to make a rough and difficult country the ſeat of action, which might render the horſe of an enemy uſeleſs and unſerviceable. But he deceived himſelf: Ageſilaus entered Lydia and approached Sardis. Tiſſaphernes haſtened thither with his horſe, with intent to relieve the place. Ageſilaus, knowing that his infantry had not had time to arrive, thought proper to take the advantage of ſo favourable an opportunity to give him battle, before he had re-aſſembled all his troops. He drew up his army in two lines; the firſt he formed of his ſquadrons, whoſe intervals he filled up with platoons of the light-armed foot, and ordered them to begin the charge, whilſt he followed with the ſecond line, compoſed of his heavy-armed infantry. The Barbarians did not ſuſtain the firſt ſhock, but took to their heels immediately. The Greeks purſued them, and forced their camp, where they made a great ſlaughter, and a ſtill greater booty.

(*i*) After this battle the troops of Ageſilaus were at entire liberty to plunder and ravage the whole country of the Perſians, and at the ſame time had the ſatisfaction to ſee that prince inflict an exemplary puniſhment upon Tiſſaphernes, who was a very wicked man, and the moſt dangerous enemy of the Greeks. (*k*) The king had already received abundance of complaints againſt his conduct. Upon this Occaſion he was accuſed of treaſon, as not having done his duty in the battle. Queen Paryſatis, always actuated by her hatred and revenge againſt thoſe who had any ſhare in the death of her ſon Cyrus, did not a little contribute to the death of Tiſſaphernes, by aggravating with all her power

(*i*) Xenoph. p. 501, & 657. Plut. in Artax. p. 1022. & in Ageſil. p. 601. (*k*) Diod. l. xiv. p. 299. Pylyæn. Stratag. l. vii.

power the charges againſt him; for ſhe had been entirely reſtored to favour by the king her ſon. ARTAX. MNEMON.

As Tiſſaphernes had a great authority in Aſia, the king was afraid to attack him openly, but thought it neceſſary to take ſuitable precautions, in ſeiſing ſo powerful an officer, who might have proved a dangerous enemy. He charged Tithrauſtes with that important commiſſion, and gave him two letters at the ſame time. The firſt was for Tiſſaphernes, and contained the king's orders in regard to the war with the Greeks, with full power to act as was requiſite. The ſecond was addreſſed to Ariæus, governor of Lariſſa; by which the king commanded him to aſſiſt Tithrauſtes with his council, and all his forces, in ſeiſing Tiſſaphernes. He loſt no time, and ſent to deſire Tiſſaphernes would come to him, that they might confer together upon the operations of the enſuing campaign. Tiſſaphernes, who ſuſpected nothing, went to him with only a guard of three hundred men. Whilſt he was in a bath, without ſabre or other arms, he was ſeiſed, and put into the hands of Tithrauſtes, who cauſed his head to be ſtruck off, and ſent it immediately to Perſia. The king gave it to Paryſatis; an agreeable preſent to a princeſs of her violent and vindictive temper. Though this conduct of Artaxerxes ſeems little worthy of a king, nobody lamented the death of that ſatrap, who had no veneration for the gods, nor any regard for men; who looked upon probity and honour as empty names; who made a jeſt of the moſt ſacred oaths, and believed the whole ability and policy of a ſtateſman conſiſted in knowing how to deceive others by hypocriſy, fraud, perfidy, and perjury.

Tithrauſtes had a third writing from the king, whereby he was appointed to command the armies in the room of Tiſſaphernes. (*k*) After having executed his commiſſion, he ſent great preſents to Ageſilaus, to induce him to enter more readily into his views and intereſt; and ordered him to be told, that the cauſe of the

(*k*) Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. l. iii. p. 501. Plut. in Ageſil. p. 601.

Artax. Mnemon. the war being removed, and the author of all differences put to death, nothing oppoſed an accommodation; that the king of Perſia conſented, that the cities of Aſia ſhould enjoy their liberty, paying him the cuſtomary tribute, provided he would withdraw his troops, and return into Greece. Ageſilaus replied, that he could conclude nothing without the orders of Sparta, upon whom alone depended the peace; that as for him, he was better pleaſed with enriching his ſoldiers than himſelf; that the Greeks beſides thought it more glorious and honourable to take ſpoils from their enemies, than to accept their preſents. However, as he was not unwilling to give Tithrauſtes the ſatisfaction of removing out of his province, and of expreſſing his gratitude to him for having puniſhed the common enemy of the Greeks, he marched into Phrygia, which was the province of Pharnabaſus. Tithrauſtes had himſelf propoſed that expedition to him, and paid him thirty talents for the charges of his journey.

Upon his march, he received a letter from the magiſtrates of Sparta, with orders to take upon him the command of the naval army, and power to depute whom he thought fit in his ſtead By theſe new powers he ſaw himſelf abſolute commander of all the troops in that ſtate in Aſia both by ſea and land. This reſolution was taken, in order that all operations being directed by one and the ſame head, and the two armies acting in concert, the plans for the ſervice might be executed with more uniformity, and every thing conſpire to the ſame end. Sparta till then had never done the honour to any of their generals, to confide to him at the ſame time the command of the armies by ſea and land. So that all the world agreed, that he was the greateſt perſonage of his time, and beſt ſuſtained the high reputation he enjoyed. But he was a man, and had his failings.

The firſt thing he did was to eſtabliſh Piſander his lieutenant in the fleet; in which he ſeemed to have committed a conſiderable fault; becauſe having about him many older and more experienced captains, without

out regard to the ſervice of the publick, to do honour to an ally, and to pleaſe his wife, who was Piſander's ſiſter, he entruſted him with the command of the fleet; that employment being much above his abilities, though he was not without his merit. ARTAX. MNEMON.

This is the common temptation of perſons in power, who believe they poſſeſs it only for themſelves and their families; as if the advantage of relation to them was a ſufficient title and qualification for poſts which require great abilities. They do not reflect, that they not only expoſe the affairs of a ſtate to ruin by their private views, but ſacrifice beſides the intereſts of their own glory, which cannot be maintained, but by ſucceſſes it were inconſiſtent to expect from inſtruments ſo ill choſen.

(*l*) Ageſilaus continued with his army in Phrygia, upon the lands of Pharnabaſus's government, where he lived in the abundance of all things, and amaſſed great ſums of money. From thence advancing as far as Paphlagonia, he made an alliance with king Cotis, who paſſionately deſired his amity, from the ſenſe of his faith in the obſervance of treaties, and his other virtues. The ſame motive had already induced Spithridates, one of the king's principal officers, to quit the ſervice of Pharnabaſus, and go over to Ageſilaus, to whom from his revolt he had rendered great ſervices; for he had a great body of troops, and was very brave. This officer, having entered Phrygia, had laid waſte the whole country under Pharnabaſus, who never dared appear in the field againſt him, nor even rely upon his fortreſſes: But carrying away whatever was moſt valuable and dear to him, he kept flying continually before him, and retired from one place to another, changing his camp every day. Spithridates at length, taking with him ſome Spartan troops with Herippidas (the chief of the council of thirty ſent by the republick to Ageſilaus the ſecond year) watched him one day ſo cloſely, and attacked him ſo ſucceſsfully, that he made himſelf maſter of his camp, and A. M. 3610. Ant. J. C. 394.

(*l*) Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. l. iv. p. 507—510.

ARTAX. MNEMON. of all the rich ſpoils with which it abounded. But Herippidas, injudiciouſly ſetting himſelf up as an inexorable comptroller, was for bringing the booty that had been ſunk to an account; forced even the ſoldiers of Spithridates to reſtore what they had taken, and by viſiting their tents, and ſearching them with an unſeaſonable exactitude and ſeverity, affronted Spithridates to ſuch a degree, that he withdrew directly to Sardis with his Paphlagonians.

It is ſaid, that in this whole expedition nothing ſo ſenſibly affected Ageſilaus as the retreat of Spithridates. For, beſides his being very ſorry for the loſs of ſo good an officer, and ſuch good troops, he apprehended being reproached with mean and ſordid avarice: A vice equally diſhonourable to himſelf and his country; and of which he had taken pains to avoid the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion during his whole life. He did not think it conſiſtent with the duty of his office to ſhut his eyes, through ſlothful eaſe and indolence, againſt all the malverſations that were committed under him; but he knew at the ſame time, that there is an exactitude and ſeverity, that by being carried too far, degenerates into minuteneſs and petulancy, and which, through an extreme affectation of virtue, becomes a real and dangerous vice.

(m) Some time after, Pharnabaſus, who ſaw his country ravaged, demanded an interview with Ageſilaus, which was negotiated by a common friend of them both. Ageſilaus arrived firſt with his friends at the place agreed on, and ſat down in expectation of Pharnabaſus upon the turf under the ſhade of a tree. When Pharnabaſus arrived, his people ſpread ſkins upon the ground of exceeding ſoftneſs from the length of their hair, with rich carpets of various colours, and magnificent cuſhions. But when he ſaw Ageſilaus ſitting ſimply upon the ground, without any preparation, he was aſhamed of his effeminancy, and ſat down alſo upon the graſs. On this occaſion the Perſian pride was

(m) Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. l. iv. p. 510—512. Plut. in Ageſil. p. 602.

was ſeen to pay homage to the Spartan modeſty and ſimplicity. ARTAX MNEMON

After reciprocal ſalutations, Pharnabaſus ſpoke to this effect: That he had ſerved the Lacedæmonians in the Peloponneſian war to the utmoſt of his power, fought ſeveral battles for them, and ſupported their naval army, without giving any room to reproach him with fraud or treachery, as Tiſſaphernes had done: That he was ſurpriſed at their coming to attack him in his government; burning the towns, cutting down the trees, and laying waſte the whole country: That if it was the cuſtom with the Greeks, who made profeſſion of honour and virtue, to treat their friends and benefactors in ſuch a manner, he did not know what they might mean by juſt and equitable. Theſe complaints were not entirely without foundation, and were uttered with a modeſt, but pathetick, air and tone of voice. The Spartans, who attended Ageſilaus, not ſeeing how they could be anſwered, caſt down their eyes, and kept a profound ſilence. Ageſilaus, who obſerved it, replied almoſt in theſe terms, "Lord "Pharnabaſus, you are not ignorant, that war often "arms the beſt friends againſt each other for the de-"fenſe of their country. Whilſt we were ſuch to the "king your maſter, we treated him as a friend; but "as we are become his enemies, we make open war "againſt him, as it is juſt we ſhould, and endeavour "to hurt him by what we act againſt you. However, "from the inſtant you ſhall think fit to throw off the "yoke of bondage, and prefer being called the friend "and ally of the Greeks, before the name of the king "of Perſia's ſlave, you may reckon that all the "troops you ſee before your eyes, our arms, our ſhips, "our perſons to the laſt man of us, are only here to "defend your poſſeſſions, and ſecure your liberty, "which of all bleſſings is the moſt precious and de-"ſirable."

Pharnabaſus anſwered, that if the king ſent another general in his place, and ſubjected him to the newcomer, he ſhould very willingly accept his offer; that

ARTAX. MNEMON. otherwiſe he would not depart from the faith he had ſworn to him, nor quit his ſervice. Ageſilaus then taking him by the hand, and riſing with him, replied, "That it were the pleaſure of the gods, lord Pharnabaſus, with ſuch noble ſentiments, that you were rather our friend than our enemy." He promiſed to withdraw from his government, and never return into it, whilſt he could ſubſiſt elſewhere.

SECT. IV. *League againſt the Lacedæmonians.* AGESILAUS *recalled by the Ephori to defend his country, obeys directly.* LYSANDER'*s death. Victory of the Lacedæmonians near Nemea. Their fleet beaten by* CONON *at Cnidus. Battle gained by the Lacedæmonians at Coronæ.*

A.M. 3610. Ant. J. C. 394. (*n*) AGESILAUS had been two years at the head of the army, and had already made the moſt remote provinces of Aſia tremble at his name, and reſound with the fame of his great wiſdom, diſintereſtedneſs, moderation, intrepid valour in the greateſt dangers, and invincible patience in ſupporting the rudeſt fatigues. Of ſo many thouſand ſoldiers under his command, not one was worſe provided, or lay harder, than himſelf. He was ſo indifferent as to heat or cold, that he ſeemed formed * only to ſupport the moſt rigorous ſeaſons, and ſuch as it pleaſed God to ſend: Which are Plutarch's expreſs words.

The moſt agreeable of all ſights to the Greeks ſettled in Aſia, was to ſee the lieutenants of the great king, his ſatraps, and other great lords, who were formerly ſo haughty and untractable, ſoften their note in the preſence of a man meanly clad, and at his ſingle word, however ſhort and laconick, change their language and conduct, and in a manner transform themſelves into different creatures. Deputies from all parts were ſent by the people to form alliances with him, and his army increaſed every day by the troops of the Barbarians that came to join him.

All

(*n*) Plut. in Ageſil. p. 603, 604. Xenoph. in Ageſil. p. 657.

* Ὥσπερ μόνῳ ἀεὶ χρῆσθαι ταῖς ὑπὸ θεῶν πεπραμέναις ὥραις πεφυκώς.

All Aſia was already in motion, and moſt of the provinces ready to revolt. Ageſilaus had already reſtored order and tranquillity in all the cities, had reinſtated them in the poſſeſſion of their liberty under reaſonable modifications, not only without ſhedding of blood, but without even baniſhing a ſingle perſon. Not content with ſuch a progreſs, he had formed the deſign of attacking the king of Perſia in the heart of his dominions, to put him in fear for his own perſon and the tranquillity he enjoyed in Ecbatana and Suſa, and to find him ſo much buſineſs as ſhould make it impracticable for him to embroil all Greece from his cabinet, by corrupting the orators and perſons of greateſt authority in its cities with his preſents. ARTAX. MNEMON.

(o) Tithrauſtes, who commanded for the king in Aſia, ſeeing the tendency of Ageſilaus's deſigns, and deſiring to prevent their effects, had ſent Timocrates of Rhodes into Greece, with great ſums of money to corrupt the principal perſons in the cities, and by their means occaſion defections againſt Sparta. He knew that the haughtineſs of the Lacedæmonians, (for all their generals did not reſemble Ageſilaus) and the imperious manner with which they treated their neighbours and allies, eſpecially ſince they conſidered themſelves as the maſters of Greece, had univerſally diſguſted the people, and excited a jealouſy that waited only an occaſion to break out againſt them. This ſeverity of governing had a natural cauſe in their education. Accuſtomed from their infancy to obey without delay or reply, firſt to their tutors, and afterwards to their magiſtrates, they exacted a like ſubmiſſion from the cities in their dependence, were eaſily incenſed by the leaſt oppoſition, and by this exceſſive ſeverity rendered themſelves inſupportable.

Tithrauſtes therefore did not find it difficult to draw off the allies from their party. Thebes, Argos, Corinth, entered into his meaſures: The deputy did not

(o) Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. l. iii. p. 502—507. Plut. in Lyſand. P. 449—451.

ARTAX. MNEMON. go to Athens. Theſe three cities, influenced by thoſe that governed them, made a league againſt the Lacedæmonians, who on their ſide prepared vigorouſly for the war. The Thebans at the ſame time ſent deputies to the Athenians to implore their aid, and that they would enter into the alliance, The deputies, after having ſlightly paſſed over their ancient diviſions, inſiſted ſtrongly upon the conſiderable ſervice they had rendered Athens, in refuſing to join its enemies, when they endeavoured its final deſtruction. They repreſented to them the favourable opportunity that offered for re-inſtating themſelves in their ancient power, and to deprive the Lacedæmonians of the empire of Greece. That all the allies of Sparta, either without or within Greece, were weary of their ſevere and unjuſt ſway, and waited only the ſignal to revolt. That the moment the Athenians ſhould declare themſelves, all the cities would rouſe up at the ſound of their arms, and that the king of Perſia, who had ſworn the ruin of Sparta, would aid them with all his forces both by ſea and land.

Thraſybulus, whom the Thebans had ſupplied with arms and money, when he undertook the re-eſtabliſhment of the Athenian liberty, ſeconded their demand with great vigour, and the aid was unanimouſly reſolved. The Lacedæmonians on their ſide took the field without loſs of time, and entered Phocis. Lyſander wrote to Pauſanias, who commanded one of the two armies, to give him notice to march early the next day to Haliartus, which he deſigned to beſiege, and that he ſhould be there himſelf at ſun-riſe. The letter was intercepted. Lyſander, after having waited his coming up a great while, was obliged to engage, and was killed in the battle. Pauſanias received this bad news on his way; but however continued his march to Haliartus, and called a council of war to conſider upon a ſecond battle. He did not think it conſiſtent with prudence to hazard it, and contented himſelf with making a truce, to remove the bodies of thoſe who had fallen in the former fight. Upon his return to Sparta, he was cited

cited to give an account of his conduct, and refuſing to appear, was condemned to die. But he avoided the execution of that ſentence by flight, and retired to Tegeum, where he paſſed the remainder of his life under the ſhelter and protection of Minerva, to whom he had rendered himſelf a ſuppliant, and died of diſeaſe. ARTAX. MNEMON.

Lyſander's poverty, having been diſcovered after his death, did great honour to his memory; when it was known, that of all the gold and riches which had paſſed through his hands, of a power ſo extenſive as his had been, of ſo many cities under his government, and which made their court to him, in a word, of that kind of dominion and ſovereignty always exerciſed by him, he had made no manner of advantage, for the advancement and enriching of his houſe.

Some days before his death, two of the principal citizens of Sparta had contracted themſelves to his two daughters; but, when they knew in what condition he had left his affairs, they refuſed to marry them. The republick did not ſuffer ſo ſordid a baſeneſs to go unpuniſhed, nor Lyſander's poverty, which was the ſtrongeſt proof of his juſtice and virtue, to be treated as an obſtacle to allying into his family. They were fined in a great ſum, publickly diſgraced, and expoſed to the contempt of all perſons of honour. For at Sparta there were penalties eſtabliſhed, not only for ſuch as refuſed to marry, or married too late, but alſo for thoſe who married amiſs: And thoſe eſpecially were reckoned of this number, who, inſtead of allying into houſes of virtue, and with their own relations, had no motive but wealth and lucre in marriage. An admirable law, and highly tending to perpetuate probity and honour in families, which an impure mixture of blood *and manners* ſeldom fails to alter and efface!

It muſt be owned, that a generous diſintereſtedneſs in the midſt of all that could enflame and gratify the luſt of gain, is very rare, and well worthy of admiration; but in Lyſander, it was attended with great defects, which entirely obſcure its luſtre. Without ſpeaking of his imprudence in introducing gold and ſilver

ARTAX. MNEMON.

into Sparta, which he deſpiſed himſelf, though he rendered it eſtimable to his country, and thereby occaſioned its ruin, what opinion can we have of a man, brave indeed, well read in men, ſkilful in affairs, and of great ability in the arts of government, and what is commonly called policy, but who regards probity and juſtice as nothing; to whom falſehood, fraud, and perfidy, appear legal methods for the attainment of his ends; who does not fear, for the advancement of his friends, and the augmenting of his creatures, to commit the moſt flagrant injuſtice and oppreſſions, and is not aſhamed to prophane whatever is moſt ſacred in religion, even to the corrupting of prieſts, and forging of oracles to ſatiate the empty ambition of being equal to a king, and of aſcending the throne?

(*p*) When Ageſilaus was upon the point of leading his troops into Perſia, the Spartan Epicydidas arrived to let him know that Sparta was threatened with a furious war; that the Ephori recalled him, and ordered him to return immediately for the defenſe of his country. Ageſilaus did not deliberate a moment, but returned this anſwer immediately to the Ephori, which Plutarch has tranſmitted to us. (*q*) *Ageſilaus to the Ephori, greeting. We have reduced part of Aſia, put the Barbarians to flight, and made great preparations for war in Ionia: But as you order me to return, I am not far behind this letter, and ſhould prevent it if poſſible. I received the command not for myſelf, but my country, and its allies. I know that a general does not deſerve, or poſſeſs, that name really, but as he ſubmits to the laws and the Ephori, and obeys the magiſtrates.*

This ready obedience of Ageſilaus has been much admired and applauded, and not without reaſon. Hannibal, though depreſſed with misfortunes, and driven almoſt entirely out of Italy, obeyed his citizens with great reluctance, when they re-called him to deliver Carthage from the dangers that threatened it. Here a victorious prince, ready to enter the enemy's coun-

2 try,

(*p*) Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. l. iv. p. 513. Idem. in Ageſil. p. 657. Plut. in Ageſil. p. 603, 604. (*q*) Plut. in Apoph. Laconic. p. 211.

try, and to attack the king of Perſia even upon his throne, almoſt aſſured of the ſucceſs of his arms, on the firſt order of the Ephori, renounces the moſt ſoothing hopes, and the moſt exalted expectations. He demonſtrates the truth of what was ſaid, *That at Sparta the laws ruled men, and not men the laws.* ARTAX. MNEMON.

On his departure he ſaid, *that thirty thouſand of the king's archers drove him out of Aſia*; alluding in thoſe words to a ſpecies of Perſian coin, which had on one ſide the figure of an archer, thirty thouſand of which pieces of money had been diſperſed in Greece to corrupt the orators and perſons of greateſt power in the cities.

(*r*) Ageſilaus in quitting Aſia, where he was regretted as the common father of the people, appointed Euxenes his lieutenant, and gave him four thouſand men for the defenſe of the country. Xenophon went with him. He left at Epheſus, with Megabyzus the guardian of Diana's temple, half the gold he had brought with him from his expedition into Perſia with Cyrus, to keep it for him in truſt, and in caſe of death to conſecrate it to the goddeſs.

(*s*) In the mean time the Lacedæmonians had raiſed an army, and given the command of it to Ariſtodemus, tutor to king Ageſipolis, then an infant. Their enemies aſſembled to concert the operations of the war. Timolaus of Corinth ſaid, the Lacedæmonians were like a river that grew larger as it removed from its ſource; or to a ſwarm of bees, which it is eaſy to burn in their hive, but diſperſe themſelves a great way when they fly abroad, and become formidable by their ſtings. He was therefore of opinion, that it was proper to attack them in their capital; which was approved and reſolved. But the Lacedæmonians did not give them time. They took the field, and found the enemy near Nemæa, a city not very remote from Corinth, where a rude battle enſued. The Lacedæmonians had the advantage, which was very conſiderable

(*r*) Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. l. iv. p. 513. Xenoph. de Exped. Cyr. l. v. p. 350. (*s*) Xenoph. p. 514—517.

ARTAX. MNEMON. able. Ageſilaus having received this news at Amphipolis, as he was haſtening to the relief of his country, ſent it directly to the cities of Aſia for their encouragement, and to give them hopes of his ſpeedy return, if the ſucceſs of affairs would admit it.

(*t*) When the approach of Ageſilaus was known at Sparta, the Lacedæmonians who remained in the city, to do him honour for the ready obedience he had paid to their orders, cauſed proclamation to be made by ſound of trumpet, that all young perſons who were willing to aid their king, might come and liſt themſelves for that purpoſe. Not one of them failed to enter himſelf immediately with the utmoſt joy. But the Ephori choſe only fifty of the braveſt and moſt robuſt, whom they ſent him, and deſired that he would enter Bœotia with the utmoſt expedition; which he did accordingly.

(*u*) About the ſame time the two fleets came up with each other near Cnidos, a city of Caria. That of the Lacedæmonians was commanded by Piſander, Ageſilaus's brother-in-law, and that of the Perſians by Pharnabaſus and Conon the Athenian. The latter, obſerving that the king of Perſia's ſupplies came ſlowly, and occaſioned the loſs of many opportunities, had reſolved to go in perſon to the court, to ſollicit the king's aſſiſtance. As he would not proſtrate himſelf before him, according to the Perſian cuſtom, he could not explain himſelf but by the intervention of others. He repreſented to him, with a force and ſpirit ſeldom pardoned in thoſe who treat with princes, that it was equally ſhameful and aſtoniſhing, that his miniſters, contrary to his intention, ſhould ſuffer his affairs to be diſconcerted and ruined for want of the neceſſary expenſes; that the richeſt king in the world ſhould give place to his enemies in the very point he was ſo infinitely ſuperior to them; that is, in riches; and that for want of remitting the ſums his ſervice required to his generals, all their deſigns were rendered abortive. Theſe

(*t*) Plut. in Ageſil. p. 605. (*u*) Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. l. iv. p. 518. Diod. l. xiv. p. 302. Juſtin. l. vi. c. 2 & 3.

Theſe remonſtrances were free, but juſt and ſolid. The king received them perfectly well, and ſhowed, by his example, that truth may often be ſpoke to princes with ſucceſs, if courage were not wanting. Conon obtained all he demanded, and the king made him admiral of his fleet. ARTAX. MNEMON.

It was compoſed of more than fourſcore and ten gallies, to which the enemy's was ſomewhat inferior in number. They came in view of each other near Cnidos, a maritime city of Aſia Minor. Conon, who had in ſome meaſure occaſioned the taking of Athens by the loſs of the ſea-fight near Ægoſpotamos, uſed extraordinary efforts in this to retrieve his misfortune, and to obliterate by a glorious victory the diſgrace of his former defeat. * He had this advantage, that in the battle he was going to give, the Perſians would be at the whole expenſe, and bear all the loſs themſelves; whereas the entire fruits of the victory would redound to the Athenians, without hazarding any thing of their own. Piſander had alſo ſtrong motives to ſhow his valour upon this occaſion, that he might not degenerate from the glory of his brother-in-law, and to juſtify the choice he had made in appointing him admiral. In effect, he behaved with extreme valour, and had at firſt ſome advantage; but the battle growing warm, and the allies of Sparta betaking themſelves to flight, he could not reſolve to follow them, and died ſword in hand. Conon took fifty gallies, and the reſt eſcaped to Cnidos. The conſequence of this victory was the revolt of almoſt all the allies of Sparta; ſeveral of whom declared for the Athenians, and the reſt reſumed their ancient liberty. After this battle the affairs of the Lacedæmonians daily declined. All their actions in Aſia were no more than the feeble efforts of an expiring power, till the defeats of Leuctra and Mantinea completed their downfall.

(x) Iſocrates makes a very juſt reflection upon the revolutions

(x) Iſocrat. in Orat. Ariop. p. 278—280.

* Eo ſpecioſius quod ne ipſorum quidem Athenienſium ſed alieni imperii viribus dimicet, pugnaturus periculo regis, victurus præmio patriæ. *Juſtin.*

Artax. Mnemon. revolutions of Sparta and Athens, which had always their ſource and origin in the inſolent proſperity of both thoſe republicks. The Lacedæmonians, who were at firſt acknowledged maſters of Greece without oppoſition, fell from their authority only by their enormous abuſe of it. The Athenians ſucceeded them in power, and at the ſame time in pride; and we have ſeen into what an abyſs of misfortunes it precipitated them. Sparta having gained the ſuperiority by the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily, and the taking of their city, might have improved in their meaſures from the double experience of the paſt; as well in regard to what had befallen themſelves, as from the recent example of their rival; but the moſt affecting examples and events ſeldom or ever occaſion a people to change their conduct. Sparta became as haughty and untractable as before; and ſo experienced the ſame deſtiny again.

To warn the Athenians againſt this misfortune, Iſocrates puts them in mind of the paſt, and of the times wherein they were ſucceſsful in every thing. "You "imagine," ſays he, "that provided with a numerous fleet, abſolute maſters at ſea, and ſupported "by powerful allies always ready to give you aid, "you have nothing to fear, and may enjoy in repoſe "and tranquillity the fruits of your victories: For my "part, indulge me to ſpeak with truth and freedom, "I think quite otherwiſe. The cauſe of my apprehenſion is, my having obſerved, that the decline of the "greateſt republicks has always been at the time they "believed themſelves moſt powerful, and that their "very ſecurity has prepared the precipice into which "they have fallen. The reaſon of this is evident. "Proſperity and adverſity never come alone, but have "each their train of very different effects. The firſt "is attended with vain-glory, pride, and inſolence, "which dazzle the mind, and inſpire raſh and extravagant meaſures: On the contrary, the companions "of adverſity, are modeſty, ſelf-diffidence and circumſpection, which naturally render men prudent, "and apt to amend from their own failings. So that

"it

" it is hard to judge which of the two conditions we ought to deſire for a city; as that which appears " unhappy, is an almoſt certain path to proſperity; " and the other, ſo flattering and ſplendid, generally " leads on to the greateſt misfortunes." The blow which the Lacedæmonians received at the battle of Cnidos is a mournful proof of what he ſays. ARTAX. MNEMON.

(y) Ageſilaus was in Bœotia, and upon the point of giving battle when this bad news was brought him. Apprehending that it might diſcourage and deter his troops, he cauſed it to be reported in the army, that the Lacedæmonians had gained a conſiderable victory at ſea; and appearing in publick with a wreath of flowers upon his head, he offered a ſacrifice of thankſgiving for the good news, and ſent part of it in preſents to his officers. (z) The two armies, almoſt equal in ſtrength, were in view of each other upon the plains of Coronæa, when they drew up in battle. Ageſilaus gave the left wing to the Orchomenians, and took the right himſelf. On the other ſide the Thebans were upon the right, and the Argives on the left. Xenophon ſays, that this was the moſt furious battle in his time, and may be believed, as he was preſent in it, and fought near the perſon of Ageſilaus, with whom he had returned from Aſia.

The firſt charge was not very obſtinate, nor of long continuance. The Thebans ſoon put the Orchomenians to flight, and Ageſilaus overthrew and routed the Argives. But both parties having learned, that their left wing had been very ſeverely handled and fled, returned immediately; Ageſilaus to oppoſe the Thebans, and to wreſt the victory out of their hands, and the Thebans to follow their left wing, which was retired to Helicon. Ageſilaus at that moment might have aſſured himſelf of a complete victory, if he would have let the Thebans paſs on, and had charged them after in the rear; but carried away by the ardour of his courage,

(y) Plut. in Ageſil. p. 605. (z) Plut. in Ageſil. p. 605. Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. p. 518—520. & in Ageſil. p. 659, 660.

ARTAX. MNEMON. courage, he reſolved to ſtop them with an attack in front, and to beat them by pure force. In which, ſays Xenophon, he ſhowed more valour than prudence.

The Thebans, ſeeing Ageſilaus advance againſt them, drew all their foot immediately into one body, formed a hollow ſquare, and waited his coming up in good order. The engagement was ſharp and bloody on all ſides, but particularly where Ageſilaus fought at the head of the fifty young Spartans, ſent him by the city. The valour and emulation of thoſe young men were of great ſervice to Ageſilaus, and may be ſaid to have ſaved his life; for they fought around him with exceeding ardour, and expoſed themſelves foremoſt in all dangers for the ſafety of his perſon. They could not however prevent his receiving ſeveral wounds through his armour from pikes and ſwords. Notwithſtanding, after an exceeding warm diſpute, they brought him off alive from the enemy, and making their bodies a rampart for him, ſacrificed a great number of Thebans to his defenſe; many of thoſe young men were alſo left upon the field. At length, finding it too difficult to break the Thebans in front, they were forced to have recourſe to what they had at firſt rejected. They opened their phalanx to let them paſs; which when they had done, as they marched afterwards in more diſorder, they charged them again upon the flanks and rear. They could, however, neither break them, nor put them to flight. Thoſe brave Thebans made their retreat continually fighting, and gained Helicon, elate with the ſucceſs of the battle, wherein on their ſide they had always remained invincible.

Ageſilaus, though very much weakened by the great number of his wounds, and the quantity of blood he had loſt, would not retire to his tent, till he had been carried to the place where his phalanx was drawn up, and had ſeen all the dead bodies removed even upon their own arms. He was informed there, that many of the enemy had taken refuge in the temple of Minerva Itonienſis, which was not very diſtant from the field of battle, and aſked what he would have done with

with them. As he was full of veneration for the gods, he gave orders to let them go, and even ſent them a guard to eſcort them in ſafety wherever they thought fit. ARTAX. MNEMON

The next morning Ageſilaus, to try whether the Thebans would have the courage to renew the battle, commanded his troops to crown themſelves with flowers, and the muſick of the army to play, whilſt a trophy was erected and adorned in honour of his victory. At the ſame inſtant the enemy ſent heralds to demand his permiſſion to bury their dead; which he granted, with a truce; and having confirmed his victory by that act of a conqueror, he cauſed himſelf to be carried to Delphos, where the Pythian games were then celebrated. He made there a ſolemn proceſſion, which was followed by a ſacrifice, and conſecrated the tenth part of the booty taken in Aſia to the god, which amounted to an hundred talents*. Theſe great men, no leſs religious than brave, never failed to expreſs by preſents their gratitude to the gods for their ſucceſſes in arms; declaring, by that publick homage, that they believed themſelves indebted for their victories to their protection.

SECT. V. AGESILAUS *returns victorious to Sparta. He always retains his ſimplicity and ancient manners.* CONON *rebuilds the walls of Athens. A peace, ſhameful to the Greeks, concluded by* ANTALCIDES *the Lacedæmonian.*

(a) AFTER the feſtival, Ageſilaus returned to Sparta. His citizens received him with all the marks of the moſt real joy, and beheld him with admiration, when they obſerved the ſimplicity of his manners, and the conſtant frugality and temperance of his life. At his return from foreign countries, where pomp, luxury, ſloth, and the love of pleaſures entirely prevailed, he was not infected with the manners of the Barbarians, as moſt of the other generals had been: He made no alteration in his diet, bath, equipage of his

(a) Plut. in Ageſil. p. 606.

* *An hundred thouſand crowns; or, about* 22,500l. *ſterling.*

ARTAX. MNEMON. his wife, ornaments of his arms, or furniture of his houſe. In the midſt of ſo ſhining a reputation, and the univerſal applauſe, always the ſame, or rather more modeſt than before, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf from the reſt of the citizens, only by a greater ſubmiſſion to the laws, and a more inviolable attachment to the cuſtoms of his country; convinced, that he was only king, to be the brighter example of thoſe virtues to others.

(*b*) He made greatneſs conſiſt in virtue only. Hearing the Great King (ſo the kings of Perſia uſed to call themſelves) ſpoken of in magnificent terms, and his power extremely extolled; * "I cannot conceive," ſaid he, "wherein he is greater than me, unleſs he be "more virtuous."

There were at Sparta ſome citizens, who, vitiated by the prevailing taſte of Greece, made their merit and glory conſiſt in keeping a great number of horſes for the race. He perſuaded his ſiſter Cyniſca to diſpute the prize in the Olympick games, in order to ſhow the Greeks, that thoſe victories on which they ſet ſo high a value, were not the effects of valour and bravery, but of riches and expenſe. She was the firſt of her ſex who ſhared in this honour. He had not the ſame opinion of the exerciſes, which contributed to render the body more robuſt, and inure it to labour and fatigue; and to place them in greater eſtimation, would often honour them with his preſence.

Some time after Lyſander's death, he diſcovered the conſpiracy formed by that captain againſt the two kings, which till then had not been heard of, and came to light by a kind of accident, in the following manner: (*c*) Upon ſome affairs, which related to the government, it was neceſſary to conſult Lyſander's papers, and Ageſilaus went to his houſe for that purpoſe. In running them over, he fell upon the ſheets, which contained at large the harangue of Cleon, for the new method of proceeding in the election of kings. Surpriſed

(*b*) Plut. de ſui laud. p. 555. (*c*) Plut. in Ageſil. p. 606.

* Τί δ' ἐμοῦ γε μεῖζον ἐκεῖνος, εἰ μὴ καὶ δικαιότερος.

priſed at peruſing it, he gave over his ſearch, and went away abrubtly, to communicate that oration to the citizens, and to let them ſee what manner of man Lyſander was, and how much they had been deceived in regard to him. But Lacratidas, a wiſe and prudent perſon, and preſident of the Ephori, interpoſed, by telling him, That it was highly improper to raiſe Lyſander from the dead; on the contrary, that it was neceſſary to bury his harangue in the ſame grave with him, as of dangerous tendency, from the great art with which it was compoſed, and the force of perſuaſion that univerſally prevailed in it, againſt which it might prove no eaſy matter to reſiſt. Ageſilaus was of the ſame opinion, and the piece was conſigned to ſilence and oblivion, as the beſt uſe that could be made of it. ARTAX. MNEMON.

(d) As his credit was very high in the city, he cauſed Telutias, his brother by the mother's ſide, to be declared admiral of the fleet. It were to be wiſhed, that hiſtory, to juſtify this choice, had mentioned any other qualities in that commander, than his nearneſs of blood to the king. Ageſilaus ſoon after ſat out with his land-army to beſiege Corinth, and took the long walls, as they were called, whilſt his brother Telutias attacked it by ſea. He did ſeveral other exploits againſt the people of Greece at war with Sparta, which always argue indeed the valour and experience of the general, but are neither very important nor deciſive, and which we thought, for that reaſon, might be omitted.

(e) At the ſame time Pharnabaſus and Conon, having made themſelves maſters at ſea, ravaged the whole coaſt of Laconia. That ſatrap, returning to his government of Phrygia, left Conon the command of the naval army, with very conſiderable ſums for the re-eſtabliſhment of Athens. Conon victorious, and crowned with glory, repaired thither, where he was received with univerſal applauſe. The ſad proſpect of a A. M. 3613. Ant. J. C. 393.

(d) Plut. in Ageſil. p. 606. *(e)* Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. l. iv. p. 534—537. Diod. l. xiv. p. 303. Juſtin. l. vi. c. 5.

ARTAX. MNEMON.

city, formerly ſo flouriſhing, and at that time reduced to ſo melancholy a condition, gave him more grief, than he felt joy in ſeeing his beloved country again, after ſo many years abſence. He loſt no time, but fell immediately to work, employing, beſides maſons and the uſual artiſans, the ſoldiers, mariners, citizens, allies, in a word, all who were well inclined to Athens; Providence decreeing, that this city, formerly deſtroyed by the Perſians, ſhould be rebuilt by their own hands, and that having been diſmantled and demoliſhed by the Lacedæmonians, it ſhould be re-inſtated at their own coſt, and by the ſpoils taken from them. What a viciſſitude and alteration was this! Athens at this time had thoſe for its allies, which had formerly been its moſt violent enemies, and for enemies, thoſe with whom before it had contracted the moſt ſtrict and moſt confirmed union. Conon, ſeconded by the zeal of the Thebans, ſoon rebuilt the walls of Athens, reſtored the city to its ancient ſplendour, and rendered it more formidable than ever to its enemies. *(f)* After having offered to the gods a whole hecatomb, that is to ſay, a ſacrifice of an hundred oxen, as a thankſgiving for the happy re-eſtabliſhment of Athens, he made a feaſt, to which all the citizens, without exception, were invited.

(g) Sparta could not ſee without extreme affliction ſo glorious a revolution. It looked upon the grandeur and power of a city, its ancient rival and almoſt continual enemy, as its own ruin, which made the Lacedæmonians take the mean reſolution of avenging themſelves at once upon Athens, and Conon its reſtorer, by making peace with the king of Perſia. With this view they diſpatched Antalcides to Tiribaſus. His commiſſion conſiſted of two principal articles. The firſt was, to accuſe Conon to that ſatrap of having defrauded the king of the money, which he had employed in the re-eſtabliſhment of Athens; and of having formed the deſign of depriving the Perſians of Æolia

(f) Athen. l. i. p. 3. *(g)* Xenoph. Hiſt. Græc. l. iv. p. 537, 538. Plut. in Ageſil. p. 608.

Æolia and Ionia, and to ſubject them a-new to the republick of Athens, upon which they had formerly depended. By the ſecond, he had orders to make the moſt advantageous propoſals to Tiribaſus his maſter could deſire. Without giving himſelf any manner of trouble in regard to Aſia, he ſtipulated only, that all the iſlands and other cities, ſhould enjoy their laws and liberty. The Lacedæmonians thus gave up to the king, with the greateſt injuſtice and the utmoſt baſeneſs, all the Greeks ſettled in Aſia; for whoſe liberty Ageſilaus had ſo long fought. It is true, he had no ſhare in this moſt infamous negociation; the whole reproach of which ought to fall on Antalcides, who being the ſworn enemy of the king of Sparta, haſtened the peace by all manner of means, becauſe the war augmented the authority, glory, and reputation of Ageſilaus. ARTAX. MNEMON.

The moſt conſiderable cities of Greece had ſent deputies at the ſame time to Tiribaſus, and Conon was at the head of thoſe from Athens. All of them were unanimous in rejecting ſuch propoſals. Without ſpeaking of the intereſts of the Greeks of Aſia, with which they were extremely affected, they ſaw themſelves expoſed by this treaty; the Athenian, to the loſs of the iſles of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros; the Thebans, to abandon the cities of Bœotia, of which they were in poſſeſſion, and which would thereby regain their independence; and the Argives, to renounce Corinth, with the loſs of which Argos itſelf would ſoon, in all probability, be attended. The deputies therefore withdrew without concluding any thing.

Tiribaſus ſeiſed Conon, and put him in priſon. Not daring to declare openly for the Lacedæmonians, without an expreſs order to that purpoſe, he contented himſelf with ſupplying them underhand with conſiderable ſums of money for fitting out a fleet, in order that the other cities of Greece might not be in a condition to oppoſe them. After having taken theſe precautions, he ſet out directly for the court, to give the king an account of the ſtate of his negociation. That

ARTAX. MNEMON. prince was well ſatisfied with it, and directed him in the ſtrongeſt terms to put the laſt hand to it. Tiribaſus alſo laid before him the Lacedæmonians accuſation of Conon. Some authors, according to Cornelius Nepos, have written that he was carried to Suſa, and there executed by the king's order. The ſilence of Xenophon, who was his cotemporary, in regard to his death, makes it doubtful, whether he did not eſcape from priſon, or ſuffer, as has been ſaid.

Whilſt this treaty was negociating, ſeveral actions little conſiderable paſſed between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians. It was alſo at the ſame time, that Evagoras extended his conqueſts in the iſland of Cyprus, of which we ſhall ſoon treat.

A. M. 3617. Ant. J. C. 387. (*b*) Tiribaſus at length, upon his return, ſummoned the deputies of the Grecian cities to be preſent at the reading of the treaty. It imported, that all the Grecian cities of Aſia ſhould remain dependent on the king, and that the reſt, as well ſmall as great, ſhould have full poſſeſſion of their liberty. The king further reſerved to himſelf the iſles of Cyprus and Clazomena, and left thoſe of Scyros, Lemnos, and Imbros, to the Athenians, to whom they had long appertained. By the ſame treaty he engaged to join with ſuch people as came into it, in order to make war by ſea and land againſt all who ſhould refuſe to agree to it. We have already ſaid it was Sparta itſelf propoſed theſe conditions.

All the other cities of Greece, or at leaſt the greateſt part of them, rejected ſo infamous a treaty with horrour. However, as they were weakened and exhauſted by domeſtick diviſions, and not in a condition to ſupport a war againſt ſo powerful a prince, who threatened to fall with all his forces upon thoſe who ſhould refuſe to come into this peace, they were obliged againſt their will to comply with it; except the Thebans, who had the courage to oppoſe it openly at firſt, but were at length reduced to accept it with the

(*b*) Xenoph. l. v. p. 548—551.

the others, by whom they found themſelves univerſally abandoned. ARTAX. MNEMON.

Such was the fruit of the jealouſy and diviſions, which armed the Grecian cities againſt each other, and was the end propoſed by the policy of Artaxerxes, in diſtributing ſums of money amongſt the ſeveral eſtates; invincible in arms, and to the ſword, but not to the gold and preſents of the Perſians; ſo remote were they in this reſpect from the character of the ancient Greeks their forefathers.

To comprehend aright how much Sparta and Athens differed from what they had been in former times, we have only to compare the two treaties concluded between the Greeks and Perſians; the former by Cimon the Athenian (*i*) under Artaxerxes Longimanus above ſixty years before, and the latter by Antalcides the Lacedæmonian under Artaxerxes Mnemon. In the firſt, Greece, victorious and triumphant, aſſures the liberty of the Aſiatick Greeks, gives the law to the Perſians, impoſes what conditions it pleaſes, and preſcribes bounds and limits, by prohibiting them to approach nearer to the ſea with their troops than the diſtance of three days march; or to appear with long veſſels in any of the ſeas between the Cyanæan and Chalidonian iſlands, that is to ſay, from the Euxine to the coaſts of Pamphilia. In the ſecond, on the contrary, Perſia, grown haughty and imperious, takes pleaſure in humbling its conquerors, in depriving them, with the ſingle ſtroke of a pen, of their empire in Aſia Minor, in compelling them to abandon baſely all the Greeks eſtabliſhed in thoſe rich provinces, to ſubſcribe to their own ſubjection, and to confine themſelves in their turn within the narrow bounds of Greece.

From whence can ſo ſtrange an alteration ariſe? Are there not on both ſides the ſame cities, the ſame people, the ſame forces, and the ſame intereſt? No doubt there are; but they are not the ſame men, or rather, they have no longer the ſame principles of policy. Let us recall thoſe happy times of Greece, ſo

(*i*) Diod. l. xii. p. 74, 75.

ARTAX. CIMON. glorious for Athens and Sparta, when Perſia came pouring like a deluge upon this little country with all the forces of the Eaſt. What was it that rendered the two cities invincible, and ſuperior to ſuch numerous and formidable armies? Their union and good underſtanding. No diſſenſion between the two ſtates, no jealouſy of command, no private view of intereſt; in fine, no other conteſts between them, but of honour, glory, and the love of their country.

To ſo laudable an union may be added an irreconcileable hatred for the Perſians, which became a kind of nature in the Greeks, and was the moſt diſtinguiſhing character of that nation. (*k*) It was a capital crime, and puniſhed with death, only to mention peace, or propoſe any accommodation with them; and an Athenian mother was ſeen to throw the firſt ſtone at her ſon, who had dared to make ſuch a motion, and to ſet others the example of ſtoning him.

This ſtrict union of the two ſtates, and declared abhorrence of the common enemy, were a long time the potent barriers of their ſecurity, rendered them invincible, and may be ſaid to have been the ſource and principle of all the glorious ſucceſſes which raiſed the reputation of Greece to ſo high a pitch. But by a misfortune common to the moſt flouriſhing ſtates, thoſe very ſucceſſes became the cauſe of its ruin, and prepared the way for the diſgraces it experienced in the ſequel.

(*l*) Theſe two ſtates, which might have carried their victorious arms into the heart of Perſia, and have attacked in their turn the great king upon his throne itſelf; inſtead of forming in concert ſuch an enterpriſe, which would at once have crowned them with glory, and laden them with riches, have the folly to leave their common enemy at repoſe, to embroil themſelves with each other upon trivial points of honour, and intereſts of little importance, and to exhauſt the forces ineffectually againſt themſelves, which ought to have

(*k*) Iſoc. in Panegyr. p. 143.
(*l*) Iſoc. in Panegyr. p. 132—137. In Panath. p. 524, 525.

have been employed ſolely againſt the Barbarians, who could not have reſiſted them. For it is remarkable, that the Perſians never had any advantage over the Athenians or Lacedæmonians, whilſt they were united with each other, and that it was their own diviſions only, which ſupplied them with the means to conquer both alternately, and always the one by the other. ARTAX. MNEMON.

Theſe diviſions induced them to take ſuch meaſures, as neither Sparta nor Athens would ever have otherwiſe been capable of. We ſee both the one and the other diſhonour themſelves by their mean and abject flatteries, not only of the king of Perſia, but even of his ſatraps; pay their court to them, earneſtly ſolicit their favour, cringe to them, and even ſuffer their ill humour; and all this to obtain ſome aid of troops or money, forgetting that the Perſians, haughty and inſolent to ſuch as ſeemed afraid of them, became timorous and little to thoſe who had the courage to deſpiſe them. But in fine, what did they gain by all theſe mean condeſcenſions? The treaty, which gave occaſion for theſe reflexions, and will for ever be the reproach of Sparta and Athens.

SECT. VII. *War of* ARTAXERXES *againſt* EVAGORAS, *king of Salamin. Eulogy and character of that prince.* TIRIBASUS *falſely accuſed. His accuſer puniſhed.*

WHAT I have ſaid upon the facility, with which the Greeks might have rendered themſelves formidable to their enemies, will be more evident if we conſider, on one ſide, the diverſity of people, and extent of country, which compoſed the vaſt empire of the Perſians, and on the other, the weakneſs of the government, incapable of animating ſo great a maſs, and of ſupporting the weight of ſo much buſineſs and application. At the court every thing was determined by the intrigues of women, and the cabals of favourites, whoſe whole merit often conſiſted in flattering their prince, and ſoothing his paſſions. It was upon their credit officers were choſen, and the firſt dignities diſ-

ARTAX. MNEMON. poſed of; by their opinion the ſervices of the generals of armies were judged, and their rewards decided. The ſequel will ſhow, that from the ſame ſource aroſe the inſurrection of provinces, the diſtruſt of the greateſt part of the governors, the diſcontent and conſequential revolt of the beſt officers, and the ill ſucceſs of almoſt all the enterpriſes that were formed.

Artaxerxes, having got rid of the care and perplexity which the war with the Greeks had occaſioned, applied himſelf to the terminating that of Cyprus, which had laſted ſeveral years, but had been carried on with little vigour, and turned the greateſt part of his forces that way.

(*m*) Evagoras reigned at that time in Salamin, the capital city of the iſle of Cyprus. He was deſcended from Teucer of * Salamin, who at his return from Troy built this city, and gave it the name of his country. His deſcendents had reigned there from that time; but a ſtranger of Phœnicia, having diſpoſſeſſed the lawful king, had taken his place, and to maintain himſelf in the uſurpation, had filled the city with Barbarians, and ſubjected the whole iſland to the king of Perſia.

Under this tyrant Evagoras was born, of whoſe education great care was taken. He was diſtinguiſhed amongſt the youth by the beauty of his aſpect, the vigour of his body, and more by the modeſty and innocence of his manners †, which are the greateſt ornaments of that age. As he advanced in years, the greateſt virtues, valour, wiſdom, and juſtice, were obſerved to brighten in him. He afterwards carried theſe virtues to ſo conſpicuous an height, as to give jealouſy to thoſe that governed; who perceived juſtly that ſo ſhining a merit could not continue in the obſcurity of a private condition; but his modeſty, probity, and integrity, re-aſſured them, and they repoſed an

(*m*) Iſocrat. in Evag. p. 380.

* *This Teucer was of Salamin, a little iſland near Athens, celebrated for the famous battle under Xerxes.*

† Et qui ornat ætatem, pudor. Cic.

an entire confidence in him, to which he always answered by an inviolable fidelity, without ever meditating their expulsion from the throne by violence or treachery. ARTAX. MNEMON.

A more justifiable means conducted him to it, Divine Providence, as Isocrates says, preparing the way for him. One of the principal citizens murthered the person upon the throne, and had contrived to seise Evagoras, and to rid himself of him, in order to secure the crown to himself; but that prince escaping his pursuit, retired to Solos, a city of Cilicia. His banishment was so far from abating his courage, that it gave him new vigour. Attended only with fifty followers, determined like himself to conquer or die, he returned to Salamin, and expelled the usurper, though supported by the credit and protection of the king of Persia. Having re-established himself in Salamin, he soon rendered his little kingdom most flourishing, by his application to the relief of his subjects, and by protecting them in all things; by governing them with justice and benevolence; by making them active and laborious; by inspiring them with a taste for the cultivation of lands, the breeding of cattle, commerce, and navigation. He formed them also for war, and made them excellent soldiers.

He was already very powerful, and had acquired great reputation, when Conon, the Athenian general, after his defeat at Ægospotamos, took refuge with him; (o) not thinking it possible to find a safer asylum for himself, nor a more powerful support of his country. The resemblance of their manners and sentiments soon made them contract a strict amity with each other, which continued ever after, and proved equally advantageous to both. Conon was in great credit at the king of Persia's court, which he employed with that prince, by the means of Ctesias the physician, to accommodate his differences with his host Evagoras, and happily effected it. A. M. 3599. Ant. J. C. 405. A. M. 3605. Ant. J. C. 399.

Evagoras

(o) Isocrat. in Evag. p. 293—395.

ARTAX. MNEMON. Evagoras and Conon, with the great deſign of ſubverting, or at leaſt of reducing, the great power of Sparta, which had rendered itſelf formidable to all Greece, concerted together the means for the attainment of that end. They were both citizens of Athens; the latter by birth, and the other by right of adoption; which his great ſervices, and zeal for that republick had deſerved. The ſatraps of Aſia ſaw with pain their country ravaged by the Lacedæmonians, and found themſelves in great difficulties, from not being in a condition to make head againſt them. Evagoras remonſtrated to them, that it was neceſſary to attack the enemy as well by ſea as land; and he did not contribute a little by his credit with the king of Perſia to Conon's being appointed general of his fleet. The celebrated victory over the Lacedæmonians at Cnidos was the conſequence, and gave the mortal wound to that republick.

A. M. 3606. Ant. J. C. 398.

A M. 3610. Ant. J. C. 394.

(*p*) The Athenians, in acknowledgment of the important ſervices Evagoras and Conon had rendered them with Artaxerxes, erected ſtatues in honour of them.

(*q*) Evagoras on his ſide, extending his conqueſts from city to city, endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of the whole iſland. The Cypriots had recourſe to the king of Perſia. That prince, alarmed by the rapid progreſs of Evagoras, of which he apprehended the effects, and conſcious of what importance it was to him to prevent an iſland's falling into the hands of an enemy, ſo favourably ſituated for holding Aſia Minor in awe, promiſed them an immediate and powerful ſupport, without declaring openly however againſt Evagoras.

A. M. 3614. Ant. J. C. 390.

(*r*) Being employed elſewhere by more important affairs, he could not keep his word with them ſo ſoon as he expected, and had engaged. That war of Cyprus continued ſix years, and the ſucceſs with which Evagoras ſupported it againſt the great king, ought to

(*p*) Pauſan. l. i. p. 5. (*q*) Diod. l. xiv. p. 311. (*r*) Iſocrat. in Paneg. p. 135, 136.

to have baniſhed from the Greeks all terrour of the Perſian name, and united them againſt the common enemy. It is true, the ſuccours ſent by Artaxerxes till then were little conſiderable, as they alſo were the two following years. During all that time it was leſs a real war, than a preparation for war: (s) But when he had diſengaged himſelf from the Greeks, he applied to it vigorouſly, and attacked Evagoras with all his forces. ARTAX. MNEMON. A. M. 3618. Ant. J. C. 386.

The army by land, commanded by Orontes his ſon-in-law, conſiſted of three hundred thouſand men, and the fleet of three hundred gallies; of which Tiribaſus, a Perſian of the higheſt rank and greateſt reputation, was admiral. Gaos his ſon-in-law commanded under him. Evagoras on his ſide aſſembled as many troops and ſhips as he could; but they were an handful, in compariſon with the formidable preparation of the Perſians. He had a fleet of only fourſcore and ten gallies, and his army ſcarce amounted to twenty thouſand men. As he had abundance of light veſſels, he laid ſnares for thoſe that carried the proviſions of the enemy, of which he ſunk a great number, took many, and prevented the reſt from arriving; which occaſioned a famine amongſt the Perſians, attended with violent ſeditions, which could only be appeaſed by the coming of freſh convoys from Cilicia. Evagoras ſtrengthened his fleet with ſixty gallies, which he cauſed to be built, and fifty ſent him by Achoris king of Egypt, with all the money and corn he could have occaſion for.

Evagoras with his land-forces attacked immediately a part of the enemy's army, which was ſeparate from the reſt, and entirely routed it. This firſt action was ſoon followed by another at ſea, in which the Perſians were worſted for ſome time, till animated by the warm reproaches and remonſtrances of their admiral, they reſumed courage, and obtained a complete victory. Salamin was immediately beſieged by ſea and land. Evagoras, leaving the defence of the city to his ſon Pythagoras

(s) Diod. l. xv. p. 328–333.

ARTAX. MNEMON. Pythagoras, quitted it in the night with ten gallies, and ſailed for Egypt, to engage the king to ſupport him vigorouſly againſt the common enemy. He did not obtain from him all the aid he expected. At his return he found the city in exceeding diſtreſs; and finding himſelf without reſource or hope, he was obliged to capitulate. The propoſals made to him were, that he ſhould abandon all the cities of Cyprus, except Salamin, where he ſhould content himſelf to reign; that he ſhould pay an annual tribute to the king, and remain in obedience to him as a ſervant to a maſter. The extremity to which he was reduced obliged him to accept the other conditions, hard as they were, but he could never reſolve to comply with the laſt, and perſiſted always in declaring, that he could only treat as a king with a king. Tiribaſus, who commanded the ſiege, would abate nothing of his pretenſions.

Orontes, the other general, jealous of his colleague's glory, had written ſecretly to court againſt him, accuſing him, amongſt other things, of forming deſigns againſt the king, and ſtrengthened his accuſation from his continuing to hold a ſecret intelligence with the Lacedæmonians, and his manifeſt endeavours to make the chiefs of the army his creatures, by the force of preſents, promiſes, and a complacency of manners not natural to him. Artaxerxes upon theſe letters believed he had no time to loſe, and that it was neceſſary to prevent a conſpiracy ready to break out. He diſpatched orders immediately to Orontes, to ſeiſe Tiribaſus, and ſend him to court in chains, which was inſtantly put in execution. Tiribaſus, upon his arrival, demanded to be brought to a tryal in form; that the heads of the accuſation ſhould be communicated to him, and the proofs and witneſſes produced. The king, employed in other cares, had no leiſure at that time to take cognizance of the affair.

Orontes in the mean time ſeeing that the beſieged made a vigorous defence, and that the ſoldiers of the army, diſcontented with the removal of Tiribaſus, quitted

quitted the ſervice and refuſed to obey him, was afraid affairs would take a bad turn with regard to him. He therefore cauſed Evagoras to be ſpoke to underhand; the negociation was reſumed, the offers made at firſt by letter were accepted, and the mortifying article, which had prevented the concluſion of the treaty, retrenched. The ſiege was raiſed in conſequence. Evagoras continued king of Salamin only, and engaged to pay an annual tribute. ARTAX. MNEMON A. M. 3619. Ant. J. C. 385.

It appears that this prince lived twelve or thirteen years after the concluſion of the treaty; for his death is dated in the year of the world 3632. His old age was attended with a happineſs and tranquillity never interrupted with ſickneſs or diſeaſe, the uſual effect of a ſober and temperate life. Nicocles his eldeſt ſon ſucceeded him, and inherited his virtues as well as throne. He celebrated his funeral with the utmoſt magnificence. The diſcourſe, entitled Evagoras, compoſed by Iſocrates, to inſpire the young king with the deſire of treading in the ſteps of his father, and from which I have extracted the ſubſequent eulogium, ſerved for his funeral oration. He alſo addreſſed another tract to Nicocles which bears his name, wherein he gives him admirable precepts for governing well. I ſhall perhaps have occaſion to ſpeak further of them in the enſuing volume.

Eulogy and Character of Evagoras.

(y) Though Evagoras was only king of a little ſtate, Iſocrates, who was well able to judge of virtue and merit, compares him with the moſt powerful monarchs, and propoſes him as the perfect model of a good king, convinced that not the extent of provinces, but extent of mind and greatneſs of ſoul, conſtitute great princes. He does in effect point out to us many qualities truely royal in him, and which ought to give us a very high idea of his merit.

Evagoras was not of the number of thoſe princes, who believe, that to reign, it is ſufficient to be of the blood

(y) Iſocrat. in Evag.

ARTAX. MNEMON. blood royal, and that the birth which gives a right to the crown, gives alſo the merit and qualities neceſſary for wearing it with honour. He did not fancy, that it could be ſuppoſed, as every other condition and ſtation of life made a kind of apprenticeſhip neceſſary to its ſucceſs, the art of reigning, the moſt difficult and important of all, ſhould require no pains and preparation for its attainment. He came into the world with the moſt happy diſpoſitions; a great fund of genius, an eaſy conception, a lively and inſtant penetration which nothing eſcaped, a ſolidity of judgement, that immediately reſolved what it was neceſſary to act; qualities, which might ſeem to diſpenſe with all ſtudy and application; and yet, as if he had been born without talents, and found himſelf obliged to ſupply by ſtudy what he might want by nature, he neglected no means for the embelliſhment of his mind, and devoted a * conſiderable part of his time in inſtructing himſelf, in reflecting, meditating, and conſulting the judgement and merit of others.

When he aſcended the throne, his greateſt care and application was to know mankind, in which the ability of a prince, and of thoſe who are at the head of affairs, principally conſiſts. He had, no doubt, prepared himſelf for that ſcience by the ſtudy of hiſtory, which gives a kind of anticipation of it, ſupplies the place of experience, and teaches us what the men are with whom we live, by what they have been in other ages. But we ſtudy men quite differently in themſelves; by their manners, characters, conduct and actions. The love of the commonwealth rendered him attentive to all perſons, who were capable of ſerving or hurting it. He applied himſelf to the diſcovery of their moſt ſecret inclinations and principles of action, and to the knowledge of their different talents and degrees of capacity, in order to aſſign each his proper poſt, to beſtow authority according to merit, and to make the private and publick good promote each other. He neither rewarded nor puniſhed his ſubjects, ſays Iſocrates,

* Ἐν τῷ ζητεῖν, καὶ φροντίζειν, καὶ βουλεύεσθαι, τὸν πλεῖστον χρόνον διέτριβεν.

Iſocrates, from the report of others; but ſolely upon his own knowledge and experience of them; and neither the virtues of the good, nor the vices of the bad, eſcaped his enquiry and penetration. ARTAX. MNEMON.

He had one quality very ſeldom found in thoſe who poſſeſs the firſt rank in authority, eſpecially whey they believe themſelves capable of governing alone: I mean a wonderful docility and attention to the ſenſe of others, which aroſe from a diffidence in his own abilities. With his great qualities, he did not ſeem to have occaſion for recourſe to the counſel of others, and nevertheleſs made no reſolution, and formed no enterpriſe, without having firſt conſulted the wiſe perſons he had placed about him in his court; inſtead of which, pride and preſumption, the latent poiſons of ſovereign power, incline the greateſt part of thoſe who arrive at thrones, either to aſk no counſel at all, or not to follow it when they do.

Intent upon diſcovering the excellent in every form of government and private condition of life, he propoſed the uniting of all their high qualities and great advantages in himſelf; affable and popular as in a republican ſtate; grave and ſerious as in the councils of the aged and the ſenate; ſteady and deciſive as monarchy after mature deliberation; a profound politician, by the extent and rectitude of his views; an accompliſhed warrior, from intrepid valour in battle directed by a wiſe moderation; a good father, a good relation, a good friend, and what crowns all his praiſe, * in every circumſtance of his character, always great, and always himſelf.

He ſupported his dignity and rank, not with an air of pride and haughtineſs, but by a ſerenity of aſpect, and a mild and eaſy majeſty, reſulting from innate virtue, and the evidence of a good conſcience. He won the hearts of his friends by his liberality, and conquered others by a greatneſs of ſoul, to which they could not refuſe their eſteem and admiration.

But

* Τυραννικῶ δὲ τῷ πᾶσι τούτοις διαφέρειν.

ARTAX. MNEMON. But what was moſt royal in him, and attracted the entire confidence of his ſubjects, neighbours, and even enemies, was his ſincerity, faith, and regard to all his engagements; and his hatred, or rather deteſtation, for all diſguiſes, falſehood, and fraud. A ſingle word on his ſide had as much regard paid to it as the moſt ſacred oath; and it was univerſally known, that nothing was capable of inducing him to violate it in the leaſt circumſtance whatſoever.

It was by all theſe excellent qualities, that he effectually reformed the city of Salamin, and entirely changed the face of its affairs in a very ſhort time. He found it groſs, ſavage, and barbarous, without any taſte either for learning, commerce, or arms. What cannot a prince do who loves his people, and is beloved by them; who believes himſelf great and powerful only to render them happy; and knows how to ſet a juſt value upon, and do honour to, their labours, induſtry, and merit of every kind? He had not been many years upon the throne, before arts, ſciences, commerce, navigation, and military diſcipline, were ſeen to flouriſh at Salamin; inſomuch that that city did not give place to the moſt opulent of Greece.

Iſocrates often repeats, that in the praiſes he gives Evagoras, of which I have only extracted a part, far from exaggerating any thing, he always falls ſhort of truth. To what can we attribute a reign ſo wiſe, ſo juſt, ſo moderate, ſo conſtantly employed in rendering his ſubjects happy, and in promoting the publick good? The condition of Evagoras, before he came to govern, ſeems to me to have contributed very much to it. The being born a prince, and the having never experienced any other condition but that of maſter and ſovereign, are, in my opinion, great obſtacles to the knowledge and practice of the duties of that high ſtation. Evagoras, who came into the world under a tyrant, had long obeyed before he commanded. He had borne in a private and dependent life the yoke of an abſolute and deſpotick power. He had ſeen himſelf expoſed to envy and calumny, and had been in danger

ger for his merit and virtue. Such a prince had only to be told upon his aſcending the throne, what was ſaid to a great * emperor; "† You have not always "been what you now are. Adverſity has prepared "you to make a good uſe of power. You have lived "long amongſt us, and like us. You have been in "danger under bad princes. You have trembled for "yourſelf, and known by experience how virtue and "innocence have been treated." What he had perſonally ſuffered, what he had feared for himſelf or others, what he had ſeen unjuſt and unreaſonable in the conduct of his predeceſſors, had opened his eyes, and taught him all his duty. It ſufficed to tell him, what the emperor Galba told Piſo, when he adopted him his aſſociate in the empire: "‡ Remember what "you condemned or applauded in princes, when you "were a private man. You have only to conſult the "judgement you then paſſed upon them, and to act "conformably to it, for your inſtruction in the art of "reigning well." ARTAX. MNEMON.

Tryal of TIRIBASUS.

We have already ſaid, that Tiribaſus, having been accuſed by Orontes of forming a conſpiracy againſt the king, had been ſent to court in chains. Gaos, admiral of the fleet, who had married his daughter, apprehending that Artaxerxes would involve him in the affair with his father-in-law, and cauſe him to be put to death upon mere ſuſpicion, conceived he had no other means for his ſecurity than an open revolt. He was very well beloved by the ſoldiers, and all the officers of the fleet were particularly at his devotion. Without loſs of time he ſent deputies to Achoris king of Egypt, and concluded a league with him againſt the king of Perſia. On another ſide, he ſollicited the

* *Trajan.*

† Quam utile eſt ad uſum ſecundorum per adverſa veniſſe! Vixiſti nobiſcum, periclitatus es, timuiſti. Quæ tunc erat innocentium vita ſcis, et expertus es. *Plin in Panegyr.*

‡ Utiliſſimus quidem ac breviſſimus bonarum malarumque rerum delectus, cogitare quid aut nolueris ſub alio principe, aut volueris. *Tacit. Hiſt.* l. i. c. 16.

ARTAX. MNEMON. Lacedæmonians warmly to come into that league, with aſſurances of making them maſters of all Greece, and of eſtabliſhing univerſally their form of government; at which they had long ſeemed to aſpire. They hearkened favourably to theſe propoſals, and embraced with joy this occaſion of taking arms againſt Artaxerxes; the rather, becauſe the peace they had concluded with him, by which they had given up the Greeks of Aſia, had covered them with ſhame, and filled them with remorſe.

As ſoon as Artaxerxes had put an end to the war of * Cyprus, he thought of concluding alſo the affair of Tiribaſus. He was ſo juſt to appoint for that purpoſe three commiſſioners, who were great lords of Perſia of diſtinguiſhed probity, and of the higheſt reputation in his court. The affair came to an examination, and an hearing on both ſides. For ſo conſiderable a crime, as that of having conſpired againſt the king's perſon, no other proofs were produced, than the letter of Orontes; that is to ſay, of a declared enemy, ſtudious to ſupplant his rival. Orontes was in hopes, from his credit at court, that the affair would not have been diſcuſſed in the uſual forms, and that upon the memorial ſent by him, the accuſed would have been condemned without further examination. But that was not the cuſtom with the Perſians. By an anciently eſtabliſhed regulation, to which amongſt other privileges they had a right by birth, no perſon was ever to be condemned, without being firſt heard and confronted with his accuſers. This was granted to Tiribaſus, who anſwered to all the articles of the letter. As to his connivance with Evagoras, the treaty itſelf concluded by Orontes was his apology; as it was abſolutely the ſame, that prince had propoſed to him, except a condition, which would have done honour to his maſter. As to his intelligence with the Lacedæmonians, the glorious treaty he had made them ſign ſufficiently explained, whether his own, or

* *Diodorus refers the deciſion of this affair, till after the war with the Caduſians, of which we ſhall ſoon ſpeak; this ſeems very improbable.*

or the king's intereſts, were his motives for it. He did not deny his credit in the army; but apprehended, it had not been long a crime to be beloved by the officers and ſoldiers; and concluded his defenſe, in repreſenting the long ſervices he had rendered the king with inviolable fidelity; and eſpecially his good fortune in having formerly ſaved his life, when he was hunting, and in great danger of being devoured by two lions. The three commiſſioners were unanimous in declaring Tiribaſus innocent. The king reſtored him to his former favour, and juſtly enraged at the black deſign of Orontes, let the whole weight of his indignation fall upon him. A ſingle example of this kind againſt informers convicted of falſehood, would for ever ſhut the door againſt calumny. How many innocents have been deſtroyed for want of obſerving this rule, which even the Pagans conſidered as the baſis of all juſtice, and the guardian of the publick tranquillity! ARTAX. MNEMON.

SECT. VII. *The expedition of* ARTAXERXES *againſt the Caduſians. Hiſtory of* DATAMES *the Carian.*

(a) WHEN Artaxerxes had determined the Cyprian war, he entered upon another againſt the Caduſians, who it is probable had revolted, and refuſed to pay the cuſtomary tribute; for authors ſay nothing as to the occaſion of this war. Thoſe people inhabited part of the mountains, ſituate between the Euxine and Caſpian ſeas in the north of Media. The ſoil is there ſo ungrateful, and ſo little proper for cultivation, that no corn is ſowed upon it. The people ſubſiſt almoſt entirely upon apples, pears, and other fruits of that kind. Inured from their infancy to a hard and laborious life, they looked upon dangers and fatigues as nothing; and for that reaſon made excellent ſoldiers. The king marched againſt them in perſon at the head of an army of three hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe. Tiribaſus was with him in this expedition.

(a) Plut. in Artax. p. 1023, 1024.

ARTAX. MNEMON. Artaxerxes had not advanced far into the country, when his army ſuffered extremely by famine. The troops could find nothing to ſubſiſt upon, and it was impoſſible to bring proviſions from other places, the ways being difficult and impracticable. The whole camp were reduced to eat their carriage beaſts; which ſoon became ſo ſcarce, that an aſs's head was valued at ſixty drachmas; and was very hard to be got at that price. The king's table itſelf began to fall ſhort, and only a few horſes remained, the reſt having been entirely conſumed.

In this melancholy conjuncture, Tiribaſus contrived a ſtratagem, which ſaved the king and army. The Caduſians had two kings, who were encamped ſeparately with their troops. Tiribaſus, who took care to be informed of all that paſſed, had been appriſed, that there was ſome miſunderſtanding between them, and that their jealouſy of each other prevented their acting in concert, as they ought to have done. After having communicated his deſign to Artaxerxes, he went himſelf to one of the kings, and diſpatched his ſon to the other. They each of them informed the king to whom they applied, that the other had ſent ambaſſadors to treat with Artaxerxes privately, and adviſed him to loſe no time, but to make his peace directly, in order that the conditions of it might be the more advantageous; promiſing to aſſiſt them with their whole credit. The fraud ſucceeded. The † pagans thought it no crime to uſe it with enemies. Ambaſſadors ſet out from both princes with Tiribaſus and his ſon in their company.

As this double negotiation laſted ſome time, Artaxerxes began to ſuſpect Tiribaſus; and his enemies taking that opportunity, forgot nothing to his prejudice that might ruin him in the king's opinion. That prince already repented the confidence he had repoſed in him, and thereby gave room for thoſe who envied him, to vent their calumnies and invectives. Upon what does the fortune of the moſt faithful ſubjects depend

* *Thirty livres.* † Dolus, an virtus, quis in hoſte requirat? *Virgil.*

pend with a credulous and ſuſpicious prince! Whilſt this paſſed, arrived Tiribaſus on his ſide, and his ſon on the other, each with ambaſſadors from the Caduſians. The treaty being concluded with both parties, and the peace made, Tiribaſus became more powerful than ever in his maſter's favour, and returned with him. ARTAX. MNEMON.

The king's behaviour in this march was much admired. Neither the gold with which he was covered, his purple robes, nor the jewels that glittered all over him, and were worth ſix-and-thirty millions of livres*, prevented his having an equal ſhare in the whole fatigue with the meaneſt ſoldier. He was ſeen with his quiver at his back, and his ſhield on his arm, to diſmount from his horſe, and march foremoſt in thoſe rugged and difficult countries. The ſoldiers obſerving his patience and fortitude, and animated by his example, became ſo light, that they ſeemed rather to fly than walk. At length he arrived at one of his palaces, where the gardens were in admirable order, and there was a park of great extent and well planted, which was the more ſurpriſing as the whole country about it was entirely naked, and bore no kind of trees. As it was the depth of winter, and exceſſive cold, he gave the ſoldiers permiſſion to cut down the wood in this park, without excepting the fineſt trees, either pines or cypreſſes. But the ſoldiers not being able to reſolve to fell timber of ſuch exceeding beauty and ſtateline ſs, the king took an ax, and began by cutting the fineſt and largeſt tree himſelf; after which the troops ſpared none, cut down all the wood they wanted, and kindled as many fires as were neceſſary to their paſſing the night without any inconvenience. When we reflect how much value great perſons generally ſet upon their gardens and houſes of pleaſure, we muſt confeſs Artaxerxes's generoſity in making this ſacrifice, which argued a very laudable goodneſs of heart, and a ſenſibility for the diſtreſſes and ſufferings of his ſoldiers. But he did not always ſupport that character.

* *Twelve thouſand talents.*

ARTAX. MNEMON. The king had loſt in this enterpriſe a great number of his beſt troops, and almoſt all his horſes: And as he imagined that he was deſpiſed upon that account and the ill ſucceſs of his expedition, he became very much out of humour with the grandees of his court, and put to death a great number of them in the emotions of his wrath, and more out of diſtruſt, and the fear of their attempting ſomething againſt him. For fear in a ſuſpicious prince is a very deſtructive and bloody paſſion; whereas true courage is gentle, humane, and averſe to all jealouſy and ſuſpicion.

(*b*) One of the principal officers that periſhed in this expedition againſt the Caduſians, was Camiſares, by nation a Carian, and governour of Leuco-Syria, a province incloſed between Cilicia and Cappadocia. His ſon Datames ſucceeded him in that government, which was given him in conſideration of the good ſervices he had alſo rendered the king in the ſame expedition. He was the greateſt captain of his time; and Cornelius Nepos, who has given us his life, does not prefer Amilcar and Hannibal to him amongſt the Barbarians. It appears from his hiſtory of it, that no one ever excelled him in boldneſs, valour, and ability in inventing ſchemes and ſtratagems, in activity in the execution of his deſigns, in preſence of mind to reſolve in the heat of action, and to find reſources upon the moſt deſperate occaſions; in a word, in every thing that regards military knowledge. It ſeems that nothing was wanting to his having acquired a more illuſtrious name, than a noble theatre, and more exalted occaſions; and perhaps an hiſtorian to have given a more extenſive narration of his exploits. For Cornelius Nepos, according to his general plan, could not relate them but in a very ſuccinct manner.

He began to diſtinguiſh himſelf particularly by the execution of a commiſſion, that was given him to reduce Thyus, a very powerful prince, and governour of Paphlagonia, who had revolted againſt the king. As he was his near relation, he thought it incumbent upon

(*b*) Corn. Nep. in vit. Datamis.

upon him at firſt to try the methods of lenity and reconciliation, which almoſt coſt him his life, through the treachery of Thyus, by the ambuſcades he laid for him. Having eſcaped ſo great a danger, he attacked him with open force; though he ſaw himſelf abandoned by Ariobarzanes, ſatrap of Lydia, Ionia, and all Phrygia, whom jealouſy prevented from giving him aid. He took his enemy priſoner, with his wife and children; and knowing with what joy the king would receive the news, he endeavoured to make it the more ſenſible by the pleaſure of a ſurpriſe. He ſet out with his illuſtrious priſoner, without giving the court any advice, and made great marches, to prevent its being known from rumour before his arrival. When he came to Suſa, he equipped Thyus in a very ſingular manner. He was a man of a very tall ſtature, of an haggard and terrible aſpect, a black complexion, with the hair of his head and beard very long. He dreſſed him in a magnificent habit, put a collar and bracelets of gold about his neck and arms, and added to this equipage all the ornaments of a king, as he was in effect. For himſelf, in the groſs habit of a peaſant, and clad like a hunter, he led Thyus upon the left in a leaſh, like a wild beaſt that had been taken in the toils. The novelty of the ſight drew the whole city after it: But nobody was ſo much ſurpriſed and pleaſed as the king, when he ſaw them approach in that pleaſant maſquerade. The rebellion of a prince, very powerful in his country, had given Artaxerxes great and juſt alarm, and he did not expect to have ſeen him ſo ſoon in his hands. So ſudden and ſucceſsful an execution gave him an higher opinion than ever of the merit of Datames. ARTAX. MNEMON.

To expreſs his ſenſe of it, he gave him an equal ſhare in the command of the army, deſigned againſt Egypt, with Pharnabaſus and Tithrauſtes, the two principal perſons in the ſtate, and even appointed him general in chief, when he recalled Pharnabaſus.

When he was upon the point of ſetting out for that expedition, Artaxerxes ordered him to march directly

ARTAX. MNEMON. againſt Aſpis, who had made the country revolt, which he commanded in the neighbourhood of Cappadocia. The commiſſion was little important for an officer, who had been appointed general, and beſides very dangerous, becauſe it was neceſſary to go in queſt of the enemy into a very remote country. The king ſoon perceived his errour, and countermanded him: But Datames had ſet out directly with an handful of men, and marched night and day; judging that diligence, without a great number of troops, was all that was neceſſary to ſurpriſe and vanquiſh the enemy. It happened according to his expectation, and the couriers diſpatched by the king, met Aſpis in chains upon the road to Suſa.

Nothing was talked of at the court but Datames. It was not known which to admire moſt, his ready obedience, his wiſe and enterpriſing bravery, or his extraordinary ſucceſs. So glorious a reputation gave offence to the courtiers in power. Enemies in ſecret to each other, and divided by a contrariety of intereſts, and a competition in their pretenſions, they united together againſt a ſuperior merit which reproached their defects, and was therefore a crime in their acceptation. They conſpired to ruin him in the king's opinion, and ſucceeded but too well. As they beſieged him perpetually, and he was not upon his guard againſt perſons who appeared ſo well affected to his ſervice, they inſpired him with jealouſy and ſuſpicion to the prejudice of the moſt zealous and faithful of his officers.

An intimate friend of Datames, who held one of the higheſt poſts at the court, appriſed him of what paſſed, and of the conſpiracy which had been formed againſt him, and had already ſunk his credit conſiderably with the king. * He repreſented to him, that if the Egyptian expedition, with which he was charged, ſhould take a bad turn, he would find himſelf expoſed to

* Docet eum magno fore in periculo, ſiquid, illo imperante, in Ægypto adverſi accidiſſet. Namque eam eſſe conſuetudinem regum, ut caſus adverſos hominibus tribuant, ſecundos fortunæ ſuæ; quo facile fieri, ut impellantur ad eorum perniciem, quorum ductu res malè geſtæ nuncientur. Illum hoc majore fore in diſcrimine, quòd, quibus rex maxime obediat, eos habeat inimiciſſimos. *Corn. Nep.*

to great dangers: That it was the cuſtom with kings to attribute good ſucceſſes to themſelves and their auſpicious fortune only, and impute the bad to the faults of their generals, for which they were reſponſible at the peril of their heads: That he ran the greater riſque, as all that were about the king's perſon, and had any aſcendent over him, were his declared enemies, and had ſworn his deſtruction. ARTAX. MNEMON.

Upon this advice, Datames reſolved to quit the king's ſervice, though without doing any thing hitherto contrary to the fidelity he owed him. He left the command of the army to Mandrocles of Magneſia, departed with his own troops for Cappadocia, ſeiſed Paphlagonia which joined it, allied himſelf ſecretly with Ariobarzanes, raiſed troops, took poſſeſſion of fortreſſes, and put good garriſons in them. He received advice, that the Piſidians were arming againſt him. He did not wait their coming on, but made his army march thither under the command of his youngeſt ſon, who had the misfortune to be killed in a battle. However lively his affliction might be upon that occaſion, he concealed his death, leſt the bad news ſhould diſcourage his troops. When he approached near the enemy, his firſt care was to take poſſeſſion of an advantageous poſt. (c) Mithrobarzanes, his father-in-law, who commanded the horſe, believing his ſon entirely ruined, determined to go over to the enemy. Datames, without concern or emotion, cauſed a rumour to be ſpread throughout the army, that it was only a feint concerted between him and his father-in-law, and followed him cloſe, as if he deſigned to put his troops into a diſpoſition for charging the enemy in two different attacks. The ſtratagem had all the ſucceſs he expected from it. When they joined battle, Mithrobarzanes was treated as an enemy on both ſides, and cut to pieces with his troops. The army of the Piſidians was put to flight, and left Datames maſter of the field, and of all the rich booty found in the camp of the conquered.

Datames

(c) Diod. l. xv. p. 399.

ARTAX. MNEMON. Datames had not till then declared openly againſt the king, the actions we have related being only againſt governors, with whom he might have particular differences, which we have obſerved before was common enough. His own eldeſt ſon, called Sciſmas, made himſelf his accuſer, and diſcovered his whole deſigns to the king. Artaxerxes was highly apprehenſive of the conſequence. He knew all the merit of this new enemy, and that he did not engage in any enterpriſe, without having maturely conſidered all its conſequences, and taken the neceſſary meaſures to ſecure its ſucceſs; and that hitherto the execution had always anſwered the wiſdom of his projects. He ſent an army againſt him into Cappadocia of almoſt two hundred thouſand men, of which twenty thouſand were horſe, all commanded by Autophradates. The troops of Datames did not amount to the twentieth part of the kings: So that he had no reſource but in himſelf, the valour of his ſoldiers, and the happy ſituation of the poſt he had choſen. For in that conſiſted his chief excellence; never captain having better known how to take his advantages and chooſe his ground, when he was to draw up an army in battle.

His poſt, as I have obſerved, was infinitely ſuperior to that of the enemy. He had pitched upon a ſituation, where they could not ſurround him; where, upon the leaſt movement they made, he could come to blows with them with very conſiderable advantage; and where, had they reſolved to fight their odds in number would have been abſolutely uſeleſs to them. Autophradates well knew, that according to all the rules of war, he ought not to hazard a battle in ſuch a conjuncture: But he obſerved at the ſame time, that it was much to his diſhonour, with ſo numerous an army, to make choice of a retreat, or to continue any longer in inaction before an handful of enemies. He therefore gave the ſignal. The firſt attack was rude; but the troops of Autophradates ſoon gave way, and were entirely routed. The victor purſued them for

ſome

ſome time with great ſlaughter. There were only a thouſand men killed on the ſide of Datames. ARTAX. MNEMON.

Several battles, or rather ſkirmiſhes, were fought afterwards, in which the latter was always victorious; becauſe, perfectly knowing the country, and ſucceeding eſpecially in the ſtratagems of war, he always poſted himſelf advantageouſly, and engaged the enemy in difficult ground, from whence they could not extricate themſelves without loſs. Autophradates ſeeing all his endeavours ineffectual, and his ſupplies entirely exhauſted, and deſpairing of ever being able to ſubject by force ſo artful and valiant an enemy, intreated an accommodation, and propoſed to him the being reſtored to the king's favour upon honourable conditions. Datames was not ignorant, that there was little ſecurity for him in ſuch a choice, becauſe princes are ſeldom reconciled in earneſt with a ſubject, who has failed in his obedience, and to whom they ſee themſelves in ſome ſort obliged to ſubmit. However, as only deſpair had hurried him into the revolt, and he had always retained at heart the ſentiments of zeal and affection for his prince, he accepted the offers with joy, which would put an end to the violent condition his misfortune had engaged him in, and afforded him the means of returning to his duty, and of employing his talents for the ſervice of the prince to whom they were due. He promiſed to ſend deputies to the king; upon which enſued a ceſſation of arms, and Autophradates retired into Phrygia, which was his government.

Datames was not deceived. Artaxerxes, furiouſly enraged againſt him, had changed the eſteem and affection, he formerly profeſſed for him, into an implacable hatred. Finding himſelf incapable of conquering him by the force of arms, he was not aſhamed to employ artifice and treachery: Means unworthy every man of honour, and how much more ſo of a prince! He hired ſeveral murtherers to aſſaſſinate him; but Datames was ſo happy as to eſcape their ambuſcades. At length Mithridates, the ſon of Ariobarzanes, to whom the king had made magnificent promiſes,

ARTAX. MNEMON. miſes, if he could deliver him from ſo formidable an enemy, having inſinuated himſelf into his friendſhip, and having long treated him with all the marks of the moſt entire fidelity to acquire his confidence, took the advantage of a favourable opportunity, when he was alone, and ſtabbed him with his ſword, before he was in a condition to defend himſelf.

Thus* fell this great captain in the ſnares of a pretended friendſhip, who had always thought it his honour to obſerve the moſt inviolable fidelity, in regard to thoſe with whom he had any engagements. Happy, had he always piqued himſelf alſo upon being as faithful a ſubject, as he was a true friend; and if he had not, in the latter part of his life, ſullied the luſtre of his heroick qualities, by the ill uſe he made of them; which neither the fear of diſgrace, the injuſtice of thoſe who envied him, the ingratitude of his maſter for the ſervices he had rendered him, nor † any other pretext could ſufficiently authoriſe.

I am ſurpriſed, that, comparable as he was to the greateſt perſons of antiquity, he has remained in a manner buried in ſilence and oblivion. His great actions and exploits are however worthy of being preſerved in hiſtory. For it is in ſuch ſmall bodies of troops, as thoſe of Datames, that the whole ſoul is exerted, in which the higheſt prudence is ſhown, in which chance has no ſhare, and the abilities of a general appear in their full light.

* Ita vir, qui multos conſilio, neminem perfidia ceperat, ſimulata captus eſt amicitia. *Corn. Nep.*

† *This doctrine of Mr. Rollin's may do very well in France, where implicit obedience to the grand monarch is the law of the land; but it has too much of that exploded abſurdity, paſſive obedience (founded in an erroneous acceptation of religion) to be admitted in a free nation; where, by the maxims of the law, and the conſtitution of the government, the ſubject in many inſtances is diſpenſed from his obedience, and may defend himſelf (even in arms) againſt his prince,* viz. *in caſes of life and liberty.*

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

History of SOCRATES *abridged.*

AS the death of Socrates is one of the moſt conſiderable events of antiquity, I thought it incumbent on me to treat that ſubject with all the extent it deſerves. In this view I ſhall premiſe ſome things which are neceſſary to the reader's having a juſt idea of this prince of the philoſophers. ARTAX. MNEMON.

Two authors will ſupply me principally with what I have to ſay upon this ſubject, Plato and Xenophon, both diſciples of Socrates, It is to them poſterity is indebted for many of his diſcourſes (* that philoſopher having left nothing in writing) and for an ample account of all the circumſtances of his condemnation and death, Plato was an eye-witneſs of the whole, and relates, in his Apology, the manner of Socrates's accuſation and defenſe; in his Criton, his refuſal to make his eſcape out of priſon; in his Phædon, his admirable diſcourſe upon the Immortality of the Soul, which was immediatly followed by his death. Xenophon was abſent at that time, and upon his return after the expedition of young Cyrus againſt his brother Artaxerxes: So that he wrote his Apology of Socrates, only upon the report of others, but his actions and diſcourſes, in his four books of memorable things, he repeats from his own knowledge. Diogenes Laertius has given us the life of Socrates, but in a very dry and abridged manner.

* Socrates, cujus ingenium varioſque ſermones immortalitati ſcriptis ſuis Plato tradidit, literam nullam reliquit. *Cic. de Orat.* l. iii. n. 57.

SECT.

SECT. I. *Birth of* SOCRATES. *He applies at firſt to ſculpture; then to the ſtudy of the ſciences: His wonderful progreſs in them. His taſte for moral philoſophy: His manner of living, and ſufferings from the ill humour of his wife.*

ARTAX. MNEMON. A. M. 3533. Ant. J. C. 471.

(*a*) SOCRATES was born at Athens in the fourth year of the ſeventy-ſeventh Olympiad. His father Sophroniſcus was a ſculptor, and his mother Phanarete a midwife. Hence we may obſerve, that meanneſs of birth is no obſtacle to true merit, in which alone ſolid glory and real nobility conſiſt. It appears from the compariſons Socrates often uſed in his diſcourſes, that he was neither aſhamed of his father's or mother's profeſſion. (*b*) He was ſurpriſed that a ſculptor ſhould employ his whole attention to mould an inſenſible ſtone into the likeneſs of a man, and that a man ſhould take ſo little pains not to reſemble an inſenſible ſtone. (*c*) He would often ſay, that he exerciſed the function of a midwife with regard to the mind, in making it bring forth all its thoughts, which was indeed the peculiar talent of Socrates. He treated ſubjects in ſo ſimple, natural, and pure an order, that he made thoſe with whom he diſputed ſay what he would, and find an anſwer themſelves to all the queſtions he propoſed to them. He at firſt learned his father's trade, in which he made himſelf very expert. (*d*) In the time of Pauſanias, there was a Mercury and the Graces to be ſeen at Athens of his workmanſhip; and it is to be preſumed theſe ſtatues would not have found place amongſt thoſe of the greateſt maſters in the art, if they had not been thought worthy of it.

(*e*) Criton is reported to have taken him out of his father's ſhop, from the admiration of his fine genius, and the opinion that it was inconſiſtent for a young man, capable of the greateſt things, to continue perpetually employed upon ſtone with a chiſel in his hand.

(*a*) Diog. Laert. in Socrat. p. 100. (*b*) Ibid. p. 110. (*c*) Plat. in Theatet. p. 149, &c. (*d*) Pauſ. l. ix. p. 596. (*e*) Diog. p. 101.

hand. He was the diſciple of Archelaus, who conceived a great affection for him. Archelaus had been pupil to Anaxagoras, a very celebrated philoſopher. His firſt ſtudy was phyſicks, the works of nature, and the movement of the heavens, ſtars, and planets; according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, wherein only that part of philoſophy was known, and Xenophon (*f*) aſſures us of his being very learned in it. But * after having found by his own experience, how difficult, abſtruſe, intricate, and at the ſame time how little uſeful that kind of learning was to the generality of mankind, he was the firſt, according to Cicero, who conceived the thought of bringing down philoſophy from heaven, to place it in cities, and introduce it into private houſes; humanizing it, to uſe that expreſſion, and rendering it more familiar, more uſeful in common life, more within the reach of man's capacity, and applying it ſolely to what might make them more rational, juſt, and virtuous. (*g*) He found there was a kind of folly in devoting the whole vivacity of his mind, and employing all his time, in enquiries merely curious, involved in impenetrable darkneſs, and abſolutely incapable of contributing to human happineſs; whilſt he neglected to inform himſelf in the ordinary duties of life, and in learning what is conformable, or oppoſite, to piety, juſtice, and probity; in what fortitude, temperance, and wiſdom conſiſt; what is the end of all government, what the rules of it, and what qualities are neceſſary for commanding and ruling well. We ſhall ſee in the ſequel the uſe he made of this ſtudy. ARTAX. MNEMON.

It

(*f*) Lib. iv. Memorab. p. 710. (*g*) Xenoph. Memorab. l. i. p. 710.

* Socrates primus philoſophiam devocavit e cœlo, et in urbibus collocavit, et in domos etiam introduxit, et coegit de vita et moribus, rebuſque bonis et malis quærere. *Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt.* l. v. n. 10.

Socrates mihi videtur, id quod conſtat inter omnes, primus à rebus occultis; et ab ipſa natura involutis, in quibus omnes ante eum philoſophi occupati fuerunt, avocaviſſe philoſophiam, et ad vitam communem adduxiſſe; ut de virtutibus et vitiis, omninoque de bonis rebus et malis quæreret; cœleſtia autem vel procul eſſe à noſtra cognitione cenſeret, vel ſi maxime cognita eſſent, nihil tamen ad bene vivendum conferre. *Cic. Acad. Quæſt.* l. i. n. 15.

ARTAX. MNEMON. It was ſo far from preventing him to diſcharge the duties of a good citizen, that it was the means of making him the more obſervant of them. He bore arms, as did all the people of Athens; but with more pure and elevated motives. He made many campaigns, was preſent in many actions, and always diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his valour and fortitude. He was ſeen, towards the end of his life, giving in the ſenate, of which he was a member, the moſt ſhining proofs of his zeal for juſtice, without being intimidated by the greateſt preſent dangers.

He had accuſtomed himſelf early to a ſober, ſevere, laborious life; without which it ſeldom happens, that men are capable of diſcharging the greateſt part of the duties of good citizens. It is difficult to carry the contempt of riches and the love of poverty farther than he did. (*b*) He looked upon it as a divine perfection to be in want of nothing; and believed, the leſs we are contented with, the nearer we approach to the Divinity. * Seeing the pomp and ſhow diſplayed by luxury in certain ceremonies, and the infinite quantity of gold and ſilver employed in them: "How many "things," ſaid he, congratulating himſelf on his condition, "do I not want!" *Quantis non egeo!*

(*i*) His father left him fourſcore minæ, that is to ſay, four thouſand livres, which he lent to one of his friends who had occaſion for that ſum. But the affairs of that friend having taken an ill turn, he loſt the whole, and ſuffered that misfortune with ſuch indifference and tranquillity, that he did not ſo much as complain of it. (*k*) We find in Xenophon's Œconomicks, that his whole eſtate amounted to no more than five minæ, or two hundred and fifty livres. The richeſt perſons of Athens were his friends, who could never prevail upon him to accept any ſhare of their wealth. When he was in want of any thing, he was not aſhamed to

(*b*) Xenoph. Memorab. l. i. p. 731. (*i*) Liban. in Apolog. Socrat. p. 640. (*k*) Xenoph. Oecon. p. 822.

* Socrates in pompa, cum magna vis auri argentique ferretur: Quam multa non deſidero, inquit! *Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt.* l. v.

to declare it: * *If I had money*, ſaid he one day in an aſſembly of his friends, *I ſhould buy me a cloak*. He did not addreſs himſelf to any body in particular, but contented himſelf with that general information. His diſciples contended for the honour of making him this ſmall preſent; which was being too ſlow, ſays Seneca; their own obſervation ought to have prevented both the want and the demand. ARTAX. MNEMON.

He generouſly refuſed the offers and preſents of Archelaus, king of Macedonia, who was deſirous of having him at his court; adding, *that he could not go to a man who could give him more than it was in his power to return.* Another philoſopher does not approve this anſwer. "Was it making a prince a ſmall return," ſays Seneca, "to undeceive him in his falſe "ideas of grandeur and magnificence; to inſpire him "with a contempt for riches; to ſhow him the right "uſe of them; to inſtruct him in the great art of "reigning; in a word, to teach him how to live and "how to die? But," continues Seneca, "the true "reaſon which prevented his going to the court of "that prince, was, that he did not think it conſiſtſtent "for him to ſeek a voluntary ſervitude, whoſe liberty "a free city could not ſuffer him to enjoy." *Noluit ire ad voluntariam ſervitutem is cujus libertatem civitas libera ferre non potuit* (*l*).

(*m*) The peculiar auſterity of his life did not render him gloomy and moroſe, as was common enough with the philoſophers of thoſe times. (*n*) In company and converſation he was always gay and facetious, and the ſole joy and ſpirit of the entertainment. Though he was very poor, he piqued himſelf upon the neatneſs of his perſon and houſe, and could not ſuffer the ridiculous affectation of Antiſthenes, who always wore dirty and ragged clothes. He told him once, that through the

(*l*) Senec. de Benef. l. v. c. 6. (*m*) Xenoph. in conviv. (*n*) Ælian. l. iv. c. 11. & l. ix. c. 35.

* Socrates amicis audientibus: *Emiſſem*, inquit, *pallium, ſi nummos haberem*. Neminem popoſcit, omnes admonuit. A quo acciperet, ambitus fuit—Poſt hoc quiſquis properaverit, ſero dat; jam Socrati deſuit. *Senec. de Benef.* l. vii. c. 24.

Artax. Mnemon. holes in his cloak, and the reſt of his tatters, abundance of vanity might be diſcerned.

One of the moſt diſtinguiſhing qualities of Socrates was a tranquillity of ſoul, that no accident, no loſs, no injury, no ill treatment, could ever alter. Some have believed, that he was by nature haſty and paſſionate, and that the moderation, to which he had attained, was the effect of his reflexions and endeavours to ſubdue and correct himſelf; which would ſtill add to his merit. (*o*) Seneca tells us, that he had deſired his friends to appriſe him whenever they ſaw him ready to fall into a paſſion, and that he had given them that privilege over him, which he took himſelf with them. * Indeed the beſt time to call in aid againſt rage and anger, that have ſo violent and ſudden a power over us, is when we are yet ourſelves, and in cool blood. At the firſt ſignal, the leaſt animadverſion, he either ſoftened his tone, or was ſilent. Finding himſelf in great emotion againſt a ſlave; "I "would beat you," ſays he, "if I were not angry:" (*p*) *Cæderem te, niſi iraſcerer.* Having received a box on the ear, he contented himſelf with only ſaying, with a ſmile; (*q*) *'Tis a misfortune not to know when to put on an helmet.*

Without going out of his own houſe he found enough to exerciſe his patience in all its extent. Xantippe, his wife, put it to the ſevereſt proofs by her capricious, paſſionate, violent diſpoſition. It ſeems, before he took her for his companion, that he was not ignorant of her character; and he ſays himſelf in Xenophon (*r*) that he had expreſsly choſen her, from the conviction, that if he ſhould be capable of bearing her inſults, there would be nobody, though ever ſo difficult to endure, with whom he could not live. Never was woman of ſo violent and fantaſtical a ſpirit, and ſo bad a temper. There was no kind of abuſe or injurious treatment, which he had not to experience from her.

(*o*) Senec. de Ira, l. iii. c. 15. (*p*) Ibid. l. iii. c. 15.

(*q*) Ibid. l. iii. c. 11. (*r*) Xenoph. in conviv. p. 876.

* Contra potens malum et ſpicimus, et noſtri ſumus, advo- apud nos gratioſum, dum con- cemus.

her. She would ſometimes be tranſported with ſuch an exceſs of rage, as to tear off his cloak in the open ſtreet; (*s*) and even one day, after having vented all the reproaches her fury could ſuggeſt, ſhe emptied a pot upon his head; at which he only laughed, and ſaid, *That ſo much thunder muſt needs produce a ſhower.* ARTAX. MNEMON.

(*t*) Some ancient authors write, that Socrates married a ſecond wife, named Myrto, who was the granddaughter of Ariſtides the Juſt, and that he ſuffered exceedingly from them both, who were continually quarrelling with each other, and never agreed, but in loading him with reproaches, and doing him all the offenſe they could invent. They pretend, that during the Peloponneſian war, after the peſtilence had ſwept off great part of the Athenians, a decree was made, whereby, to retrieve the ſooner the ruins of the republick, each citizen was permitted to have two wives at the ſame time, and that Socrates took the benefit of this new law. Thoſe authors found this circumſtance ſolely upon a paſſage in a treatiſe on nobility, aſcribed to Ariſtotle. But beſides that, according to Plutarch himſelf, Panetius, a very grave author, has fully refuted this opinion, neither Plato nor Xenophon, who were well acquainted with all that related to their maſter, ſay any thing of this ſecond marriage of Socrates; and on another ſide, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Diodorus Siculus, who have treated at large all the particulars of the Peloponneſian war, are alike ſilent in regard to the pretended decree of Athens, which permitted bigamy. We may ſee in the firſt volumes of the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, a diſſertation of Monſieur Hardion's upon this ſubject, wherein he demonſtrates, that the ſecond marriage of Socrates, and the decree upon bigamy, are ſuppoſitious facts.

(*s*) Diog. in Socrat. p. 112. (*t*) Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 335. Athen. l. xiii. p. 555. Diog. Laert. in Socrat. p. 105.

Sect. II. *Of the dæmon, or familiar ſpirit of* Socrates.

Artax. Mnemon.

OUR knowledge of Socrates would be defective if we knew nothing of the genius, which, he ſaid, had aſſiſted him with its council and protection in the greateſt part of his actions. It is not agreed amongſt authors, what this genius was, commonly called *The Dæmon of Socrates*, from the Greek word Δαιμόνιον, that ſignifies ſomething of a divine nature, conceived as a ſecret voice, a ſign, or ſuch an inſpiration as diviners are ſuppoſed to have had: This genius diverted him from the execution of his deſigns when they have been prejudicial to him, without ever inducing him to act any thing: (*u*) *Eſſe divinum quoddam, quod Socrates dæmonium appellat, cui ſemper ipſe paruerit, nunquam impellenti, ſæpe revocanti.* Plutarch, in his treatiſe intituled, *Of the Genius of Socrates*, repeats the different ſentiments of the ancients upon the exiſtence and nature of this genius. (*x*) I ſhall confine myſelf to that of them, which ſeems the moſt natural and reaſonable, though he does not lay much ſtreſs upon it.

We know that the divinity has a clear and unerring knowledge of futurity; that man cannot penetrate into its darkneſs but by uncertain and confuſed conjectures: that thoſe who ſucceed beſt in that reſearch, are ſuch, who by a more exact and ſtudied compariſon of the different cauſes capable of influencing future events, diſtinguiſh with greater force and perſpicuity, what will be the reſult and iſſue of the conflict of thoſe different cauſes in conducing to the ſucceſs or miſcarriage of an effect or enterpriſe. This foreſight and diſcernment has ſomething of divine in it, exalts us above the reſt of mankind, approaches us to the divinity, and makes us participate in ſome meaſure in his councils and deſigns, by giving us an inſight and preſcience, to a certain degree, of what he has ordained concerning the future. Socrates had a juſt and piercing judgement, joined with the moſt exquiſite prudence. He might call

(*u*) Cic. de Divin. l. i. n. 122. (*x*) Page. 580.

call this judgement and prudence Δαιμόνιον, *ſomething divine*, uſing indeed a kind of equivocality in the expreſſion, without attributing to himſelf however the merit of his wiſdom in conjecturing upon the future. The Abbé Fraguier comes very near the ſame opinion in the diſſertation he has left us upon this ſubject in the (*y*) Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres. ARTAX. MNEMON.

(*z*) The effect, or rather function of this genius, was to ſtop and prevent his acting, without ever inducing him to act. He received alſo the ſame impulſe, when his friends were going to engage in any bad affair, and communicated it to him; and ſeveral inſtances are related, wherein they found themſelves very unfortunate from not having believed him. Now what other ſignification can be given to this, than that it implies, under myſterious terms, a mind, which by its own lights, and the knowledge of mankind, has attained a ſort of inſight into futurity? And if Socrates had not intended to leſſen in his own perſon the merit of an unerring judgement, by attributing it to a kind of inſtinct, if at bottom he had deſired any thing to be underſtood, beſides the general aid of the divine wiſdom, which ſpeaks in every man by the voice of reaſon, would he have eſcaped, ſays Xenophon (*a*) the cenſure of arrogance and falſehood?

(*b*) God has always prevented me from ſpeaking to you, ſays he to Alcibiades, whilſt the weakneſs of your age would have rendered my diſcourſes ineffectual to you. But I conceive I may now enter into diſpute with you, as an ambitious young man, for whom the laws open a way to the dignities of the republick. Is it not viſible here that prudence prevented Socrates from treating Alcibiades ſeriouſly, at a time when grave and ſevere converſation would have given him a diſguſt, of which perhaps he might never have got the better? (*c*) And when, in his dialogue upon the commonwealth, Socrates aſcribes his avoiding publick buſineſs

(*y*) Tom. IV. p. 368. (*z*) Plat. in Theag. p. 128. (*a*) Memorab. l. i. p. 708. (*b*) Plat. in Alcib. p. 150. (*c*) Lib. vi. de Rep. p. 496. Apolog. Soc. p. 31, 32.

ARTAX. MNEMON.

to inſpiration from above, does he mean any thing more than what he ſays in his Apology, that a juſt and good man, who intermeddles with the government in a corrupt ſtate, is not long without periſhing? If (*d*) when he appears before the judges who were to condemn him, that divine voice is not heard to prevent him, as it was upon dangerous occaſions, the reaſon is, that he did not deem it a misfortune for him to die, eſpecially at his age, and in his circumſtances. Every body knows what his prognoſtication had been long before, upon the unfortunate expedition of Sicily. He attributed it to his dæmon, and declared it to be the inſpiration of that ſpirit. A wiſe man, who ſees an affair ill concerted, and conducted with paſſion, may eaſily propheſy upon the event of it, without the aid of a dæmon's inſpiration.

It muſt be allowed, however, that the opinion which gives men genii and angels to direct and guard them, was not unknown, even to the pagans. (*e*) Plutarch cites the verſes of Menander, in which that poet expreſsly ſays, *That every man at his birth has a good genius given him, which attends him during the whole courſe of his life as a guide and director.*

Ἅπαντι δαίμων ἀνδρὶ συμπαραστατεῖ
Εὐθὺς γενομένῳ, μυσταγωγὸς τοῦ βίου
Ἀγαθός.

It may be believed with probability enough, that the dæmon of Socrates, which has been ſo differently ſpoken of, and thereby made it a queſtion, whether it was a good or bad angel, was no more than the force and rectitude of his judgement, which acting according to the rules of prudence, and with the aid of a long experience, ſupported by wiſe reflexions, made him foreſee the events of thoſe things, upon which he was either conſulted, or deliberated himſelf.

I conceive at the ſame time, that he was not ſorry the people ſhould believe him inſpired, or that he knew futurity by any effect of the divinity whatſoever. That opinion

(*d*) Apolog. Soc. p. 40. (*e*) De anim. tranquil. p. 474.

opinion might exalt him very much in the ſenſe of the Athenians, and gave him an authority, of which the greateſt * perſons of the pagan world were very fond, and which they endeavoured to acquire by ſecret communications, and pretended conferences, with ſome divinity: But it drew the jealouſy of many of the citizens upon him. ARTAX. MNEMON.

SECT. III. SOCRATES *declared the wiſeſt of mankind by the oracle of Delphos.*

(*f*) THIS declaration of the oracle, ſo advantageous in appearance for Socrates, did not a little contribute to the enflaming envy, and ſtirring up of enemies againſt him, as he tells us himſelf in his Apology, wherein he recounts the occaſion, and true ſenſe of that oracle.

Chærephon, a zealous diſciple of Socrates, happening to be at Delphos, demanded of the oracle, whether there was a wiſer man than Socrates in the world: The prieſteſs replied there was none. This anſwer puzzled Socrates extremely, who could ſcarce comprehend the ſenſe of it. For on the one ſide, he well knew, ſays he of himſelf, that there was neither much nor little wiſdom in him; and on the other, he could not ſuſpect the oracle of falſehood, the divinity being incapable of telling a lye. He therefore conſidered it attentively, and took great pains to penetrate the ſenſe of it. At firſt he applied himſelf to a powerful citizen; a ſtateſman, and a great politician, who paſſed for one of the wiſeſt men of the city, and who was himſelf as much convinced of his own merit as any body. He found by his converſation that he knew nothing, and inſinuated as much to himſelf in terms ſufficiently intelligible; which made himſelf extremely

(*f*) Plut. in Apolog. p. 21, 22.

* *Lycurgus and Solon had recourſe to the authority of oracles to advance their credit. Zeleucus pretended, that his laws had been dictated to him by Minerva. Numa Pompilius boaſted his conferences with the goddeſs Egeria. The firſt Scipio Africanus made the people believe that the gods gave him ſecret counſels. Even Sertorius's hind had ſomething divine in it.*

ARTAX. MNEMON. odious to that citizen, and all who were preſent. He did the ſame by ſeveral others of the ſame profeſſion; and all the fruit of his enquiry was, to draw upon himſelf a greater number of enemies. From the ſtateſman he adreſſed himſelf to the poets, whom he found ſtill fuller of ſelf-eſteem, but really more void of knowledge and wiſdom. He purſued his enquiries to the artiſans, and could not meet with one, who, becauſe he ſucceeded in his own art, did not believe himſelf very capable, and fully informed in all that was great beſides; which preſumption was the almoſt univerſal failing of the Athenians. As they had naturally abundance of wit, they pretended to be knowing in every thing, and believed themſelves capable of pronouncing upon all things. His enquiries amongſt ſtrangers were not more ſucceſsful.

Socrates, afterwards entering into and comparing himſelf with all thoſe he had queſtioned, * diſcovered that the difference between him and them was, that they all believed they knew what they did not know, and that for his part, he ſincerely profeſſed his ignorance. From thence he concluded, that only God is truly wiſe, and that the true meaning of the oracle was to ſignify, that all human wiſdom was no great matter, or, to ſpeak more properly, was nothing at all. And as to the oracle's naming me, it no doubt did ſo, ſays he, by way of ſetting me up for an example, as if it intended to declare to all men, The wiſeſt amongſt you is he, who knows like Socrates, that there is no real wiſdom in him.

* Socrates in omnibus fere ſermonibus ſic diſputat, ut nihil affirmet ipſe, refellat alios; nihil ſe ſcire dicat, niſi id ipſum, eoque præſtare cæteris, quod illi, quæ neſciant, ſcire ſe putent; ipſe ſe nihil ſcire id unum ſciat, ob eamque rem ſe arbitrari ab Apolline omnium ſapientiſſimum eſſe dictum, quod hæc eſſet una omnia ſapientia, non arbitrari ſe ſcire quod neſciat. *Cic. Acad. Quæſt.* l. i. n. 15, 16.

SECT.

SECT. IV. SOCRATES *devotes himſelf entirely to the inſtruction of the youth of Athens. Affection of his diſciples for him. The admirable principles with which he inſpires them either for government or religion.*

AFTER having related ſome particularities in the life of Socrates, it is time to proceed to that, in which his character principally and peculiarly conſiſted; I mean the pains he took to inſtruct mankind, and particularly in forming the youth of Athens. ARTAX. MNEMON.

(g) He ſeemed, ſays Libanius, the common father of the republick, ſo attentive was he to the happineſs and advantage of his whole country. But as it is very difficult to correct the aged, and to make people change principles, who revere the errors in which they have grown grey, he devoted his labours principally to the inſtruction of youth, in order to ſow the ſeeds of virtue in a ſoil more fit to produce the fruits of it.

(h) He had no open ſchool like the reſt of the philoſophers, nor ſet times for his leſſons. He had no benches prepared, nor ever mounted a profeſſor's chair. He was the philoſopher of all times and ſeaſons. He taught in all places, and upon all occaſions; in walking, converſation, at meals, in the army, and in the midſt of the camp, in the publick aſſemblies of the ſenate or people, in priſon itſelf, and when he drank the poiſon he philoſophiſed, ſays Plutarch, and inſtructed mankind. And from thence the ſame judicious author takes occaſion to eſtabliſh a great principle in point of government, which Seneca * before him had placed in all its light. To be a publick man, ſays he, it is not neceſſary to be actually in office, to wear the robe of judge or magiſtrate, and to ſit in the higheſt

(g) In Apol. Socrat. p. 641. (h) Plut. an ſeni ſit. ger. reſp. p. 796.

* Habet ubi ſe etiam in privato late explicet magnus animus —Ita delituerit (vir ille) ut ubicunque otium ſuum abſconderit, prodeſſe velit et ſingulis et univerſis, ingenio, voce, conſilio. Nec enim in ſolus reip. prodeſt, qui candidatos extrahit, et tuetur reos, et de pace belloque cenſet, ſed qui juventutem exhortatur, qui in tanta bonorum præceptorum inopia virtute inſtruit animos,

ARTAX. MNEMON. higheſt tribunals for the adminiſtration of juſtice. Many do this, who, though honoured with the fine names of orators, prætors, and ſenators, if they want the merit of thoſe characters, ought to be regarded as private perſons, and often confounded with the loweſt and vileſt of the populace. But whoever knows to give wiſe counſels to thoſe who conſult him, to animate the citizens to virtue, and to inſpire them with ſentiments of probity, equity, generoſity, and love of their country; this is, ſays Plutarch, the true magiſtrate and ruler, in whatſoever condition or place he be.

Such was Socrates. The ſervices he did the ſtate, by the inſtructions he gave their youth, and the diſciples he formed, are inexpreſſibly great. Never had maſter a greater number, or ſo illuſtrious. Plato, though alone, were worth a multitude. (*i*) Upon the point of death he bleſſed and thanked God for three things; that he had endued him with a rational ſoul, that he was born a Greek and not a Barbarian, and that he had placed his birth in the life-time of Socrates. Xenophon (*k*) had the ſame advantage. It is ſaid, that one day Socrates met him in the ſtreet, and ſtopping him with his ſtaff, aſked him whether he knew where proviſions were ſold? It was not difficult to anſwer this queſtion. But Socrates having demanded in what place men learned virtue, and ſeeing this ſecond queſtion put him to a ſtand: "If you deſire to know it," continued the philoſopher, "follow me, and you ſhall be informed." Which he did immediately, and was afterwards the firſt who collected and publiſhed his maſter's diſcourſes.

Ariſtippus,

(*i*) Plut. in Mario, p. 433.

(*k*) Diog. in Xenoph. p. 120.

mos, qui ad pecuniam luxuriamque curſu ruentes prenſat ac retrahit, et ſi nihil aliud certe moratur, in privato publicum negotium agit. An ille plus præſtat, qui inter peregrinos et cives, aut urbanos prætor audeuntibus adſeſſoris verba pronunciat; quam qui docet, quid ſit juſtitia, quid pietas, quid patientia, quid fortitudo, quid mortis contemptus, quid deorum intellectus, quam gratuitum bonum ſit conſcientia? *Senec. de tranquil anim.* c. iii.

(*l*) Ariſtippus, upon a converſation with Iſchomachus, in which he had introduced ſome ſtrokes of Socrates's doctrine, conceived ſo ardent a paſſion to become his diſciple, that he grew lean and wan in effect of it, till he could go to the fountain-head, and imbibe his fill of a philoſophy, that taught the knowledge and cure of evil. ARTAX. MNEMON.

What is reported of Euclid the Megarian, explains ſtill better how high the paſſion of Socrates's diſciples ran, to receive the benefit of his inſtructions. (*m*) There was at that time an open war between Athens and Megara, which was carried on with ſo much animoſity, that the Athenians obliged their generals to take an oath to lay waſte the territory of Megara twice a year, and prohibited the Megarians to ſet foot in Attica upon pain of death. This decree could not extinguiſh nor ſuſpend the zeal of Euclid. (*n*) He left his city in the evening in the diſguiſe of a woman, with a veil upon his head, and came to the houſe of Socrates in the night, where he continued till the approach of day, when he returned in the ſame manner he came.

The ardour of the young Athenians to follow him was incredible. They left father and mother, and renounced all parties of pleaſure, to attach themſelves to him, and to hear his diſcourſes. We may judge of this in the example of Alcibiades, the moſt ardent and fiery of all the Athenians. The philoſopher however never ſpared him, and was always ready to calm the ſallies of his paſſions, and to rebuke his pride, which was his great diſeaſe. I have before related ſome inſtances of this temper of his. (*o*) One day when Alcibiades was boaſting of his wealth, and the great eſtates in his poſſeſſion (which generally blow up the pride of young people of quality) he carried him to a geographical map, and aſked him to find Attica. It was ſo ſmall it could ſcarce be diſcerned upon that draught; he found it, however, though with ſome difficulty: But upon being deſired to point out his own

(*l*) Plut. de Curioſ. p. 516. (*m*) Plut. in Peric. p. 168. (*n*) Aul. Gel. Noct. Att. l. vi. c. 10. (*o*) Ælian. l. iii. c. 28.

ARTAX. MNEMON. own eſtate there: "It is too ſmall," ſays he, "to be "diſtinguiſhed in ſo little a ſpace." "See then," replied Socrates, "how much you are affected about an imper- "ceptible point of land." This reaſoning might have been urged much farther ſtill. For what was Attica compared to all Greece, Greece to Europe, Europe to the whole world, and the world itſelf to the vaſt extent of the infinite orbs which ſurround it? What an inſect, what a nothing, is the moſt powerful prince of the earth in the midſt of this abyſs of bodies and immenſe ſpaces, and how much of it does he occupy!

The young people of Athens, dazzled with the glory of Themiſtocles, Cimon, and Pericles, and full of a wild ambition, after having received for ſome time the leſſons of the ſophiſts, who promiſed to make them very great politicians, conceived themſelves capable of every thing, and aſpired at the higheſt employments. (p) One of theſe named Glauco, had taken it ſo ſtrongly into his head to enter upon the adminiſtration of the publick affairs, though not twenty years old, that none of his family or friends were able to divert him from a deſign ſo little conſiſtent with his age and capacity. Socrates, who had an affection for him upon account of Plato his brother, was the only perſon that could prevail upon him to change his reſolution.

Meeting him one day, he accoſted him ſo happily with diſcourſe, that he engaged him to give him the hearing. "You are deſirous then to govern the re- "publick," ſaid he to him. "True," replied Glauco, "You cannot have a more noble deſign," anſwered Socrates: "For if you ſucceed, you will have it in your "power to ſerve your friends effectually, to aggrandiſe "your family, and to extend the confines of your "country. You will make yourſelf known not only "to Athens, but throughout all Greece, and perhaps "your renown, like that of Themiſtocles, may ſpread "abroad amongſt the barbarous nations. In ſhort, "wherever you are, you will attract the reſpect and "admiration of the whole world."

So

(p) Xenoph. memorab. l. iii. p. 772—774.

So ſmooth and inſinuating a prelude was extremely pleaſing to the young man, who was taken by his blind ſide. He ſtaid willingly, gave no occaſion to preſs him on that account, and the converſation continued. "Since you deſire to be eſteemed and honoured, no "doubt your view is to be uſeful to the publick?" "Certainly." "Tell me then, I beg you, in the name "of the gods, what is the firſt ſervice you propoſe to "render the ſtate?" As Glauco ſeemed at a loſs, and meditated upon what he ſhould anſwer: "I preſume," continues Socrates, "it is to enrich it, that is to ſay, to "augment its revenues." "My very thought." "You are well verſed then undoubtedly in the reve- "nues of the ſtate, and know perfectly to what they "may amount: You have not failed to make them "your particular ſtudy, in order that if a fund ſhould "happen to fail by any unforeſeen accident, you might "be able to ſupply the deficiency by another." "I "proteſt," replied Glauco, "that never entered into "my thoughts." "At leaſt you will tell me to what "the expenſes of the republick amount; for you muſt "know the importance of retrenching ſuch as are ſu- "perfluous." "I own I am as little informed in this "point as the other." "You muſt therefore refer "your deſign of enriching the ſtate till another time; "for it is impoſſible you ſhould do it, whilſt you are "unacquainted with its revenues and expences."

ARTAX. MNEMON.

"But," ſaid Glauco, "there is ſtill another means "which you have not mentioned: A ſtate may be en- "riched by the ruin of its enemies." "You are in the "right," replied Socrates. "But that depends upon "its being the ſtrongeſt; otherwiſe it incurs the danger "of loſing what it has. For which reaſon, he who talks "of engaging in a war, ought to know the forces on "both ſides; that if he finds his own party ſtrongeſt, he "may boldly adviſe the war, and, if weakeſt, diſſuade "the people from undertaking it. Now do you know "the ſtrength of our republick and that of our enemies "by ſea and land? Have you a ſtate of them in writing? "Be ſo kind to let me ſee it." "I have it not at pre-

"ſent,"

ARTAX. MNEMON. "ſent," ſaid Glauco. "I ſee then," ſaid Socrates, "that we ſhall not preſently enter into a war, if you are "charged with the government; for you have abun- "dance of enquiries to make, and much pains to go "through, before you will reſolve upon it."

He ran over in this manner ſeveral other articles no leſs important, with which Glauco appeared equally unacquainted; till he brought him to confeſs, how ridiculous thoſe people were, who have the raſhneſs to intrude into government, without any other preparation for the ſervice of the publick, than that of an high eſteem for themſelves, and an immoderate ambition of riſing to the firſt places and dignities. "Have a care, dear Glauco," ſaid he to him, "leſt a too warm deſire of honours "ſhould deceive you into purſuits that may cover you "with ſhame, by ſetting your incapacity and ſlender "abilities in full light."

Glauto improved from the wiſe admonitions of Socrates, and took time to inform himſelf in private, before he ventured to appear in publick. This is a leſſon for all ages, and may be very uſeful to perſons in all ſtations and conditions of life.

(*q*) Socrates did not urge his friends to enter early upon publick employments; but firſt to take pains for the attainment of the knowledge neceſſary to their ſucceſs in them. (*r*) "A man muſt be very ſimple," ſaid he, "to believe that the mechanick arts are not to be ac- "quired without the help of proper maſters, and that "the knowledge requiſite in governing ſtates, which is "the higheſt degree of human prudence, demands no "previous labour and application." His great care in regard to thoſe who aſpired at publick employments, was to form their manners upon the ſolid principles of probity and juſtice; and eſpecially to inſpire them with a ſincere love of their country, with the moſt ardent paſſion for the publick good, and an high idea of the power and goodneſs of the gods: Becauſe, without theſe qualities, all other abilities ſerve only to render men more wicked, and more capable of doing evil. Xenophon has tranſmitted to us a converſation of Socrates with Euthy-

(*q*) Xenoph. memorab. l. iv. p. 800. (*r*) Idem, p. 792.

Euthydemus, upon Providence, which is one of the fineſt paſſages to be found in the writings of the ancients. ARTAX. MNEMON.

"Did you never reflect within yourſelf," ſays Socrates to Euthydemus, "how much care the gods have taken "to beſtow upon man all that is neceſſary to his nature?" "Never, I aſſure you," replied he. "You ſee," continued Socrates, "how neceſſary light is, and how pre- "cious that gift of the gods ought to appear to us." "Without it," added Euthydemus, "we ſhould be like "the blind, and all nature as if it were not, or were dead: "But becauſe we have occaſion for ſuſpenſe and relaxa- "tion, they have alſo given us the night for our repoſe." "You are in the right, and for this we ought to render "them continual praiſes and thankſgiving. They have "ordained that the ſun, that bright and luminous ſtar, "ſhould preſide over the day to diſtinguiſh its different "parts, and that its light ſhould not only ſerve to diſco- "ver the wonders of nature, but to diſpenſe univerſal "life and heat; and at the ſame time they have com- "manded the moon and ſtars to illuminate the night, of "itſelf dark and obſcure. Is there any thing more ad- "mirable than this variety and viciſſitude of day and "night, of light and darkneſs, of labour and reſt; and "all this for the convenience and good of man?" Socrates enumerates in like manner the infinite advantages we receive from fire and water in the occaſions of life; and continuing to obſerve upon the wonderful attention of Providence in all that regards us. "What ſay you," purſued he, "upon the ſun's return after winter to re- "viſit us, and that as the fruits of one ſeaſon wither and "decay, he ripens new ones to ſucceed them? That "having rendered man this ſervice, he retires, leſt he "ſhould incommode him by exceſs of heat; and then "after having removed to a certain point, which he "could not paſs without putting us in danger of periſh- "ing with cold, that he returns in the ſame track to "reſume his place in thoſe parts of the heavens, where "his preſence is moſt beneficial to us? And becauſe we "could neither ſupport the cold or heat, if we were to "paſs in an inſtant from the one to the other, do you "not

ARTAX. MNEMON. "not admire, that whilſt this ſtar approaches and re-
"moves ſo ſlowly, the two extremities arrive by almoſt
"inſenſible degrees? * Is it poſſible not to diſcover, in
"this diſpoſition of the ſeaſons of the year, a provi-
"dence and goodneſs, not only attentive to our neceſſi-
"ties, but even our delights and enjoyments?"

"All theſe things," ſaid Euthydemus, "make me
"doubt, whether the gods have any other employment
"than to ſhower down their gifts and graces upon man-
"kind. There is one point, however, that puts me to a
"ſtand, which is, that the brute animals partake of all
"theſe bleſſings as well as ourſelves." "Yes," replied Socrates: "but do you but obſerve, that all theſe ani-
"mals ſubſiſt only for man's ſervice? The ſtrongeſt and
"moſt vigorous of them he ſubjects at his will, he makes
"them tame and gentle, and uſes them ſucceſsfully in
"his wars, his labours, and the other occaſions of life."

"What if we conſider man in himſelf." Here Socrates examines the diverſity of the ſenſes, by the miniſtry of which man enjoys all that is beſt and moſt excellent in nature; the vivacity of his wit, and the force of his reaſon, which exalt him infinitely above all other animals; the wonderful gift of ſpeech, by the means of which we communicate our thoughts reciprocally, publiſh our laws, and govern ſtates.

"From all this," ſays Socrates, "it is eaſy to diſcern
"that there are gods, and that they have man in their
"particular care, though he cannot diſcover them by his
"ſenſes. Do we perceive the thunder, whilſt it ſtrikes
"through all things which oppoſe it? Do we diſtinguiſh
"the winds, whilſt they are tearing up all before them
"in our view? Our ſoul itſelf, with which we are ſo in-
"timate, which moves and acts us, is it viſible, can we
"behold it? It is the ſame with regard to the gods, of
"whom none are viſible in the diſtribution of their fa-
"vours. The GREAT GOD himſelf," (theſe words are remarkable, and demonſtrate that Socrates acknowledged one ſupreme God, the author of all being, and ſuperior

* Ὥρας ἀξιωτέον πρὸς τοῦτο μεθα πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα παρασκευαζόμενα παρέχειν, αἱ ἡμῖν ἃ μέμεθ' ὧν δεόμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἷς εὐφραινόμεθα.

ſuperior to all others, who were only the miniſters of his will) "this great God, who has formed the uni- "verſe, and ſupports the ſtupendous work, whoſe every "part is finiſhed with the utmoſt goodneſs and harmony; "he who preſerves them perpetually in immortal "vigour, and cauſes them to obey him with a never- "failing punctuality, and a rapidity not to be followed "by our imagination; this God makes himſelf ſuffi- "ciently viſible by the endleſs wonders of which he is "author; but continues always inviſible in himſelf. Let "us not then refuſe to believe even what we do not ſee, "and let us ſupply the defects of our corporeal eyes, by "uſing thoſe of the ſoul; but eſpecially let us learn to "render the juſt homage of reſpect and veneration to "the divinity, whoſe will it ſeems to be, that we ſhould "have no other perception of him than by his effects in "our favour. Now this adoration, this homage, con- "ſiſts in pleaſing him, and we can only pleaſe him in "doing his will." ARTAX. MNEMON.

(s) In this manner Socrates inſtructed youth; theſe are the principles and ſentiments he inſpired into them; on the one ſide, a perfect ſubmiſſion to the laws and magiſtrates, in which he made juſtice conſiſt; on the other, a profound regard for the divinity, which conſtitutes religion. In things ſurpaſſing our underſtanding, he adviſes us to conſult the gods; and as they impart themſelves only to thoſe that pleaſe them, he recommends above all things the making of them propitious by a wiſe regularity of conduct. * *The gods are wiſe*, ſays he, *and it depends upon them either to grant what we aſk, or to give us the directly reverſe of it.* He cites an excellent prayer from an anonymous poet: *Great God, give us, we beſeech thee, thoſe good things of which we ſtand in need, whether we crave them or not; and remove from us all thoſe, which may be hurtful to us, though we implore them of you.* The vulgar imagined, that there are things which the gods obſerve, and others of which they take no notice:

(s) Xenoph. Memorab. l. iv. p. 803, & 805.

* Ἐπὶ θεοῖς ἐστιν, εἶναι ἄρα καὶ τὰ χάρτα, καὶ τἀναντία τούτων. Plut. in Alcib. l. ii. p. 148.

διδόναι ἀπ' ἄν τις εὐχόμενος τυγ-

ARTAX. MNEMON. But Socrates taught, that the gods obſerve all our actions and words; that they penetrate into our moſt ſecret thoughts, are preſent in all our deliberations, and that they inſpire us in all our actions.

SECT. V. SOCRATES *applies himſelf to diſcredit the ſophiſts in the opinion of the young Athenians. What is to be underſtood of the ironical character aſcribed to him.*

SOCRATES found it neceſſary to prejudice the young people againſt a bad taſte, which had prevailed for ſome time in Greece. A ſect of aſſuming men aroſe, who ranking themſelves as the firſt ſages of Greece, were entirely the reverſe in their conduct. For inſtead of being infinitely remote from all avarice and ambition, like Pittacus, Bias, Thales, and the others who made a ſtudy of wiſdom their principal occupation, theſe men were ambitious and covetous, entered into the intrigues and affairs of the world, and made a trade of their pretended knowledge *. (*t*) They were called ſophiſts, and wandered from city to city. They cauſed themſelves to be cried up as oracles, and walked about attended by crowds of their diſciples, who, through a kind of enchantment, abandoned the embraces of their parents to follow theſe proud teachers, whom they paid a great price for their inſtruction. There was nothing theſe maſters did not profeſs: Theology, phyſicks, ethicks, arithmetick, aſtronomy, grammar, muſick, poetry, rhetorick, and hiſtory. They knew every thing, and could teach every thing. Their greateſt ſuppoſed ſkill lay in philoſophy and eloquence. Moſt of them, like Gorgias, valued themſelves upon giving immediate anſwers to all queſtions that could be propoſed to them. Their young diſciples acquired nothing from their precepts but a ſilly eſteem for themſelves, and an univerſal contempt for every body elſe; ſo that not a ſcholar quitted theſe

(*t*) Plat. in Apolog. p. 19, 20.

* Sic enim appellantur hi, qui philoſophantur. *Cic. in Lucul.* oſtentationis aut quæſtus cauſa n. 129.

theſe ſchools, but was more impertinent than when he firſt entered them. ARTAX. MNEMON.

It was neceſſary to decry the falſe eloquence and bad logick of theſe proud teachers in the ſenſe of the young Athenians. To attack them in front, and diſpute with them in a direct manner by a continued diſcourſe, was what Socrates could well have done, for he poſſeſſed in a ſupreme degree the talents of ſpeaking and reaſoning; but this was no means to ſucceed againſt great haranguers, whoſe ſole aim was to dazzle their auditors with a vain glitter and rapid flow of words. He therefore took another courſe, and * employing the turns and addreſs of irony, which he knew how to apply with wonderful art and delicacy, he choſe to conceal, under the appearance of ſimplicity and the affectation of ignorance, all the beauty and great force of his genius. Nature, which had given him ſo fine a ſoul, ſeemed to have formed his outſide expreſsly for ſupporting the ironick character. He was very ugly, and beſides that, † had ſomething very blockiſh and ſtupid in his phyſiognomy. The whole air of his perſon, which had nothing but what was very common and very poor in it, perfectly correſponded with that of his countenance.

When ‡ he happened into the company of ſome one of the ſophiſts, he propoſed his doubts with a diffident and modeſt air, aſked ſimple queſtions in a plain manner, and, as if he had been incapable of expreſſing himſelf otherwiſe, made uſe of trivial compariſons, and alluſions taken from the meaneſt employments. The ſophiſt heard him with a ſcornful attention,

* Socrates in ironia diſſimulantiaque longè omnibus lepore atque humanitate præſtitit. *Cic.* l. ii. *de ſtat.* n. 270.

† Zopyrus phyſiognomon — ſtupidum eſſe Socratem dixit et bardum. *Cic. de Fat.* n. 10.

‡ Socrates de ſe ipſe detrahens in diſputatione, plus tribuebat iis, quos volebat refellere. Ita, cum aliud diceret atque ſentiret, libenter uti ſolitus eſt illa diſſimulatione, quam Græci εἰρωνείαν vocant. *Cic. Acad. Quæſt.* l. iv. n. 15.

Sed et illum quem nominavi (Gorgiam) et cæteros ſophiſtas, ut è Platone intelligi poteſt, luſos videmus à Socrate. Is enim percontando atque interrogando elicere ſolebat eorum opiniones quibuſcum differebat, ut ad ea, quæ ii reſpondiſſent, ſi quid videretur, diceret *Cic. de Finib.* l. ii. n. 2.

ARTAX. MNEMON.

tion, and inſtead of giving him a preciſe anſwer, fell into his common places, and talked a great deal without ſaying any thing to the purpoſe. Socrates, after having praiſed (not to enrage) his adverſary, entreated him to adapt himſelf to his weakneſs, and to deſcend ſo low as him, by ſatisfying his queſtions in a few words; becauſe neither his wit nor memory were capable of comprehending or retaining ſo many fine and exalted notions, and that all his knowledge was confined to queſtion and anſwer.

This paſſed in a numerous aſſembly, and the ſcientifick perſon could not recede. When Socrates had once got him out of his entrenchment, by obliging him to anſwer his queſtions ſuccinctly, he carried him on from one to another to the moſt abſurd conſequences; and after having reduced him either to contradict himſelf, or be ſilent, he complained, that the learned man would not vouchſafe to inſtruct him. The young people however perceived the incapacity of their maſter, and changed their admiration for him into contempt. Thus the name of ſophiſt became odious and ridiculous.

It is eaſy to judge, that men of the ſophiſt's character, of which I have now ſpoke, who were in high credit with the great, who lorded it amongſt the youth of Athens, and had been long celebrated for their wit and learning, could not be attacked with impunity; and the rather, becauſe they had been taken in the two moſt ſenſible points, their fame, and their intereſt. (*u*) Socrates, for having endeavoured to unmaſk their vices, and diſcredit their falſe eloquence, experienced, from theſe corrupt and haughty men, all that could be feared or expected from the moſt malignant envy, and the moſt envenomed hatred; to which it is now time to proceed.

(*u*) Plat. in Apolog. p. 23.

SECT.

SECT. VI. SOCRATES *is accuſed of holding bad opinions in regard to the gods, and of corrupting the Athenian youth. He defends himſelf without art or fear. He is condemned to die.*

SOCRATES was accuſed a little before the firſt year of the 95th Olympiad, ſoon after the expulſion of the thirty tyrants out of Athens, in the ſixty-ninth year of his life; but the proſecution had been projected long before. The oracle of Delphos, which had declared him the wiſeſt of mankind; the contempt into which he had brought the doctrine and morals of the ſophiſts of his time, who were then in high reputation; the liberty with which he attacked all vice; the ſingular attachment of his diſciples for his perſon and maxims, had all concurred in alienating people againſt him, and had drawn abundance of envy upon him. ARTAX. MNEMON. A. M. 3602. Ant. J. C. 402.

(*x*) His enemies having ſworn his deſtruction, and perceiving the difficulty of the attempt, prepared the way for it at diſtance, and at firſt attacked him in the dark and by obſcure and ſecret methods. It is ſaid, that to ſound the people's diſpoſition in regard to Socrates, and to try whether it would ever be ſafe to cite him before the judges, they engaged Ariſtophanes to bring him into the theatre in a comedy, wherein the firſt ſeeds of the accuſation meditated againſt him were ſown. It is not certain whether Ariſtophanes was ſuborned by Anytus, and the reſt of Socrates's enemies, to compoſe that ſatyrical piece againſt him. It is very likely, that the declared contempt of Socrates for all comedies in general, and for thoſe of Ariſtophanes in particular, whilſt he profeſſed an extraordinary eſteem for the tragedies of Euripides, might be the poet's true motive for taking his revenge of the philoſopher. However it were, Ariſtophanes, to the diſgrace of poetry, lent his pen to the malice of Socrates's enemies, or his own reſentment, and employed his whole genius and capacity to depreciate the beſt

(*x*) Ælian. l. ii. c. 13. Plat. in Apolog. Socrat. p. 19.

ARTAX. MNEMON. and moſt excellent man that ever the pagan world produced.

He compoſed a piece called *The Clouds*, wherein he introduced the philoſopher, perched in a baſket, and hoiſted up amidſt the air and clouds, from whence he vents maxims, or rather the moſt ridiculous ſubtleties. A very aged debtor, who deſires to eſcape the cloſe purſuits of his creditors, comes to him to be taught the art of tricking them at law; to prove by unanſwerable reaſons that he owes them nothing; and, in a word, of a very bad, to make a very good cauſe. But finding himſelf incapable of any improvements from the ſublime leſſons of his new maſter, he brings his ſon to him in his ſtead. This young man ſoon after quits this learned ſchool ſo well inſtructed, that at their firſt meeting he beats his father, and proves to him by ſubtle, but invincible arguments, that he has reaſon for treating him in that manner. In every ſcene where Socrates appears, the poet makes him utter a thouſand impertinencies, and as many impieties againſt the gods; and in particular againſt Jupiter. He makes him talk like a man of the greateſt vanity and opinion of himſelf, with an equal contempt for all others, who out of a criminal curioſity is for penetrating what paſſes in the heavens, and for diving into the abyſſes of the earth; who boaſts of having always the means to make injuſtice triumph; and who is not contented with keeping thoſe ſecrets for his own uſe, but teaches them to others, and thereby corrupts youth. All this is attended with a refined raillery, and a ſalt, which could not fail of pleaſing a people of ſo quick and delicate a taſte as the Athenians, who were beſides naturally invidious to all tranſcendent merit. They were ſo much charmed with it, that without waiting the concluſion of the repreſentation, they ordered the name of Ariſtophanes to be ſet down above thoſe of all his competitors.

Socrates, who had been informed that he was to be acted in the theatre, went thither upon the day to ſee the comedy, contrary to his cuſtom; for it was not common

common for him to go to thoſe aſſemblies, unleſs when ſome new tragedy of Euripides was to be performed, who was his intimate friend, and whoſe pieces he eſteemed, upon account of the ſolid principles of morality he took care to interſperſe in them. It was however obſerved, that he had not patience to wait the concluſion of one of them, wherein the actor had began with a dangerous maxim, and went out immediately, without conſidering the injury his withdrawing might do his friend's reputation. He never went to comedies, unleſs when Alcibiades and Critias forced him thither againſt his will, offended at the unbounded licence which reigned in them, and incapable of ſeeing the reputation of his fellow-citizens publickly torn in pieces. He was preſent at this without the leaſt emotion, and without expreſſing any diſcontent; and ſome ſtrangers being in pain to know who the Socrates (z) intended by the play was, he roſe up from his ſeat, and ſhowed himſelf during the whole repreſentation. He told thoſe who were near him, and were amazed at his indifference and patience, that he imagined himſelf at a great entertainment, where he was agreeably laughed at, and that it was neceſſary to let raillery paſs. ARTAX. MNEMON.

There is no appearance, as I have already obſerved, that Ariſtophanes, though he was not Socrates's friend, had entered into the black conſpiracy of his enemies, and had any thought of occaſioning his deſtruction. It is more probable that a poet, who diverted the publick at the expence of the principal magiſtrates and moſt celebrated generals, was alſo willing to make them laugh at the expence of a philoſopher. All the guilt was on the ſide of thoſe who envied him, and his enemies, who were in hopes of making great uſe of the repreſentation of this comedy againſt him. The artifice was indeed profound, and conceived with ſkill. In acting a man upon the ſtage, he is only repreſented on his bad, weak, or ambiguous ſides. That view of him is followed with ridicule: Ridicule accuſtoms peo-

(z) Plut. de educ. liber. p. 10.

Artax. Mnemon. ple to the contempt of his perſon, and contempt proceeds to injuſtice. For the world are naturally bold in inſulting, abuſing, and injuring a man, when once he becomes the object of their general contempt.

Theſe were the firſt blows ſtruck at him, and ſerved as an eſſay and tryal of the great affair meditated againſt him. It lay dormant a long while, and did not break out in twenty years afterwards. The troubles of the republick might well occaſion that long delay. For it was in that interval the enterpriſe againſt Sicily happened, the event of which was ſo unfortunate, that Athens was beſieged and taken by Lyſander, who changed its form of government, and eſtabliſhed the thirty tyrants, that were not expelled till a very ſmall time before the affair we ſpeak of.

A. M. 3603. Ant. J. C. 401. Melitus then appeared as accuſer, and entered a proceſs in form againſt Socrates. His accuſation conſiſted of two heads. The firſt was, that he did not admit the gods acknowledged by the republick, and introduced new divinities: The ſecond, that he corrupted the youth of Athens; and concluded with inferring, that ſentence of death ought to paſs againſt him.

Never had accuſation ſo little probability, pretext, or foundation as this. It was now forty years, that Socrates had made it his profeſſion to inſtruct the Athenian youth. He had advanced no opinions in ſecret, and in the dark. His leſſons were given publickly and in the view of great numbers of auditors. He had always obſerved the ſame conduct, and taught the ſame principles. What then could be Melitus's motive for this accuſation, after ſuch a length of time? How came his zeal for the publick good, after having been languid and drowſy for ſo many years, to awake on a ſudden, and become ſo violent? Is it pardonable, for ſo warm and worthy a citizen as Melitus would appear, to have continued mute and inactive, whilſt any one corrupted the whole youth of that city, by inſtilling ſeditious maxims into them, and by inſpiring them with a diſguſt and contempt for the eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed government? For he who does not prevent an evil, when it is in his power, is equally criminal with him that commits it. (*b*) Libanius ſpeaks thus in a declamation of his called the Apology of Socrates. But, continues he, though Melitus, whether out of diſtraction, indifference, or real avocation of his affairs, never thought for ſo many years of entering an accuſation againſt Socrates; how came it to paſs, that in a city like Athens, which abounded with wiſe magiſtrates, and, what is more, with bold informers, ſo publick a conſpiracy, as that imputed to Socrates, ſhould eſcape the eyes of thoſe, whom either the love of their country, or invidious malignity, render ſo vigilant and attentive? Nothing was ever leſs feaſible, or more void of all probability. ARTAX. MNEMON.

(*c*) As ſoon as the conſpiracy broke out, the friends of Socrates prepared for his defenſe. Lyſias, the moſt able orator of his times, brought him an elaborate diſcourſe of his compoſing; wherein he had ſet forth the reaſons and meaſures of Socrates in all their light, and interſperſed the whole with tender and pathetick ſtrokes (*d*) capable of moving the moſt obdurate hearts. Socrates read it with pleaſure, and approved it very much; but as it was more conformable to the rules of rhetorick than the ſentiments and fortitude of a philoſopher, he told him frankly, that it did not ſuit him. Upon which Lyſias, having aſked how it was poſſible to be well done, and at the ſame time not ſuit him; in the ſame manner, ſaid he, uſing according to his cuſtom a vulgar compariſon, that an excellent workman might bring me magnificent apparel, or ſhoes embroidered with gold, to which nothing would be wanting on his part, but which however would not fit me. He perſiſted therefore inflexibly in the reſolution, not to demean himſelf by begging ſuffrages in the low abject manner common at that time. He employed neither artifice nor the glitter of eloquence. He had no recourſe either to ſollicitation or entreaty.

(*b*) Liban. in Apolog. Socrat. p. 645—648. (*c*) Cicer. l. i. de Orat. n. 231, 233. (*d*) Quint. l. xi. c. i.

ARTAX. MNEMON. entreaty. He brought neither his wife nor children to incline the judges in his favour by their ſighs and tears. Nevertheleſs, * though he firmly refuſed to make uſe of any voice but his own in his defenſe, and to appear before his judges in the ſubmiſſive poſture of a ſuppliant, he did not behave in that manner out of pride, or contempt of the tribunal. It was from a noble and intrepid aſſurance, reſulting from greatneſs of ſoul, and the conſciouſneſs of his truth and innocence. So that his defenſe had nothing timorous or weak in it. His diſcourſe was bold, manly, generous, without paſſion, without emotion, full of the noble liberty of a philoſopher, with no other ornament but that of truth, and brightened univerſally with the character and language of innocence. Plato, who was preſent, tranſcribed it afterwards, and without any additions compoſed from it the work, which he calls *The Apology of Socrates*; one of the moſt conſummate maſter-pieces of antiquity. I ſhall here make an extract from it.

(*e*) Upon the day aſſigned, the proceeding commenced in the uſual forms; the parties appeared before the judges, and Melitus ſpoke. The worſe his cauſe, and the leſs provided it was with proofs, the more occaſion he had for addreſs and art to cover its weakneſs. He omitted nothing that might render the adverſe party odious; and inſtead of reaſons, which could not but fail him, he ſubſtituted the deluſive ſhine of a lively and pompous eloquence. Socrates, in obſerving that he could not tell what impreſſion the diſcourſe of his accuſers might make upon the judges, owns, that for his part he ſcarce knew himſelf, they had given ſuch artful colouring and likelihood to their arguments, though there was not the leaſt word of truth in all they had advanced.

(*f*) I have already ſaid, that their accuſation conſiſted

(*e*) Plat. in Apolog. Socrat. Xenoph. in Apolog. Socrat. & in Memor.

(*f*) Plat. in Apolog. p. 24.

* His et talibus adductus Socrates, nec patronum quæſivit ad judicium capitis, nec judicibus ſupplex fuit; adhibuitque liberam contumaciam à magnitudine animi ductam, non à ſuperbia. *Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt.* l. i.

ſiſted of two heads. The firſt regards religion. Socrates enquires out of an impious curioſity into what paſſes in the heavens, and in the bowels of the earth. He denies the gods adored by his country. He endeavours to introduce a new worſhip, and if he may be believed, an unknown god inſpires him in all his actions. To make ſhort, he believes there are no gods. ARTAX. MNEMON.

The ſecond head relates to the intereſt and government of the ſtate. Socrates corrupts the youth by inſtilling bad ſentiments concerning the divinity into them, by teaching them a contempt of the laws, and the order eſtabliſhed in the republick; by declaring openly againſt the choice of the magiſtrates by * lot; by exclaiming againſt the publick aſſemblies, where he is never ſeen to appear; by teaching the art of making the worſt of cauſes good; by attaching the youth to himſelf out of a ſpirit of pride and ambition, under the pretence of inſtructing them; and by proving to children, that they may abuſe their parents with impunity. He glories in a pretended oracle, and believes himſelf the wiſeſt of mankind. He taxes all others with folly, and condemns without reſerve all their maxims and actions; conſtituting himſelf by his own authority the general cenſor and reformer of the ſtate. Notwithſtanding which, the effects of his leſſons may be ſeen in the perſons of Critias and Alcibiades, his moſt intimate friends, who have done great miſchiefs to their country, and have been the moſt wicked of citizens, and the moſt abandoned of men.

This concluded with recommending to the judges, to be very much upon their guard againſt the dazzling eloquence of Socrates, and to ſuſpect extremely the inſinuating and artificial turns of addreſs, which he would employ to deceive them.

(g) Socrates began his diſcourſe with this point, and declared

(g) Plat. p. 17.

* *Socrates in reality did not approve this manner of electing the magiſtrates. He obſerved, that when a pilot, a muſician, or an architect is wanted, nobody is willing to take him at a venture; though the faults of theſe people are far from being of the great importance of thoſe errors, which are committed in the adminiſtration of the republick.* Xenoph. Memorab. l. i. p. 712.

ARTAX. MNEMON. declared that he would ſpeak to the judges as it was his cuſtom to talk in his common converſation, that is to ſay, with much ſimplicity, and no art.

(*b*) He then proceeds to particulars. Upon what foundation can it be alledged, that he does not acknowledge the gods of the republick; he, who has been often ſeen to ſacrifice in his own houſe, and in the temples? Can it be doubted whether he uſes divination or not, whilſt it is made a crime in him to report, that he received councils from a certain divinity; and thence concluded that he aims at introducing new deities? But in this he innovates nothing more than others, who, putting their faith in divination, obſerve the flight of birds, conſult the entrails of victims, and remark even words and accidental encounters: Different means, which the gods employ to give mankind a foreknowledge of the future. Old or new, it is ſtill evident that Socrates acknowledges divinities, by the confeſſion of even Melitus himſelf, who in his information avers that he believes dæmons, that is to ſay, ſubaltern ſpirits, the offspring of the gods. Now every man who believes the offspring of the gods, believes the gods.

(*i*) As to what relates to the impious enquiries into natural things imputed to him; without deſpiſing or condemning thoſe who apply themſelves to the ſtudy of phyſicks, he declares, that as for him, he had entirely devoted himſelf to what concerns moral virtue, the conduct of life, and the rules of government, as to a knowledge infinitely more uſeful than any other; and he calls upon all thoſe who have been his hearers, to come forth and belie him if he does not ſay what is true.

"I am accuſed of corrupting the youth, and of "inſtilling dangerous maxims into them, as well in re- "gard to the worſhip of the gods, as the rules of go- "vernment. You know, Athenians, that I never made "it my profeſſion to teach, nor can envy, however "violent againſt me, reproach me with having ever "ſold

(*b*) Plat. p. 27. Xenoph. p. 703. (*i*) Xenoph. p. 710.

" ſold my inſtructions. I have an undeniable evidence for me in this reſpect, which is my poverty. Always equally ready to communicate my thoughts either to the rich or poor, and to give them entire leiſure to queſtion or anſwer me, I lend myſelf to every one who is deſirous of becoming virtuous; and if amongſt thoſe who hear me, there are any who prove either good or bad, neither the virtues of the one, nor the vices of the other, to which I have not contributed, are to be aſcribed to me. My whole employment is to perſuade the young and old againſt too much love for the body, for riches, and all other precarious things of whatſoever nature they be, and againſt too little regard for the ſoul, which ought to be the object of their affection: For I inceſſantly urge to you, that virtue does not proceed from riches, but on the contrary riches from virtue; and that all the other goods of human life, as well publick as private, have their ſource in the ſame principle. Artax. Mnemon.

" If to ſpeak in this manner be to corrupt youth, I confeſs, Athenians, that I am guilty, and deſerve to be puniſhed. If what I ſay be not true, it is moſt eaſy to convict me of my falſehood. I ſee here a great number of my diſciples; they have only to appear. But perhaps the reſerve and conſideration for a maſter, who has inſtructed them, will prevent them from declaring againſt me: At leaſt their fathers, brothers, and uncles cannot, as good relations and good citizens, diſpenſe with their not ſtanding forth to demand vengeance againſt the corrupter of their ſons, brothers, and nephews. But theſe are the perſons who take upon them my defence, and intereſt themſelves in the ſucceſs of my cauſe.

" (*k*) Paſs on me what ſentence you pleaſe, Athenians; but I can neither repent nor change my conduct. I muſt not abandon or ſuſpend a function, which God himſelf has impoſed on me. Now he has charged me with the care of inſtructing my fel-

" low-

(*k*) Plat. p. 28, 29.

ARTAX. MNEMON. " low-citizens. If after having faithfully kept all the " poſts, wherein I was placed by our generals at Poti- " dæa, Amphipolis, and Delium, the fear of death " ſhould at this time make me abandon that in which " the Divine Providence has placed me, by command- " ing me to paſs my life in the ſtudy of philoſophy for " the inſtruction of myſelf and others; this would be " a moſt criminal deſertion indeed, and make me " highly worthy of being cited before this tribunal, as " an impious man who does not believe the gods. " Should you reſolve to acquit me for the future, I " ſhould not heſitate to make anſwer, Athenians, I " honour and love you, but I ſhall chooſe rather to " obey * God than you, and to my lateſt breath ſhall " never renounce my philoſophy, nor ceaſe to exhort " and reprove you according to my cuſtom by telling " each of you when you come in my way, *My* † *good* " *friend, and citizen of the moſt famous city in the world* " *for wiſdom aud valour, are you not aſhamed to have no* " *other thoughts than that of amaſſing wealth, and of* " *acquiring glory, credit, and dignities, whilſt you neglect* " *the treaſures of prudence, truth, and wiſdom, and take* " *no pains in rendering your ſoul as good and perfect as it* " *is capable of being?*

(*l*) " I am reproached with abject fear and mean- " neſs of ſpirit, for being ſo buſy in imparting my " advice to every one in private, and for having always " avoided to be preſent in your aſſemblies to give " my counſels to my country. I think I have ſuffi- " ciently proved my courage and fortitude both in the " field, where I have borne arms with you, and in the " ſenate, when I alone oppoſed the unjuſt ſentence " you pronounced againſt the ten captains, who had " not taken up and interred the bodies of thoſe who " were killed or drowned in the ſea-fight near the " iſland Arginuſæ; and when, upon more than one " occaſion,

(*l*) Plat. p. 31.

* Πείσομαι τῷ θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμῖν. men, ὦ ἄριϛε ἀνδρῶν; *which was an*
† *The Greek ſignifies,* O beſt of *obliging manner of accoſting.*

" occaſion, I oppoſed the violent and cruel orders of the thirty tyrants. What is it then that has prevented me from appearing in your aſſemblies? It is that dæmon, that voice divine, which you have ſo often heard me mention, and Melitus has taken ſo much pains to ridicule. That ſpirit has attached itſelf to me from my infancy: It is a voice, which I never hear, but when it would prevent me from perſiſting in ſomething I have reſolved, for it never exhorts me to undertake any thing. It is the ſame being, that has always oppoſed me, when I would have intermeddled in the affairs of the republick; and that with the greateſt reaſon; for I ſhould have been amongſt the dead long ago, had I been concerned in the meaſures of the ſtate, without effecting any thing to the advantage of myſelf, or our country. Do not take it ill, I beſeech you, if I ſpeak my thoughts without diſguiſe, and with truth and freedom. Every man who would generouſly oppoſe a whole people, either amongſt us or elſewhere, and who inflexibly applies himſelf to prevent the violation of the laws, and the practice of iniquity in a government, will never do ſo long with impunity. It is abſolutely neceſſary for him, who would contend for juſtice, if he has any thoughts of living, to remain in a private ſtation, and never to have any ſhare in publick affairs. ARTAX. MNEMON.

(*m*) " For the reſt, Athenians, if, in the extreme danger I now am, I do not imitate the behaviour of thoſe, who upon leſs emergencies have implored and ſupplicated their judges with tears, and have brought forth their children, relations, and friends, it is not through pride and obſtinacy, or any contempt for you, but ſolely for your honour, and for that of the whole city. You ſhould know, that there are amongſt our citizens, thoſe who do not regard death as an evil, and who give that name only to injuſtice and infamy. At my age, and with the reputation true or falſe which I have, would it " be

(*m*) Plat. p. 34, 35.

ARTAX. MNEMON. " be conſiſtent for me, after all the leſſons I have " given upon the contempt of death, to be afraid of it " myſelf, and to belye in my laſt action all the prin- " ciples and ſentiments of my paſt life.

" But without ſpeaking of my fame, which I ſhould " extremely injure by ſuch a conduct, I do not think " it allowable to entreat a judge, nor to be abſolved " by ſupplications: He ought to be perſuaded and " convinced. The judge does not ſit upon the bench " to ſhow favour by violating the laws, but to do juſ- " tice in conforming to them. He does not ſwear to " diſcharge with impunity whom he pleaſes; but to " do juſtice where it is due. We ought not therefore " to accuſtom you to perjury, nor you to ſuffer your- " ſelves to be accuſtomed to it; for in ſo doing, both " the one and the other of us equally injure juſtice " and religion, and both are criminals.

" Do not therefore expect from me, Athenians, " that I ſhould have recourſe amongſt you to means " which I believe neither honeſt nor lawful; eſpe- " cially upon this occaſion, wherein I am accuſed of " impiety by Melitus. For if I ſhould influence you " by my prayers, and thereby induce you to violate " your oaths, it would be undeniably evident, that I " teach you not to believe in the gods; and even in " defending and juſtifying myſelf, ſhould furniſh my " adverſaries with arms againſt me, and prove that I " believe no divinity. But I am very far from ſuch " bad thoughts. I am more convinced of the exiſt- " ence of God than my accuſers, and ſo convinced, " that I abandon myſelf to God and you, that you " may judge of me as you ſhall deem beſt for your- " ſelves and me."

Socrates * pronounced this diſcourſe with a firm and intrepid tone. His air, his action, his viſage expreſſed nothing of the accuſed: He ſeemed the maſter of his judges, from the aſſurance and greatneſs of ſoul with

* Socrates ita in judicio capitis pro ſe ipſe dixit, ut non ſupplex aut reus, ſed magiſter aut dominus videretur eſſe judicium. *Cic.* l. i. *de Orat.* n. 231.

with which he ſpoke, without however loſing any thing of the modeſty natural to him. So noble and majeſtick a deportment diſpleaſed and gave offence. It is common for * judges, who look upon themſelves as the abſolute diſpenſers of life and death to ſuch as are before them, to expect out of a ſecret tendency of mind, that they ſhould appear in their preſence with humble ſubmiſſion and reſpectful awe: an homage which they think due to their ſupreme authority. ARTAXI MNEMON.

This was what happened now. Melitus however had not at firſt the fifth part of the voices. We have reaſon to ſuppoſe that the judges aſſembled upon this occaſion might amount to five hundred, without reckoning the preſident. The law condemned the accuſer to pay a fine of a thouſand drachmas †, if he had not the fifth part of the ſuffrages. This law had been wiſely eſtabliſhed to check the boldneſs and impudence of calumniators. Melitus had been obliged to pay this fine, if Anytus and Lycon had not joined him, and preſented themſelves alſo as the accuſers of Socrates. Their credit drew over a great number of voices, and there were two hundred and fourſcore againſt Socrates, and in conſequence only two hundred and twenty for him. He wanted no more than thirty-one ‡ to have been acquitted; for he would then have had two hundred and fifty-one, which would have been the majority.

By this firſt ſentence the judges only declared Socrates guilty, without decreeing him any ‖ penalty. For when the law did not determine the puniſhment, and when a crime againſt the ſtate was not in queſtion (in which manner I conceive Cicero's terms, *fraus capitalis*, may be underſtood) the perſon found guilty had

* Odit judex fere litigantis ſecuritatem; cumque jus ſuum intelligat, tacitus reverentiam poſtulat. *Quint.* l. iv. c. 1.

† 500 *livres.*

‡ *The text varies in Plato; it ſays, thirty-three, or thirty, whence it is probably defective.*.

‖ Primis ſententiis ſtatuebant tantùm judices damnarent an abſolverent. Erat autem Athenis, reo damnato, ſi fraus capitalis non eſſet, quaſi pœnæ eſtimatio. Ex ſententia, cum judicibus daretur, interrogabatur reus, quam quaſi æſtimationem commeruiſſe ſe maxime confiteretur. *Cic.* l. i. *de Orat.* n. 231, 232.

ARTAX. MNEMON. had a right to chooſe the penalty he thought he deſerved. Upon his anſwer the judges deliberated a ſecond time, and afterwards paſſed their final ſentence. Socrates was informed that he might demand an abatement of the penalty, and change the condemnation of death into baniſhment, impriſonment, or a fine. He replied generouſly, that he would chooſe neither of thoſe puniſhments, becauſe that would be to acknowledge himſelf guilty. "Athenians," ſaid he, "to keep "you no longer in ſuſpence, as you oblige me to ſen- "tence myſelf according to what I deſerve, I con- "demn myſelf for having paſſed my life in inſtruct- "ing yourſelves and your children; for having neg- "lected with that view my domeſtick affairs, and all "publick employments, and dignities; for having de- "voted myſelf entirely to the ſervice of my country, "in labouring inceſſantly to render my fellow-citizens "virtuous. I condemn myſelf, I ſay, to be maintained "in the Prytaneum at the expence of the republick "for the reſt of my life." * This laſt anſwer ſo † much offended the judges, that they condemned him to drink the hemlock, a puniſhment very much in uſe amongſt them.

(*n*) This ſentence did not ſhake the conſtancy of Socrates in the leaſt. "I am going," ſaid he, addreſſing himſelf to his judges with a noble tranquillity, "to ſuffer death by your order, to which nature had "condemned me from the firſt moment of my birth; "but my accuſers will ſuffer no leſs from infamy and "injuſtice by the decrees of truth. Did you expect "from me, that to extricate myſelf out of your hands, "I ſhould

(*n*) Plat. p. 39.

* *It appears in Plato, that after this diſcourſe, Socrates, without doubt to remove from him all imputation of pride and contumacy, modeſtly offered to pay a fine proportionate to his indigence, that is to ſay, one mina (fifty livres) and that at the inſtances of his friends, who had bound themſelves for him, he roſe in his offer to thirty minæ.* Plat. in Apolog. Socrat. p. 38. *But Xenophon poſitively aſſerts the contrary,* p. 705. *This difference may be reconciled, perhaps, by ſuppoſing that Socrates refuſed at firſt to make any offer, and that he ſuffered himſelf at length to be overcome by the earneſt ſollicitations of his friends.*

† Cujus reſponſo ſic judices exarſerunt, ut capitis hominem innocentiſſimum condemnarent. *Cic.* l. i. *de Orat.* n. 233.

" I ſhould have employed, according to the cuſtom, " flattery and pathetick expreſſions, and the timorous " and creeping behaviour of a ſuppliant? But in tryals, " as well as war, an honeſt man ought not to uſe all " ſorts of means for the preſervation of his life. It is " equally diſhonourable both in the one and the other, " to ranſom it only by prayers and tears, and all thoſe " other abject methods, you ſee every day practiſed by " people in my preſent condition." ARTAXERXES MNEMON

Apollodorus, who was one of his friends and diſciples, having advanced to him to expreſs his grief for his dying innocent: *What*, replied he with a ſmile, *would you have had me die guilty?*

(*o*) Plutarch, to ſhow, that only our weakeſt part, the body, is in the power of man; but that there is another infinitely more noble part of us entirely ſuperior to their threats, and inacceſſible to their inflictions, cites theſe admirable words of Socrates, which are more applicable to his judges than his accuſers, *Anytus and Melitus may kill me, but they cannot hurt me.* As if he had ſaid, in the language of the Pagans, Fortune may deprive me of my goods, my health, and my life; but I have a treaſure within me, of which no violence can deprive me, I mean virtue, innocence, fortitude, and greatneſs of mind.

This great man *, fully convinced of the principle he had ſo often inculcated to his diſciples, that guilt is the only evil a wiſe man ought to fear, choſe rather to be deprived of ſome years, which he might have to live, than to forfeit in an inſtant the glory of his whole paſt life, in diſhonouring himſelf for ever by the ſhameful behaviour he was adviſed to obſerve with his judges. Seeing that his own times had but a ſlight knowledge of him, he referred himſelf from it to the judgement of poſterity, and by the

(*o*) De Anim. Tranquil. p. 475.

* Maluit vir ſapientiſſimus quod ſupereſſet ex vita ſibi perire, quam quod præteriſſet: et quando ab hominibus ſui temporis parum intelligebatur, poſterorum ſe judiciis reſervavit, brevi detrimento jam ultimæ ſenectutis ævum ſeculorum omnium conſecutus. *Quint.* l. i. c. 1.

ARTAX. MNEMON. generous ſacrifice of a very advanced life, acquired and aſſured to himſelf the eſteem and admiration of all ſucceeding ages.

SECT. VII. SOCRATES *refuſes to eſcape out of priſon. He paſſes the laſt day of his life in diſcourſing with his friends upon the immortality of the ſoul. He drinks the poiſon. Puniſhment of his accuſers. Honours paid to his memory.*

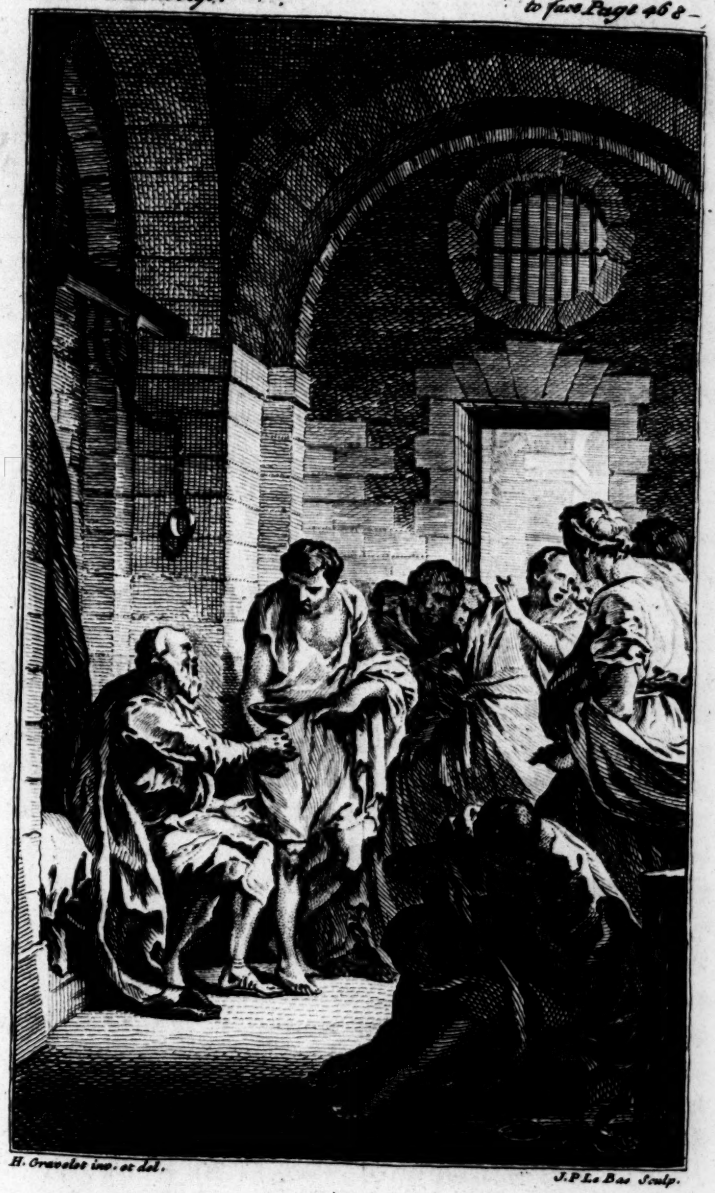
AFTER the ſentence had been paſſed upon him, * Socrates with the ſame intrepid aſpect with which he had held the tyrants in awe, went forward towards the priſon, which loſt that name, ſays Seneca, when he entered it, and became the reſidence of virtue and probity. His friends followed him thither, and continued to viſit him during thirty days, which paſſed between his condemnation and death. The cauſe of that long delay was, the Athenians ſent every year a ſhip to the iſle of Delos, to offer certain ſacrifices; and it was prohibited to put any perſon to death in the city, from the time the prieſt of Apollo had crowned the poop of this veſſel, as a ſignal of its departure, till the ſame veſſel ſhould return. So that ſentence having been paſſed upon Socrates the day after that ceremony began, it was neceſſary to defer the execution of it for thirty days, during the continuance of this voyage.

In this long interval death had ſufficient opportunity to preſent itſelf before his eyes in all its terrors, and to put his conſtancy to the proof, not only by the ſevere rigour of a dungeon, and the irons upon his legs, but by the continual proſpect and cruel expectation of an event, of which nature is always abhorrent. (*p*) In this ſad condition he did not ceaſe to enjoy that profound tranquillity of mind, which his friends had always

(*p*) Plat. in Criton.

* Socrates eodem illo vultu, quo aliquando ſolus triginta tyrannos in ordinem redegerat, carcerem intravit, ignominiam ipſi loco detracturus. Neque enim poterat carcer videri, in quo Socrates erat. *Senec. de Conſol. ad. Helvet.* c. xiii.

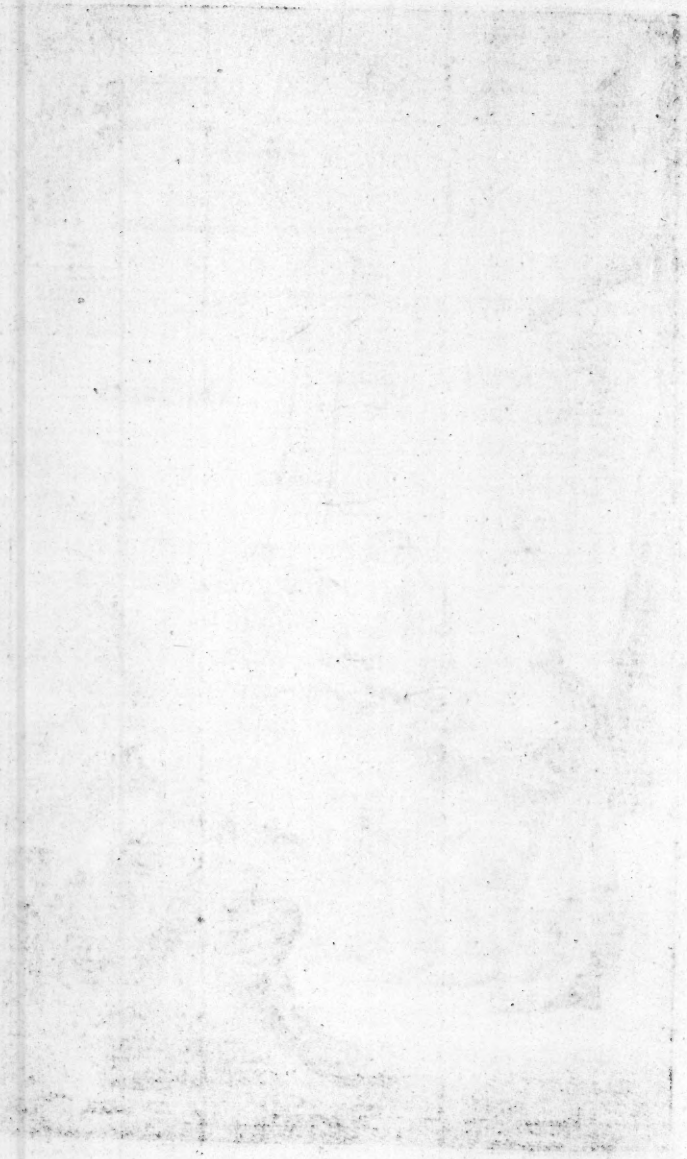
Socrates carcerem intrando purgavit, omnique honeſtionem curia reddidit. *Id. de vit. beat.* c. xxvii.



H. Gravelot inv. et del. J.P. Le Bas Sculp.

The DEATH of SOCRATES.

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always admired in him. He entertained them with the ſame temper he had always expreſſed, and Crito obſerves, that the evening before his death, he ſlept as peaceably as at any other time. He compoſed alſo an hymn in honour of Apollo and Diana, and turned one of Æſop's fables into verſe. ARTAX. MNEMON.

The day before, or the ſame day that the ſhip was to arrive from Delos, the return of which was to be followed by the death of Socrates, Crito, his intimate friend, came to him early in the morning to let him know that bad news, and at the ſame time that it depended only upon himſelf to quit the priſon; that the jailer was gained; that he would find the doors open, and offered him a ſafe retreat in Theſſaly. Socrates laughed at this propoſal, and aſked him, *whether he knew any place out of Attica, where people did not die?* Crito urged the thing very ſeriouſly, and preſſed him to take the advantage of ſo precious an opportunity, adding arguments upon arguments to induce his conſent, and to engage him to reſolve upon his eſcape. Without mentioning the inconſolable grief he ſhould ſuffer for the death of ſuch a friend, how ſhould he ſupport the reproaches of an infinity of people, who would believe that it was in his power to have ſaved him, but that he would not ſacrifice a ſmall part of his wealth for that purpoſe? Can the people ever be perſuaded that ſo wiſe a man as Socrates would not quit his priſon, when he might do it with all poſſible ſecurity? Perhaps he might fear to expoſe his friends, or to occaſion the loſs of their fortunes, or even of their lives or liberty. Ought there to be any thing more dear and precious to them than the preſervation of Socrates? Even ſtrangers themſelves diſpute that honour with them; many of whom have come expreſsly with conſiderable ſums of money to purchaſe his eſcape; and declare, that they ſhould think themſelves highly honoured to receive him amongſt them, and to ſupply him abundantly with all he ſhould have occaſion for. Ought he to abandon himſelf to enemies, who have occaſioned his being condemned unjuſtly, and can he

ARTAX. MNEMON. think it allowable to betray his own cauſe? Is it not eſſential to his goodneſs and juſtice to ſpare his fellow-citizens the guilt of innocent blood? But if all theſe motives cannot alter him, and he is not concerned in regard to himſelf, can he be inſenſible to the intereſts of his children? In what a condition does he leave them? And can he forget the father, to remember only the philoſopher?

Socrates, after having heard him with attention, praiſed his zeal, and expreſſed his gratitude; but before he could give into his opinion, was for examining whether it was juſt for him to depart out of priſon without the conſent of the Athenians. The queſtion therefore here, is to know whether a man condemned to die, though unjuſtly, can without a crime eſcape from juſtice and the laws? I do not know, whether, even amongſt us, there are not many perſons to be found who believe that this may be made a queſtion.

Socrates begins with removing every thing foreign to the ſubject, and comes immediately to the bottom of the affair. "I ſhould certainly rejoice extremely, "moſt dear Crito, that you could perſuade me to quit "this place, but cannot reſolve to do ſo, without "being firſt perſuaded. We ought not to be in pain "upon what the people ſay, but for what the ſole "Judge of all that is juſt or unjuſt ſhall pronounce "upon us, and that alone is truth. All the conſidera-"tions you have alledged, as to money, reputation, "family, prove nothing, unleſs you ſhow me, that "what you propoſe is juſt and lawful. It is a received "and conſtant principle with us, that all injuſtice is "ſhameful and fatal to him who commits it, whatever "men may ſay, or whatever good or evil may be con-"ſequential of it. We have always reaſoned from "this principle even to our lateſt days, and have never "departed in the leaſt from it. Would it be poſſible, "dear Crito, that at our age our moſt ſerious diſcourſes "ſhould reſemble thoſe of infants, who ſay yes and no "almoſt in the ſame breath, and have nothing of fixed

"and

" and determinate?" At each propoſition he waited Crito's anſwer and aſſent. ARTAX. MNEMON.

" Let us therefore reſume our principles, and en-
" deavour to make uſe of them at this time. It has
" always been a maxim with us, that it is never allow-
" able upon any pretence whatſoever to commit in-
" juſtice, not even in regard to thoſe who injure us,
" nor to return evil for evil, and that when we have
" once engaged our word, we are bound to keep it
" inviolably; no intereſt being capable to diſpenſe
" with it. Now if at the time I ſhould be ready to
" make my eſcape, the laws and republick ſhould pre-
" ſent themſelves in a body before me, what could I
" anſwer to the following queſtions which they might
" put to me? What are you going to do, Socrates?
" To fly from juſtice in this manner, is it aught elſe
" but ruining entirely the laws and the republick? Do
" you believe, that a ſtate ſubſiſts, after juſtice is not
" only no longer in force in it, but is even corrupted,
" ſubverted, and trod under foot by particulars? But,
" ſay I, the republick has done me injuſtice, and has
" ſentenced me wrongfully. Have you forgot, the
" laws would reply that you are under an agreement
" with us to ſubmit your private judgement to the re-
" publick? You were at liberty, if our government
" and conſtitutions did not ſuit you, to retire and ſet-
" tle yourſelf elſewhere: But a reſidence of ſeventy
" years in our city ſufficiently denotes, that our plan
" has not diſpleaſed you, and that you have complied
" with it from an entire knowledge and experience of
" it, and out of choice. In effect you owe all you
" are, and all you poſſeſs, to it: Birth, nurture, edu-
" cation, and eſtabliſhment; for all theſe proceed
" from the tuition and protection of the republick.
" Do you believe yourſelf free to break through en-
" gagements with her, which you have confirmed by
" more than one oath? Though ſhe ſhould intend to
" deſtroy you, can you render her evil for evil, and in-
" jury for injury? Have you a right to act in that
" manner with your father and mother; and do you

ARTAX. MNEMON. "not know, that your country is more conſiderable, "and more worthy of reſpect before God and man, "than either father or mother, or all the relations in "the world together; that your country is to be ho-"noured and revered, to be complied with in her ex-"ceſſes, and to be treated with tenderneſs and kind-"neſs, even in her moſt violent proceedings? In a "word, that ſhe is either to be reclaimed by wiſe "counſels and reſpectful remonſtrances, or to be "obeyed in her commands, and ſuffered without mur-"muring in all ſhe ſhall decree? As for your chil-"dren, Socrates, your friends will render them all "the ſervices in their power; at leaſt the Divine Pro-"dence will not be wanting to them. Reſign your-"ſelf therefore to our reaſons, and take the counſel of "thoſe who have given you birth, nurture and edu-"cation. Set not ſo high a value upon your children, "your life, or any thing in the world as juſtice; ſo "ſhall it come to paſs, that when you appear before "the tribunal of Pluto, you will not be at a loſs "to defend yourſelf in the preſence of your judges. "But if you demean yourſelf otherwiſe, we ſhall con-"tinue your enemies as long as you live, without ever "affording you relaxation or repoſe; and when you "are dead, our ſiſters, the laws in the regions below, "will be as little favourable to you; knowing that "you have been guilty of uſing your utmoſt endea-"vours to deſtroy us."

Socrates obſerved to Crito, that he ſeemed to have a perfect ſenſe of all he had ſaid, and that the force of his reaſons had made ſo ſtrong and irreſiſtible an impreſſion upon his mind, that they entirely engroſſed him, and left him neither thoughts nor words to object. Crito agreeing in effect that he had nothing to reply, continued ſilent, and withdrew from his friend.

(*q*) At length the fatal ſhip returned to Athens, which was in a manner the ſignal for the death of Socrates. The next day all his friends, except Plato, who was ſick, repaired to the priſon early in the morning. The

(*q*) Plat. in Phæd. p. 59. &c.

The jailer desired them to wait a little, because the eleven magistrates (who had the direction of the prisons) were at that time signifying to the prisoner, that he was to die the same day. Presently after they entered, and found Socrates, whose * chains had been taken off, sitting by Xantippe his wife, who held one of his children in her arms. As soon as she perceived them, setting up great cries, sobbing, and tearing her face and hair, she made the prison resound with her complaints, *Oh my dear Socrates, your friends are come to see you this day for the last time!* He desired that she might be taken away, and she was immediately carried home. ARTAX. MNEMON.

Socrates passed the rest of the day with his friends, and discoursed with them with his usual chearfulness and tranquillity. The subject of conversation was the most important and best adapted to the present conjuncture, that is to say, the immortality of the soul. What gave occasion to this discourse, was a question introduced in a manner by chance, whether a true philosopher ought not to desire and take pains to die? This proposition, taken too literally, implied an opinon, that a philosopher might kill himself. Socrates shows that nothing is more unjust than this notion, and that man, appertaining to God, who formed and placed him with his own hand in the post he possesses, cannot abandon it without his permission, nor depart from life without his order. What is it then that can induce a philosopher to entertain this love for death? It can be only the hope of that happiness, which he expects in another life, and that hope can be founded only upon the opinion of the soul's immortality.

Socrates employed the last day of his life in entertaining his friends upon this great and important subject, from which conversation Plato's admirable dialogue, intitled *The Phædon*, is wholly taken. He explains to his friends all the arguments for believing the

* *At Athens, as soon as sentence was pronounced upon a criminal, he was unbound, and considered as the victim of death, whom it was no longer lawful to keep in chains.*

ARTAX. MNEMON.

the ſoul immortal, and refutes all the objections againſt it, which are very near the ſame as are made at this day. This treatiſe is too long for me to attempt an abſtract of it.

(r) Before he anſwers any of theſe objections, he deplores a misfortune common enough amongſt men, who, in conſequence of hearing ignorant perſons, who contradict and doubt every thing, diſpute, and believe there is nothing certain. "Is it not a great misfortune, "dear Phædon, that having reaſons which are true, "certain, and very eaſy to be underſtood, there ſhould "however be thoſe in the world, who are not at all "affected with them, from their having heard thoſe "frivolous diſputes, wherein all things appear ſome-"times true and ſometimes falſe. Theſe unjuſt and "unreaſonable men, inſtead of blaming themſelves "for theſe doubts, or charging the narrowneſs of "their ſenſe with them, from aſcribing the defect to "the reaſons themſelves, proceed at length to a "deteſtation of them; and believe themſelves more "knowing and judicious than all others, becauſe they "imagine they are the only perſons, who comprehend, "that there is nothing true or certain in the nature of "things."

Socrates demonſtrates the injuſtice of this proceeding. He obſerves, that of two things equally uncertain, it conſiſts with wiſdom to chooſe that which is moſt advantageous with leaſt hazard. "If what I "advance," ſays he, "upon the immortality of the "ſoul, proves true, it is good to believe it; and if "after my death it proves falſe, I ſhall always have the "advantage from it, to have been leſs ſenſible here of "the evils which generally attend human life." This reaſoning * of Socrates (which, *we are to ſuppoſe*, can be only real and true in the mouth of a Chriſtian) is very remarkable. If what I ſay is true, I gain all things, whilſt

(r) Plut. p. 90, 91.

* *Monſieur Paſcal has expatiated upon this reaſoning in his ſeventh article, and deduced from it a demonſtration of infinite force.*

whilſt I hazard very little; and if falſe, I loſe nothing; on the contrary, I am ſtill a great gainer. ARTAX. MNEMON.

Socrates does not confine himſelf to the mere ſpeculation of this great truth, that the ſoul is immortal; he draws uſeful and neceſſary concluſions from it for the conduct of life; in explaining what the hope of an happy eternity demands from man, that it be not fruſtrated, and that inſtead of attaining the rewards prepared for the good, they do not experience the puniſhments allotted for the wicked. The philoſopher here ſets forth theſe great truths, which a conſtant tradition, though very much obſcured by fiction and fable, had always preſerved amongſt the Pagans. The laſt judgement of the righteous and wicked; the eternal puniſhments to which great criminals are condemned; a place of peace and joy without end for the ſouls that retain their purity and innocence, or which during this life have expiated their offences by repentance and ſatisfaction; and an intermediate ſtate, in which they purify themſelves, for a certain time, from leſs conſiderable crimes, that have not been atoned for during this life.

(s) "My friends, there is ſtill one thing, which it is "very juſt to believe; if the ſoul be immortal, it re- "quires to be cultivated with attention, not only for "what we call the time of life, but for that which is "to follow, I mean eternity; and the leaſt neglect in "this point may be attended with endleſs conſe- "quences. If death were the final diſſolution of "being, the wicked would be great gainers in it, by "being delivered at once from their bodies, their ſouls, "and their vices: But as the ſoul is immortal, it has "no other means of being freed from its evils, nor "any ſafety for it but in becoming very good and "very wiſe; for it carries nothing away with it, but "its good or bad deeds, its virtues or vices, which "are commonly the conſequences of the education it "has received, and the cauſes of eternal happineſs or "miſery.

"When

(s) Plat. p. 107.

ARTAX. MNEMON. "(*t*) When the dead are arrived at the fatal rendezvous of departed ſouls, whither their * dæmon "conducts them, they are all judged. Thoſe, who "have paſſed their lives in a manner neither entirely "criminal nor abſolutely innocent, are ſent into a "place, where they ſuffer pains proportioned to their "faults, till being purged and cleanſed of their guilt, "and afterwards reſtored to liberty, they receive the "reward of the good actions they have done in the "body. Thoſe who are judged to be incurable upon "account of the greatneſs of their crimes, who from "deliberate will have committed ſacrileges and murthers, and other ſuch great offences, the fatal deſtiny, "that paſſes judgement upon them, hurls them into "Tartarus, from whence they never depart. But "thoſe who are found guilty of crimes, great indeed, "but worthy of pardon; who have committed violences in the tranſports of rage againſt their father "or mother, or have killed ſome one in a like emotion, and afterwards repented, theſe ſuffer the ſame "puniſhment, and in the ſame place with the laſt; "but for a time only, till by their prayers and ſupplications they have obtained pardon from thoſe they "have injured.

"But for thoſe, who have paſſed through life with "peculiar ſanctity of manners, delivered from their "baſe earthly abodes as from a priſon, they are received "on high in a pure region, which they inhabit; and "as philoſophy has ſufficiently purified them, they "live † without their bodies through all eternity in a "ſeries of joys and delights it is not eaſy to deſcribe, "and which the ſhortneſs of my time will not permit "me to explain more at large.

"What I have ſaid will ſuffice, I conceive, to "prove, that we ought to endeavour ſtrenuouſly, "throughout our whole lives, to acquire virtue and "wiſdom: For you ſee, how great a reward, and "how

(*t*) Plat. p. 113, 114.

* *Dæmon is a Greek word, which ſignifies ſpirit, genius, and with us, angel.*

† *The reſurrection of the body was unknown to the Pagans.*

" how high an hope is propoſed to us. And tho' the immortality of the ſoul were dubious, inſtead of appearing a certainty as it does, every wiſe man ought to aſſure himſelf, that it is well worth his trouble to riſk his belief of it in this manner. And indeed can there be a more glorious hazard? We ought to enchant ourſelves with this bleſſed hope; for which reaſon I have lengthened this diſcourſe ſo much." ARTAX. MNEMON.

Cicero expreſſes theſe noble ſentiments of Socrates with his uſual delicacy. * Almoſt at the very moment that he held the deadly draught in his hand, he talked in ſuch a manner, as ſhowed that he looked upon death not as a violence done to him, but as a means beſtowed upon him of aſcending to heaven. He declared, that upon departing out of this life, two ways are open to us; the one leads to the place of eternal miſery, ſuch ſouls as have ſullied themſelves here below in ſhameful pleaſures and criminal actions; the other conducts thoſe to the happy manſions of the gods, who have retained their purity upon earth, and have led in human bodies a life almoſt divine.

(*a*) When Socrates had done ſpeaking, Crito deſired him to give him and the reſt of his friends his laſt inſtructions in regard to his children, and other affairs, that by executing them, they might have the conſolation of doing him ſome pleaſure. " I ſhall recommend nothing to you this day," replied Socrates, " more than I have always done, which is to take care " of yourſelves. You cannot do yourſelves a greater " ſervice,

(*a*) Pag. 115—118.

* Cum penè in manu jam mortiferum illud teneret poculum, locutus ita eſt, ut non ad mortem trudi, verùm in cœlum videretur aſcendere. Ita enim cenſebat, itàque diſſeruit: duas eſſe vias dupliceſque curſus animorum è corpore excedentium. Nam, qui ſe humanis vitiis contaminaſſent, & ſe totos libidinibus, dediſſent quibus coarctati velut domeſticis vitiis atque flagitiis ſe inquinaſſent, iis devium quoddam iter eſſe, ſecluſum à concilio deorum: qui autem ſe integros caſtoſque ſervaviſſent, quibuſque fuiſſet minima cum corporibus contagio, ſeſeque ab his ſemper ſevocaſſent, eſſentque in corporibus humanis vitam imitati deorum, his ad illos, à quibus eſſent profecti, reditum facilem patere. *Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt.* l. i. n. 71, 72.

ARTAX. MNEMON. "ſervice, nor do me and my family a greater plea-
"ſure." Crito having aſked him afterwards, in what manner he thought fit to be buried: "As you pleaſe," ſaid Socrates, "if you can lay hold of me, and I not "eſcape out of your hands." At the ſame time looking upon his friends with a ſmile: "I can never per-"ſuade Crito that Socrates is he who converſes with "you, and diſpoſes the ſeveral parts of his diſcourſe; "for he always imagines, that I am what he is go-"ing to ſee dead in a little while. He confounds me "with my carcaſe, and therefore aſks me how I would "be interred." In finiſhing theſe words he roſe up, and went to bathe himſelf in a chamber adjoining. After he came out of the bath, his children were brought to him, for he had three, two very little, and the other grown up. He ſpoke to them for ſome time, gave his orders to the women who took care of them, and then diſmiſſed them. Being returned into his chamber, he laid him down upon his bed.

The ſervant of the Eleven entered at the ſame inſtant, and having informed him, that the time for drinking the hemlock was come (which was at ſunſet) the ſervant was ſo much affected with ſorrow, that he turned his back, and fell a weeping. "See," ſaid Socrates, "the good heart of this man! Since my im-"priſonment he has often come to ſee me, and to "converſe with me. He is more worthy than all his "fellows. How heartily the poor man weeps for me." This is a remarkable example, and might teach thoſe in an office of this kind how they ought to behave to all priſoners, but more eſpecially to perſons of merit, when they are ſo unhappy to fall into their hands. The fatal cup was brought. Socrates aſked what it was neceſſary for him to do. "Nothing more," replied the ſervant, "than as ſoon as you have drank off the draught "to walk about till you find your legs grow weary, "and afterwards lie down upon your bed." He took the cup without any emotion or change in his colour or countenance, and regarding the man with a ſteady and aſſured look, "Well," ſaid he, "what ſay you of

"this drink; may one make a libation out of it?" Upon being told that there was only enough for one doſe: "At leaſt," continued he, "we may ſay our prayers "to the gods, as it is our duty; and implore them to "make our exit from this world, and our laſt ſtage "happy; which is what I moſt ardently beg of "them." After having ſpoke theſe words he kept ſilence for ſome time, and then drank off the whole draught with an amazing tranquillity, and a ſerenity of aſpect not to be expreſſed or conceived. ARTAX. MNEMON.

Till then his friends with great violence to themſelves had refrained from tears, but after he had drank the potion, they were no longer their own maſters, and wept abundantly. Apollodorus, who had been in tears during almoſt the whole converſation, began then to raiſe great cries, and to lament with ſuch exceſſive grief, as pierced the hearts of all who were preſent. Socrates alone remained unmoved, and even reproved his friends, though with his uſual mildneſs and good-nature. "What are you doing?" ſaid he to them, "I admire at you. Ah! What is become of your "virtue? Was it not for this I ſent away the women, "that they might not fall into theſe weakneſſes? For "I have always heard ſay, that we ought to die peace-"ably, and bleſſing the gods. Be at eaſe, I beg you, "and ſhow more conſtancy and reſolution." Theſe words filled them with confuſion, and obliged them to reſtrain their tears.

In the mean time he kept walking to and fro, and when he found his legs grow weary, he laid down upon his bed, as he had been directed.

The poiſon then operated more and more. When Socrates found it began to gain upon the heart, uncovering his face, which had been covered, without doubt to prevent any thing from diſturbing him in his laſt moments, *Crito*, ſaid he, which were his laſt words, *we owe a cock to Æſculapius; diſcharge that vow for me, and pray don't forget it*; ſoon after which he breathed his laſt. Crito went to his body, and cloſed his mouth and eyes. Such was the end of Socrates; in

ARTAX. MNEMON. in the firſt year of the 95th Olympiad, and the ſeventieth of his age. Cicero * ſays, he could never read the deſcription of his death in Plato without tears.

Plato, and the reſt of Socrates's diſciples, apprehending the rage of his accuſers was not ſatiated by that victim, retired to Mægara to the houſe of Euclid; where they ſtaid till the ſtorm blew over. Euripides, however, to reproach the Athenians with the horrible crime they had committed, in condemning the beſt of men to die upon ſuch ſlight grounds, compoſed his tragedy, called *Palamedes*, in which, under the name of that hero, who was alſo deſtroyed by a black calumniation, he deplored the misfortune of his friend. When the actor came to repeat this verſe,

You doom the juſteſt of the Greeks to periſh;

the whole theatre, remembering Socrates in ſo diſtinct an image of him, melted into tears, and a decree paſſed to prohibit ſpeaking any more of him in publick. Some believe Euripides was dead before Socrates, and reject this circumſtance.

However it were, the people of Athens did not open their eyes till ſome time after the death of Socrates. Their hatred being ſatisfied, their prejudices expired, and time having given them opportunity for reflexion, the notorious injuſtice of the ſentence appeared in all its horrors. Nothing was heard throughout the city but diſcourſes in favour of Socrates. The academy, the Lycæum, private houſes, publick walks, and market-places, ſeemed ſtill to re-echo the ſound of his loved voice. Here, ſaid they, he formed our youth, and taught our children to love their country, and to honour their parents. In this place he gave us his admirable leſſons, and ſometimes made us ſeaſonable reproaches, to engage us more warmly in the purſuit of virtue. Alas! how have we rewarded him for ſuch important ſervices? Athens was in univerſal mourning and conſternation. The ſchools were ſhut up, and all exerciſes ſuſpended. The accuſers were called to account

* Quid dicam de Socrate, cujus morti illacrymari ſoleo Platonem legens? *De nat. Deor.* lib. iii. n. 82.

count for the innocent blood they had cauſed to be ſhed. Melitus was condemned to die, and the reſt baniſhed. Plutarch obſerves, that all thoſe, who had any ſhare in this black calumny, were in ſuch abomination amongſt the citizens, that no one would give them fire, anſwer them any queſtion, nor go into the ſame bath with them; and had the place cleanſed where they had bathed, leſt they ſhould be polluted by touching it; which drove them into ſuch deſpair, that many of them killed themſelves. ARTAX. MNEMON.

(*b*) The Athenians, not contented with having puniſhed his accuſers, cauſed a ſtatue of braſs to be erected to him, of the workmanſhip of the celebrated Lyſippus, and placed it in one of the moſt conſpicuous parts of the city. Their reſpect and gratitude roſe even to a religious veneration; they dedicated a chapel to him, as to a hero and a demi-god, which they called Σωκρατεῖον, that is to ſay, *the chapel of Socrates.*

SECT. VIII. *Reflections upon the ſentence paſſed upon* SOCRATES *by the Athenians, and upon* SOCRATES *himſelf.*

WE muſt be very much ſurpriſed, when on the one ſide we conſider the extreme delicacy of the people of Athens, as to what regards the worſhip of the gods, which ran ſo high as to occaſion their condemning the moſt eminent perſons upon the ſimple ſuſpicion of their failing in reſpect for them; and on the other, when we ſee the exceeding toleration, to call it no worſe, with which the ſame people hear comedies every day, in which all the gods are turned into ridicule in a manner capable of inſpiring the higheſt contempt for them. All Ariſtophanes's pieces abound with pleaſantries, or rather buffooneries, of this kind; and if it is true, that this poet did not know what it was to ſpare the greateſt men of the republick, it may be ſaid alſo as juſtly, he was ſtill leſs favourable to the gods.

Such were the daily entertainments in the theatre, which the people of Athens not only heard without

(*b*) Diog. p. 116.

ARTAX. MNEMON. pain, but with ſuch joy, pleaſure, and applauſe, that they rewarded the poet with publick honours, who diverted them ſo agreeably. What was there in Socrates, that came near this exceſſive licence? Never did any perſon of the pagan world ſpeak of the divinity, or of the adoration due to him, in ſo pure, ſo noble, and ſo reſpectful a manner. He did not declare againſt the gods publickly received and honoured by a religion more ancient than the city, he only avoided imputing to them the crimes and infamous actions, which the popular credulity aſcribed to them, and which were only proper to depreciate and decry them in the ſenſe of the people. He did not blame the ſacrifices, feſtivals, nor the other ceremonies of religion; he only taught, that all that pomp and outward ſhow could not be agreeable to the gods without uprightneſs of intention and purity of heart.

This wiſe, this illumined, this religious man however, with all his veneration and noble ſentiments in regard to the divinity, is condemned as an impious perſon by the ſuffrages of almoſt an whole people, without his accuſers being able to inſtance one ſingle avowed fact, or to produce any proof with the leaſt appearance of probability.

From whence could ſo evident, ſo univerſal, and ſo determinate a contradiction ariſe amongſt the Athenians? A people, abounding in other reſpects with wit, taſte, and knowledge, muſt without doubt have had their reaſons, at leaſt in appearance, for a conduct ſo different, and ſentiments ſo oppoſite, to their general character. May we not ſay, that the Athenians conſidered their gods in a double light? They confined their real religion to the publick, ſolemn, and hereditary worſhip, as they had received it from their anceſtors, as it was eſtabliſhed by the laws of the ſtate, had been practiſed from immemorial time, and eſpecially confirmed by the oracles, augurs, offerings, and ſacrifices. It is by this ſtandard they regulated their piety; againſt which they could not ſuffer the leaſt attempt whatſoever: It was of this worſhip alone they were jealous;

jealous; it was for theſe ancient ceremonies they were ſuch ardent zealots; and they believed, though without foundation, that Socrates was an enemy to them. But there was another kind of religion founded upon fable, poetical fictions, popular opinions, and foreign cuſtoms; for this they were little concerned, and abandoned it entirely to the poets, to the repreſentations of the theatre, and common converſation. ARTAX. MNEMON.

(c) What groſſneſs did they not attribute to Juno and Venus? No citizen would have been ſatisfied, that his wife or daughters ſhould have reſembled thoſe goddeſſes. Timotheus, the famous muſician, having repreſented Diana upon the ſtage of Athens, tranſported with folly, fury, and rage, one of the ſpectators conceived, he could not make a greater imprecation againſt him, than to wiſh his daughter might become the likeneſs of that divinity. It is better, ſays Plutarch, to believe there are no gods, than to imagine them of this kind: open and declared impiety being leſs prophane, if we may be allowed to ſay ſo, than ſo groſs and abſurd a ſuperſtition.

However it be, the ſentence of which we have related the circumſtances, will, through all ages, cover Athens with infamy and reproach, that all the ſplendour of its glorious actions for which it is otherwiſe ſo juſtly renowned can never obliterate, and ſhows at the ſame time, what is to be expected from a people, gentle, humane, and beneficent at bottom, for ſuch the Athenians really were, but warm, proud, haughty, inconſtant, wavering with every wind, and every impreſſion. It is therefore with reaſon, that their aſſemblies have been compared to a tempeſtuous ſea; as that element, like the people, though calm and peaceable of itſelf, is ſubject to be frequently agitated by a violence not its own.

As to Socrates, it muſt be allowed that the pagan world never produced any thing ſo great and perfect. When we obſerve to what an height he carries the

(c) Plut. de ſuperſtit. p. 170.

ARTAX. MNEMON. ſublimity of his ſentiments, not only in reſpect to moral virtue, temperance, ſobriety, patience in adverſity, the love of poverty, and the forgiveneſs of wrongs; but what is far more conſiderable, in regard to the Divinity, his unity, omnipotence, creation of the world, and providence in the government of it; the immortality of the ſoul, its ultimate end and eternal deſtiny; the rewards of the good, and the puniſhment of the wicked; when we conſider this train of ſublime knowledge, we aſk our reaſon whether it is a pagan who thinks and ſpeaks in this manner, and can ſcarce perſuade ourſelves, that from ſo dark and obſcure a fund as paganiſm ſhould ſhine forth ſuch living and ſuch glorious rays of light.

It is true, his reputation was not without alloy, and it has been affirmed that the purity of his manners did not anſwer thoſe of his ſentiments. (*d*) This queſtion has been diſcuſſed amongſt the learned, but my plan will not admit me to treat it in its extent. The reader may ſee Abbé Fraguier's diſſertation in defence of Socrates, againſt the reproaches made him on account of his conduct. The negative argument he makes uſe of in his juſtification ſeems a very ſtrong one. He obſerves, that neither Ariſtophanes in his comedy of The Clouds, which is entirely againſt Socrates, nor his vile accuſers in his tryal, have advanced one word that tends to impeach the purity of his manners: And it is not probable, that ſuch violent enemies as thoſe would have neglected one of the moſt likely methods to diſcredit him in the opinion of his judges, if there had been any foundation or appearance for the uſe of it.

I confeſs, however, that certain principles of Plato his diſciple, held by him in common with his maſter, upon the nudity of the combatants in the publick games, from which at the ſame time he did not exclude the fair ſex, and the behaviour of Socrates himſelf, who wreſtled naked man to man with Alcibiades, give us no great idea of that philoſopher's delicacy in point of modeſty

(*d*) Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcript. Tom. IV. p. 372.

modeſty and baſhfulneſs. (*e*) What ſhall we ſay of his viſit to Theodota, a woman of Athens of indifferent reputation, only to aſſure himſelf with his own eyes of her extraordinary beauty, which was much talked of, and of the precepts he gave her for the attraction of admirers, and the retaining them in her ſnares? Do ſuch leſſons conſiſt much with a philoſopher? I paſs over many other things in ſilence. ARTAX. MNEMON.

I am the leſs ſurpriſed after this, that ſeveral of the fathers have cenſured him in regard to purity of manners, and that they have thought fit to apply to him, as well as to his diſciple Plato, what St. Paul (*f*) ſays of the philoſophers; that God by a juſt judgement has abandoned them to a reprobate ſenſe, and to the moſt ſhameful luſts for their puniſhment; in that having clearly known there was but one true God, they had not honoured him as they ought, by publickly avowing their belief, and were not aſhamed to aſſociate him with an innumerable multitude of divinities, ridiculous and infamous even in their own opinions.

And in this, properly ſpeaking, conſiſts the crime of Socrates, who was not guilty in the eyes of the Athenians, but gave occaſion for his being juſtly condemned by the eternal truth. It had illuminated his ſoul with the moſt pure and ſublime lights, of which the pagan world was capable; for we are not ignorant, that all knowledge of God, even natural, cannot come but from himſelf alone. He held admirable principles with relation to the divinity. He agreeably rallied the fables, upon which the ridiculous myſteries of his age were founded. He often ſpoke, and in the moſt exalted terms, of the exiſtence of one only God, eternal, inviſible, creator of the univerſe, ſupreme director and arbiter of all events, avenger of crimes, and rewarder of virtues: But he * did not dare to give a

(*e*) Xenoph. Memorab. l. iii. p. 783—786. (*f*) Rom. ch. i. ver. 17—32.

* Quæ omnia (ait Seneca) ſapiens ſervabit tanquam legibus juſſa, non tanquam diis grata— Omnem iſtam ignobilem deorum turbam, quam longo ævo longa ſuperſtitio congeſſit, ſic, inquit, adorabimus, ut meminerimus cultum ejus magis ad morem, quam ad

ARTAX. MNEMON. publick teſtimony of theſe great truths. He perfectly diſcerned the falſe and the ridiculous of the pagan ſyſtem, and nevertheleſs, as Seneca ſays of the wiſe man, and acted himſelf, he obſerved exactly all the cuſtoms and ceremonies, not as agreeable to the gods, but as enjoined by the laws. He * acknowledged at bottom one only divinity, and worſhipped with the people that multitude of infamous idols, which ancient ſuperſtition had heaped up during a long ſucceſſion of ages. He held peculiar opinions in the ſchools, but followed the multitude in the temples. As a philoſopher, he deſpiſed and deteſted the idols in ſecret; as a citizen of Athens and a ſenator, he paid them in publick the ſame adoration with others: By ſo much the more to be condemned, ſays St. Auguſtin, as that worſhip, which was only external and diſſembled, ſeemed to the people to be the effect of ſincerity and conviction.

And it cannot be ſaid that Socrates altered his conduct at the end of his life, or that he then expreſſed a greater zeal for truth. In his defence before the people, he declared, that he had always received and honoured the ſame gods as the Athenians; and the laſt order he gave before he expired, was to ſacrifice in his name a cock to Æſculapius. Behold then this prince of the philoſophers declared by the Delphick oracle the wiſeſt of mankind, who, notwithſtanding his internal conviction of one only divinity, dies in the boſom of idolatry, and with the profeſſion of adoring all the gods of the pagan theology. Socrates is the more inexcuſable in this, that declaring himſelf a man expreſsly appointed by heaven to bear witneſs to the truth, he fails in the moſt eſſential duty of the glorious commiſſion he aſcribes to himſelf. For if there be any truth in religion, that we ought more particularly to avow, it is that, which regards the unity of the

ad rem, pertinere—Sed iſte, quem philoſophia quaſi liberum facerat, tamen, quia illuſtris ſenator erat, colebat quod reprehendebat, agebat quod arguebat, quod culpabat adorabat—eo damnabilius, uo illa, quæ mendaciter agebat, ſic ageret, ut eum populus veraciter agere exiſtimaret. *S. Auguſt. de civit. Dei.* l vi. c. 10.

* Eorum ſapientes, quos philoſophos vocant, ſcholas habebant diſſentientes, et templa communia. *Id. lib. de ver. rel.* c. i.

the Godhead, and the vanity of idol-worſhip. In this his courage had been well placed; nor would it have been any great difficulty to Socrates, determined beſides as he was to die. But, * ſays St. Auguſtin, theſe philoſophers were not deſigned by God to enlighten the world, nor to bring men over from the impious worſhip of falſe deities to the holy religion of the true God. ARTAX. MNEMON.

We cannot deny Socrates to have been the hero of the pagan world in regard to moral virtues. But to judge rightly of him, let us draw a parallel between this ſuppoſed hero and the martyrs of Chriſtianity, who often were young children and tender virgins, and yet were not afraid to ſhed the laſt drop of their blood, to defend and confirm the ſame truths, which Socrates knew, without daring to aſſert in publick: I mean, the unity of God, and the vanity of idols. Let us alſo compare the ſo much boaſted death of this prince of philoſophers, with that of our holy biſhops, who have done the chriſtian religion ſo much honour, by their ſublimity of genius, the extent of their knowledge, and the beauty and excellence of their writings; a ſaint Cyprian, a ſaint Auguſtin, and ſo many others who were all ſeen to die in the boſom of humility, fully convinced of their unworthineſs and nothingneſs, penetrated with a lively fear of the judgments of God, and expecting their ſalvation from his ſole goodneſs and condeſcending mercy. Philoſophy inſpires no ſuch ſentiments; they could proceed only from the grace of the Mediator, which, *we are taught believe*, Socrates did not deſerve to know.

* Non ſic iſta nati erant, ut populorum ſuorum opinionem ad verum cultum veri Dei à ſimulacrorum ſuperſtitione atque ab hujus mundi vanitate converterent. *S. Auguſt. lib. de ver. rel.* c. ii.

BOOK THE TENTH.

THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE PERSIANS AND GRECIANS.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE GREEKS.

THE moſt eſſential part of hiſtory, and which it concerns the reader moſt to know, is that which explains the character and manners as well of the people in general, as of the great perſons in particular of whom it treats; and this may be ſaid to be in ſome ſort the ſoul of hiſtory, of which the facts are only the body. I have endeavoured, as occaſion offered, to paint in their true colours the moſt illuſtrious perſonages of Greece; it remains for me to ſhow the genius and character of the people themſelves. I ſhall confine myſelf to thoſe of Lacedæmon and Athens, who always held the firſt rank amongſt the Greeks, and ſhall reduce what I have to ſay upon this ſubject to three heads; their political government, war, and religion.

Sigonius, Meurſius, Potter, and ſeveral others, who have written upon the Grecian antiquities, ſupply me with great lights, and are of equal uſe to me in the matters it remains for me to treat.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

Of political government.

THERE are three principal forms of government: *Monarchy*, in which a ſingle perſon reigns; *Ariſtocracy*, in which the eldeſt and wiſeſt govern; and *Democracy*, in which the ſupreme authority is lodged in the hands of the people. The moſt celebrated writers of antiquity, as Plato, Ariſtotle, Polybius, and Plutarch, give the preference to the firſt kind, as including the moſt advantages with the feweſt inconveniences. But all agree, and it cannot be too often inculcated, that the end of all government, and the duty in every one in authority, in whatſoever manner it be, is to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to render thoſe under his command happy and juſt, by obtaining for them on the one ſide ſafety, and tranquillity, with the advantages and conveniences of life; and on the other, all the means and helps that may contribute to making them virtuous. As the pilot's end, ſays Cicero*, is to ſteer his veſſel happily into its port, the phyſician's to preſerve or reſtore health, the general's of an army to obtain victory; ſo a prince, and every man who governs others, ought to make the utility of the governed his view and motive, and to remember, that the ſupreme rule of all juſt government is the good of the publick, (*a*) *Salus populi ſuprema lex eſto.* He adds, that the greateſt and moſt noble function in the world is to be the author of the happineſs of mankind.

Plato in an hundred places eſteems as nothing the moſt ſhining qualities and actions of thoſe who govern, if they do not tend to promote the two great ends I have mentioned, the virtue and happineſs of the people; and

(*a*) Cic. de leg. l. iii. n. 8.

* Tenes-ne igitur, moderatorem illum reip. quo referre velimus omnia? —— Ut gubernatori curſus ſecundus, medico ſalus, imperatori victoria, ſic huic moderatori reip. beata civium vita propoſita eſt, ut opibus firma, copiis locuples, gloriâ ampla, virtute honeſta ſit. Hujus enim operis maximi inter homines atque optimi illum eſſe perfectorem volo. *Ad. Attic.* l. viii. *Epiſt.* 10.

and he refutes at large, in the firſt (*b*) book of his Republick, one Thraſymachus, who advanced, that ſubjects were born for the prince, and not the prince for his ſubjects; and that whatever promoted the intereſts of the prince and commonwealth, ought to be deemed juſt and lawful.

In the diſtinctions which have been made upon the ſeveral forms of government, it has been agreed, That would be the moſt perfect, which ſhould unite in itſelf, by an happy mixture of inſtitutions, all the advantages, and exclude all the inconveniences, of the reſt; and almoſt all the ancients have believed (*c*), that the Lacedæmonian government came neareſt to this idea of perfection.

ARTICLE I.

Of the government of Sparta.

FROM the time that the Heraclides had re-entered Peloponneſus, Sparta was governed by two kings, who were always of the ſame two families, deſcended from Hercules by two different branches as I have obſerved elſewhere. Whether from pride, or the abuſe of deſpotick power on the ſide of the kings, or the deſire of independence, and an immoderate love of liberty on that of the people, Sparta, in its beginnings, was always involved in commotions and revolts; which would infallibly have occaſioned its ruin, as had happened at Argos and Meſſene, two neighbouring cities equally powerful with itſelf, if the wiſe foreſight of Lycurgus had not prevented fatal conſequences by the reformation he made in the ſtate. I have related it at large (*d*) in the life of that legiſlator, and ſhall only touch here upon what regards the government.

(*b*) Page 338–343. (*c*) Polyb. l. vi. p. 458, 459. (*d*) Vol. II.

SECT.

ARTAX. MNEMON.

SECT. I. *Abridged idea of the Spartan government. Entire ſubmiſſion to the laws in a manner the ſoul of it.*

LYCURGUS reſtored order and peace in Sparta by the eſtabliſhment of the ſenate. It conſiſted of twenty-eight ſenators, and the two kings preſided in it. This auguſt counſel, formed out of the wiſeſt and moſt experienced men in the nation, ſerved as a counterpoiſe to the two other authorities, that of the kings, and that of the people; and whenever the one was for overbearing the other, the ſenate interpoſed, by joining the weakeſt, and thereby held the balance between both. At length, to prevent this body itſelf from abuſing its power, which was very great, a kind of curb was annexed to it, by the nomination of five Ephori, who were elected out of the people, whoſe office laſted only one year, and who had authority, not only over the ſenators, but the kings themſelves.

The power of the kings was extremely limited, eſpecially in the city, and in time of peace. In war they had the command of the fleets and armies, and at that time greater authority. (*d*) However, they had even then a kind of inſpectors and commiſſioners aſſigned them, who ſerved as a neceſſary council, and were generally choſen for that office, from their being out of favour with them, in order that there ſhould be no connivance on their ſide, and the republick be the better ſerved. There was almoſt continually ſome ſecret miſunderſtanding between the two kings; whether it proceeded from a natural jealouſy between the two branches, or was the effect of the Spartan policy, to which their too great union might have given umbrage.

The Ephori had a greater authority at Sparta, than the Tribunes of the Roman people. They preſided in the election of the magiſtrates, and could call them to an account for their adminiſtration. Their power extended even to the perſons of their kings, and of the

(*d*) Ariſt. de rep. l. ii. p. 331.

ARTAX. MNEMON. the princes of the blood royal, whom thay had a right to impriſon, which they actually uſed in regard to Pauſanias. When they ſat upon their ſeats in the tribunal, they did not riſe up when the kings entered, which was a mark of reſpect paid them by all the other magiſtrates, and ſeems to imply a kind of ſuperiority in the Ephori from their repreſenting the people; and it is obſerved of Ageſilaus (*e*), that when he was ſeated upon his throne to diſpenſe juſtice, and the Ephori came in, he never failed to riſe up to do them honour. It is very probable, that before him it was not uſual for the kings to behave in that manner, Plutarch relating this behaviour of Ageſilaus as peculiar to him.

All publick buſineſs was propoſed and examined in the ſenate, and reſolutions paſſed accordingly in the ſame place. But the decrees of the ſenate were not of force, unleſs ratified by the people.

There muſt have been exceeding wiſdom in the laws eſtabliſhed by Lycurgus for the government of Sparta, becauſe, as long as they were exactly obſerved, no commotions or ſeditions of the people were ever known in the city, no change in the form of government was ever propoſed, no private perſon uſurped authority by violence, or made himſelf tyrant; the people never thought of depriving the two families, in which it had always been, of the ſovereignty, nor did any of the kings ever attempt to aſſume more power than the laws admitted. (*f*) This reflection, which both Xenophon and Polybius make, ſhows the idea they had of the wiſdom of Lycurgus, in point of his policy, and the opinion we ought to have of it. In effect no other city of Greece had this advantage, and all of them experienced many changes and viciſſitudes, for want of the like laws to perpetuate their form of government.

The reaſon of this conſtancy and ſtability of the Lacedæmonians in their government and conduct is, that in Sparta the laws governed abſolutely, and with ſovereign

(*e*) Plut. in Ageſil. p. 597.
(*f*) Xenoph. in Ageſil. p. 651. Polyb. l. vi. p. 456.

ſovereign authority; whereas the greateſt part of the other Grecian cities, abandoned to the caprice of private men, to deſpotick power, to an arbitrary and irregular ſway experienced the truth of Plato's ſaying (*g*), That the city is miſerable, where the magiſtrates command the laws, and not the laws the magiſtrates.

The example of Argos and Meſſene, which I have already related, would alone ſuffice to ſhow how juſt and true that reflection is. (*h*) After their return from the Trojan war, the Greeks, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Dorians, eſtabliſhed themſelves in three cities of Peloponneſus, Lacedæmon, Argos, and Meſſene; and ſwore alliance, and protection of each other. Theſe three cities, governed alike by monarchical power, had the ſame advantages; except in the fertility of the lands where they were ſituated, in which the two latter carried it extremely. Argos and Meſſene however did not long preſerve their ſuperiority. The haughtineſs of the kings, and the diſobedience of the people, occaſioned their fall from the flouriſhing condition in which they had been at firſt; and their example proved, ſays Plutarch after Plato, that it was the peculiar favour of the gods, which gave the Spartans ſuch a man as Lycurgus, capable of preſcribing ſo wiſe and reaſonable a plan of government,

To ſupport it without change, particular care was taken to educate the youth according to the laws and manners of the country; in order that they might become a ſecond nature in them, by being early engrafted into them, and confirmed by long habitude. The hard and ſober manner, in which they were brought up, inſpired them during the reſt of their lives with a natural taſte for frugality and temperance, that diſtinguiſhed them from all other people, and wonderfully adapted them to ſupport the fatigues of war. (*i*) Plato obſerves, that this ſalutary cuſtom had baniſhed from Sparta, and all the territory in its dependence, drunkenneſs, debauchery, and all their conſequential diſorders;

(*g*) Plut. l. iv. de leg. p. 715. (*h*) Plat. l. iii. de leg. p. 683—685. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 43. (*i*) Plat. l. i. de leg. p. 637.

orders; inſomuch that it was a crime puniſhable by law to drink wine to exceſs even in the Bacchanalia, which every where elſe were days of licence, whereon whole cities gave themſelves up to the laſt exceſſes.

They alſo accuſtomed the children from their earlieſt infancy to an entire ſubmiſſion to the laws, magiſtrates, and all in authority; and * their education, properly ſpeaking, was no more than an apprenticeſhip of obedience. It was for this reaſon Ageſilaus adviſed Xenophon to ſend his children to Sparta, as to an excellent ſchool †, where they might learn the greateſt and moſt noble of all ſciences, *to obey and to command*, for the one naturally leads on to the other. It was not only the mean, the poor, and the ordinary citizens, who were ſubjected in this manner to the laws; but the rich, the powerful, the magiſtrates, and even kings; and they did not diſtinguiſh themſelves from the others in any thing but a more exact obedience; convinced that ſuch behaviour was the ſureſt means to their being obeyed and reſpected themſelves by their inferiors.

(*l*) Hence came the ſo much celebrated anſwers of Demaratus. Xerxes could not comprehend how the Lacedæmonians, who had no maſter to control them, ſhould be capable to confront dangers and death. "They are free and independent of all men," replied Demaratus, "but the law is above them and com-"mands them; and that law ordains that they muſt "conquer or die." (*m*) Upon another occaſion, when ſomebody expreſſed their ſurpriſe, that being king he ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be baniſhed: *It is*, ſays he, *becauſe at Sparta the laws are ſtronger than the kings.*

(*n*) This appears evidently in the ready obedience of Ageſilaus to the orders of the Ephori, when recalled by them to the ſupport of his country; a delicate occaſion for a king and a conqueror but to him it ſeemed more

Herod. l. vii. c. 145, 146. (*m*) Plut. in Apoph. Lacon. p. 220. (*n*) Idem, in Ageſil. p 603, 604.

* Ὥςε τὴν παιδείαν εἶναι μελέτην καλλιςον, ἄρχεσθαι ϗ ἄρχειν. Plut. in εὐπειθείας. Plat. in Lycurg. p. 58. Ageſil. p. 606.

† Μαθησομένους τῶν μαθημάτων τὸ

more * glorious to obey his country and the laws, than to command numerous armies, or even to conquer Aſia.

Sect. II. *Love of poverty inſtituted at Sparta.*

TO this entire ſubmiſſion to the laws of the ſtate, Lycurgus added another principle of government no leſs admirable, which was to remove from Sparta all luxury, profuſion, and magnificence; to decry riches abſolutely, to make poverty honourable, and at the ſame time neceſſary, by ſubſtituting a ſpecies of iron money to gold and ſilver coin, which till then had been current. I have explained elſewhere the meaſures that were uſed to make ſo difficult an undertaking ſucceed, and ſhall confine myſelf here to examining what judgement ſhould be paſſed on it, as it affects a government.

The poverty to which Lycurgus reduced Sparta, and which ſeemed to prohibit all conqueſt, and to deprive it of all means to augment its force and grandeur, was well adapted to rendering it powerful and flouriſhing. Such a conſtitution of government, which till then had no example, nor has ſince been imitated by any ſtate, argues a great fund of prudence and policy in a legiſlator; and the medium conceived afterwards under Lyſander, in continuing individuals in their poverty, and reſtoring to the publick the uſe of gold and ſilver coin, was it not a wiſe amendment of what was too ſtrained and exceſſive in that law of Lycurgus of which we are ſpeaking?

It ſeems, if we conſult only the common views of human prudence, that it is juſt to reaſon in this manner; but the event, which is an infallible evidence and arbiter in this place, obliges me to be of a quite different opinion. Whilſt Sparta remained poor, and perſiſted in the contempt of gold and ſilver, which continued for ſeveral ages, ſhe was powerful and glorious, and the commencement of her decline may be dated from

* Multo glorioſius duxit, ſi inſtitutis patriæ paruiſſet, quàm ſi bello ſuperaſſet Aſiam. *Corn. Nep. in Ageſil.* c. iv.

from the time when ſhe began to break through the ſevere prohibition of Lycurgus againſt the uſe of gold and ſilver money.

The education which he inſtituted for the young Lacedæmonians, the hard and ſober life which he recommended with ſo much care, the painful and violent exerciſes of the body preſcribed by him, the abſtraction from all other application and employment; in a word, all his laws and inſtitutions ſhow, that his view was to form a people of ſoldiers, ſolely devoted to arms and military functions. I do not pretend to juſtify abſolutely this ſcheme, which had its great inconveniencies, and I have expreſſed my thoughts of it elſewhere. But admitting it good, we muſt confeſs that legiſlator ſhowed great wiſdom in the means he took for its execution.

The almoſt inevitable danger of a people ſolely trained up for war, who have always their arms in their hands, and what is moſt to be feared, is injuſtice, violence, ambition, the deſire of increaſing their power, of taking advantage of their neighbours weakneſs, of oppreſſing them by force, of invading their lands under falſe pretexts, which the luſt of dominion never fails to ſuggeſt, and of extending their bounds as far as poſſible, all vices and extremes, which are horrid in private perſons, and the ordinary commerce of life, but which men have thought fit to applaud as grandeur and glory in the perſons of princes and conquerors.

The great care of Lycurgus was to defend his people againſt this dangerous temptation. Without mentioning the other means he made uſe of, he employed two which could not fail of producing their effect. The * firſt was to prohibit all navigation and war at ſea to his citizens. The ſituation of his city, and the fear leſt commerce, the uſual ſource of luxury and depravation, ſhould corrupt the purity of the Spartan manners, might have a ſhare in this decree. But his principal

* Ἀπεῖργε δὲ αὐτοὺς ταύτας εἶναι, καὶ ναυμαχεῖν. Plut. in inſtit. Lacon. p. 239.

principal motive was to put it out of his citizens power to project conqueſts, which a people, ſhut up within the narrow bounds of a peninſula, could not carry very far, without being maſters at ſea.

The ſecond means, ſtill more efficacious, was to forbid all uſe of gold or ſilver money, and to introduce a ſpecies of iron coin in its ſtead, which was of great weight and ſmall value, and could only be current at home. How with ſuch money ſhould foreign troops be raiſed and paid, fleets fitted out, and numerous armies kept up either by land or ſea?

So that the deſign of Lycurgus, in rendering his city warlike, and putting arms into their hands, was not, as (o) Polybius obſerves, and Plutarch after him, to make them illuſtrious conquerors, who might carry war into remote regions, and ſubject great numbers of people. His ſole end was, that, ſhut up within the extent of the lands and dominion left them by their anceſtors, they ſhould have no thoughts, but of maintaining themſelves in peace, and defending themſelves ſucceſsfully againſt ſuch of their neighbours as ſhould have the raſhneſs to invade them; and for this they had occaſion for neither gold nor ſilver, finding in their own country, and ſtill more in their ſober and temperate manner of life, all that was ſufficient for the ſupport of their armies, when they did not quit their own, or the lands of their neighbours.

Now, ſays Polybius, this plan once admitted, it muſt be allowed, that there is nothing more wiſe nor more happily conceived than the inſtitutions of Lycurgus, for the maintaining a people in the poſſeſſion of their liberty, and to ſecure to them the enjoyment of peace and tranquillity. In effect, let us imagine a little republick, like that of Sparta, of which all the citizens are inured to labour, accuſtomed to live on a little, warlike, courageous, intrepid; and that the fundamental principle of this ſmall republick, is to do no wrong to any one, nor to diſturb its neighbours, nor invade their lands or intereſts, but, on the contrary, to

(o) Polyb. l. vi. p. 491. Plut. in Lycurg. p. 59.

declare in favour of the oppreſſed againſt the injuſtice and violence of oppreſſors; is it not certain, that ſuch a republick, ſurrounded by a great number of ſtates of equal extent, would be generally reſpected by all the neighbouring people, would become the ſupreme arbiter of all their quarrels, and exerciſe an empire over them, by ſo much the more glorious and laſting, as it would be voluntary, and founded ſolely in the opinion thoſe neighbours would have of its virtue, juſtice, and valour?

(*p*) This was the end Lycurgus propoſed to himſelf. Convinced that the happineſs of a city, like that of a private perſon, depends upon virtue, and upon being well within itſelf, he regulated Sparta ſo as it might always ſuffice to its own happineſs, and act upon principles of wiſdom and equity. From thence aroſe that univerſal eſteem of the neighbouring people and even of ſtrangers for the Lacedæmonians, who aſked of them neither money, ſhips, nor troops; but only that they would lend them a Spartan to command their armies; and when they had obtained their requeſt, they paid him entire obedience, with every kind of honour and reſpect. In this manner the Sicilians obeyed Gylippus, the Chalcidians Braſidas, and all the Greeks of Aſia, Lyſander, Callicratidas, and Ageſilaus; * regarding the city of Sparta as a model for all others, in the arts of living and governing.

The epocha of the declenſion of Sparta begins with the open violation of Lycurgus's laws. I do not pretend that they had always been exactly obſerved till that time, which was far from the caſe; but the ſpirit and genius of thoſe laws had almoſt always prevailed with the majority of the perſons who governed. No ſooner had the ambition of reigning over all Greece inſpired them with the deſign of having naval armies, and foreign troops, and that money was neceſſary for the ſupport of thoſe forces, Sparta, forgetting her ancient

(*p*) Plut. p. 58.

* Πρὸς σύμπασαν τὴν τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν εἰσχήμονα βίαν καὶ τεταγμένην πολιτείαν ὥσπερ παιδαγωγὸν καὶ διδάσκαλον ἀποβλέποντες.

cient maxims, ſaw herſelf reduced to have recourſe to the Barbarians, which till then ſhe had deteſted, and baſely to make her court to the kings of Perſia, whom ſhe had formerly vanquiſhed with ſo much glory; and that only to draw from them ſome aids of money and troops againſt their own brethren, that is to ſay, againſt people born and ſettled in Greece like themſelves. Thus had they the imprudence and misfortune to recall with gold and ſilver into Sparta, all the vices and crimes which the iron money had baniſhed; and to prepare the way for the changes which enſued, and were the cauſe of their ruin. And this infinitely exalts the wiſdom of Lycurgus, in having foreſeen, at ſuch a diſtance, what might ſtrike at the happineſs of his citizens, and provided ſalutary remedies againſt it in the form of government he eſtabliſhed at Sparta. Another legiſlator, who had preceded him ſeveral ages, has a right to ſhare this glory with him.

Sect. III. *Laws eſtabliſhed by* Minos *in Crete the model of thoſe of Sparta.*

ALL the world knows that Lycurgus had formed the plan of moſt of his laws upon the model of thoſe obſerved in the iſland of Crete, where he paſſed a conſiderable time for the better ſtudying of them. It is proper I ſhould give ſome idea of them here, having forgot to do it in the place where it would have been more natural; that is, when I ſpoke for the firſt time of Lycurgus and his inſtitutions.

Minos, whom fable calls the ſon of Jupiter, was the author of theſe laws. He lived about an hundred years before the Trojan war. He was a powerful, wiſe, and gentle prince, and ſtill more eſtimable for his moral virtues than his military abilities. After having conquered the iſland of Crete, and ſeveral others in its neighbourhood, he applied himſelf to ſtrengthen by wiſe laws the new ſtate, of which he had poſſeſſed himſelf by the force of arms. (r) The end which he propoſed in the eſtabliſhment of theſe A. M. 2720. Ant. J. C. 128.

(r) Strab. l. x. p. 480.

laws, was to render his ſubjects happy by making them virtuous. He baniſhed idleneſs and voluptuouſneſs from his ſtates, and with them, luxury and vicious pleaſures, the fruitful ſources of all vice. Well knowing, that liberty was juſtly regarded as the moſt precious and greateſt good, and that it cannot ſubſiſt without a perfect union of the people, he endeavoured to eſtabliſh a kind of equality amongſt them; which is the tie and baſis of it, and very proper to remove all envy, jealouſy, hatred, and diſſenſion. He did not undertake to make any new diviſions of lands, nor to prohibit the uſe of gold and ſilver. He applied himſelf to the uniting of his ſubjects by other ties, which ſeemed to him neither leſs firm nor leſs reaſonable.

He decreed, that the children ſhould be all brought up and educated together by troops and bands; in order that they might learn early the ſame principles and maxims. Their life was hard and ſober. They were accuſtomed to be ſatisfied with little, to ſuffer heat and cold, to walk over ſteep and rugged places, to ſkirmiſh with each other in ſmall parties, to ſuffer courageouſly the blows they received, and to exerciſe themſelves in a kind of dance, in which they carried arms in their hands, and which was afterwards called the Pyrrhick; in order, ſays Strabo, that even to their diverſions, every thing might breathe, and form them for war. They were alſo made to learn certain airs of muſick, but of a manly, martial kind.

(*s*) They were not taught either to ride, or to wear heavy armour; but in return, they were made to excel in drawing the bow, which was their moſt uſual exerciſe. Crete is not a flat even country, nor fit for breeding of horſes, as is that of the Theſſalians, who paſſed for the beſt cavalry in Greece; but a rough, broken country, full of ſhelves and high lands, where heavy-armed troops could not exerciſe themſelves in the horſe-race. But as to archery and light-armed ſoldiers, fit to execute the devices and ſtratagems of war, the Cretans pretended to hold the foremoſt rank.

Minos

(*s*) Plat. de leg. l. i. p. 623.

Minos thought proper to eſtabliſh in Crete a community of tables and meals. Beſides ſeveral other great advantages which he found in this inſtitution, as the introducing a kind of equality in his dominions, the rich and poor having the ſame diet, the accuſtoming his ſubjects to a frugal and ſober life, the cementing friendſhip and unity between them by the uſual gaiety and familiarity of the table, he had alſo in view the cuſtom of war, in which the ſoldiers are obliged to eat together. (*t*) It was the publick that ſupplied the expences of theſe tables. Out of the revenues of the ſtate a part was applied to the uſes of religion, and the ſalaries of the magiſtrates, and the reſt allotted for the publick meals. So that the women, children, and men of all ages, were fed at the coſt, and in the name of the republick. In this Ariſtotle gives the preference to the meals of Crete before thoſe of Sparta, wherein private perſons were obliged to furniſh their proportion, and without it were not admitted into the aſſemblies; which was to exclude the poor.

(*u*) After eating, the old men diſcourſed upon the affairs of the ſtate. The converſation turned generally upon the hiſtory of the country, upon the actions and virtues of the great men of it, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves either by their valour in war, or their wiſdom in peace; and the youth, who were preſent at theſe entertainments, were exhorted to propoſe thoſe great perſons to themſelves as their models, for the forming of their manners, and the regulation of their conduct.

(*x*) Minos as well as Lycurgus, is reproached with having no other view in his laws than war; which is a very great fault in a legiſlator. It is true, this appears to have been his principal attention, becauſe he was convinced that the repoſe, liberty, and riches of his ſubjects were under the protection, and in a manner under the guard of arms and military knowledge; the conquered being deprived of all thoſe advantages

(*t*) Ariſt. de rep. l. ii. c. 10. (*u*) Athen. l. iv. p. 643.
(*x*) Plat. de leg. li. p. 626.

by the victor. But he ordained, that war ſhould be only made for the ſake of peace; and his laws are far from being confined to that ſole object.

Amongſt the Cretans, the cultivation of the mind was not entirely neglected, and care was taken to give the youth ſome tincture of learning. The works of (*y*) Homer, of much later date than the laws of Minos, were not unknown amongſt them, though they ſet ſmall value upon, and made little uſe of, foreign poets. (*z*) They were very curious in ſuch knowledge as is proper to form the manners; and, what is no ſmall praiſe, they piqued themſelves upon thinking much and ſpeaking little. (*a*) The poet Epimenides, who made a voyage to Athens in the time of Solon, and was in great eſtimation there, was of Crete, and by ſome placed in the number of the ſeven ſages.

One of Minos's inſtitutions, which Plato (*b*) admires the moſt, was to inſpire early into the youth an high reſpect for the maxims, cuſtoms, and laws of the ſtate, and not to ſuffer them to diſpute or call in queſtion the wiſdom of their inſtitution; but to conſider them not as preſcribed and impoſed by men, but as emanations of the divinity himſelf. Accordingly he had induſtriouſly appriſed the people, that Jupiter himſelf had dictated them to him. He had the ſame attention in regard to the magiſtrates and aged perſons, whom he recommended to honour in a peculiar manner; and in order that nothing might prevent the reſpect due to them, he ordained, that if any defects were obſerved in them, they ſhould never be mentioned in the preſence of the youth: A wiſe precaution, and which would be very becoming in the ordinary practice of life!

The government of Crete was at firſt monarchical, of which Minos has left a perfect model to all ages. According to him, as a moſt great and excellent * man obſerves, the king can do every thing over the people, but

(*y*) Plat. de leg. l. ii. p. 680. (*z*) Idem, l. i. p. 641. (*a*) Plut. in Solon. p. 84. (*b*) De leg. l. i. p. 634.

* *Monſieur de Fenelon, archbiſhop of Cambray.*

but the laws every thing over him. He has an abſolute power to do good, and his hands are tied up from doing evil. The laws intruſt the people in his hands as the moſt ſacred of depoſits, upon condition that he ſhall be their common father. The ſame laws require, that a ſingle man by his wiſdom and moderation ſhall conſtitute the felicity of an infinite number of ſubjects; and not that the ſubjects, by their miſery and abject ſlavery, ſhall be ſubſtituted to gratify the pride and low paſſions of a ſingle man. According to him, the king ought to be abroad the defender of his country at the head of armies, and at home the judge of his people, to render them good, wiſe, and happy. It is not for himſelf that the gods have made him king, and he is only ſo for the ſervice of his people. He owes them his whole time, care, and affection; and is worthy of the throne, only as he forgets, and devotes himſelf to the publick good. (*c*) Such is the idea Minos had of the ſovereignty, of which he was a living image in his own perſon, and which Heſiod has perfectly expreſſed in two words, by calling that prince, *the moſt royal of mortal kings*, βασιλεύτατον θνητῶν βασιλήων; that is to ſay, that he poſſeſſed in a ſupreme degree all royal virtues, and was a king in all things.

(*d*) It appears, that the authority of king was of no long duration, and that it gave place to a republican government, as Minos had intended. The ſenate, compoſed of thirty ſenators, formed the publick council. In that aſſembly the publik affairs were examined, and reſolutions taken; but they were of no force, till the people had given them their approbation, and confirmed them by their ſuffrages. The magiſtrates, to the number of ten, eſtabliſhed for maintaining good order in the ſtate, and therefore called * *Coſmi*, held the two other bodies of the ſtate in reſpect, and were the balance between them. In time of war the ſame perſons commanded the army. They were choſen by lot, but only out of certain families. Their office was

(*c*) Plat. in Min. p. 320. (*d*) Ariſt. de rep. l. ii. c. 10.

* κοσμοι, ordo.

for life, and they were not accountable to any for their adminiſtration. Out of this company the ſenators were elected.

The Cretans made the ſlaves and mercenaries cultivate their lands, who were obliged to pay them a certain annual ſum. They were called *Periæci*, apparently from their being people in the neighbourhood, whom Minos had ſubjected. As they inhabited an iſland, and conſequently a country ſeparate from all others, the Cretans had not ſo much to fear from theſe vaſſals as the Lacedæmonians from the Helots, who often joined the neighbouring people againſt them. (*e*) A cuſtom anciently eſtabliſhed in Crete, from whence it was adopted by the Romans, gives us reaſon to believe, that the vaſſals who manured the lands, were treated with great goodneſs and favour. In the feaſts of Mercury, the maſters waited on their ſlaves at table, and did them the ſame offices as they received from them the reſt of the year; precious remains and traces of the primitive world, in which all men were equal, that ſeemed to inform the maſters, that their ſervants were of the ſame condition with themſelves, and that to treat them with cruelty or pride, was to renounce humanity.

(*f*) As a prince cannot do every thing alone, and is obliged to aſſociate co-operators with himſelf, for whoſe conduct he is accountable, Minos charged his brother Rhadamanthus with a ſhare in the adminiſtration of juſtice in the capital city; which is the moſt eſſential and indiſpenſible function of ſovereignty. He knew his probity, diſintereſtedneſs, ability, and conſtancy, and had taken pains to form him for ſo important an office. Another miniſter had the care of the reſt of the cities, who made a circuit three times a year, to examine whether the laws eſtabliſhed by the prince were duely obſerved, and the inferior magiſtrates and officers religiouſly acquitted themſelves of their duty.

Crete,

(*e*) Athen. l. xiv. p. 639. (*f*) Plat. in Min. p. 320.

Crete, under ſo wiſe a government, changed its aſpect entirely, and ſeemed to have become the abode of virtue, probity, and juſtice; as we may judge, from what fable tells us of the honour Jupiter did theſe three brothers, in making them the judges of the other world; for every body knows, that fable is founded upon real hiſtory, though diſguiſed under agreeable emblems and allegories, adapted to recommend truth by the ornaments of fancy.

(g) It was, according to fabulous tradition, a law eſtabliſhed from all times, that men in departing out of this life ſhould be judged, in order to their receiving the reward or puniſhment due to their good or evil actions. In the reign of Saturn, and in the firſt years of that of Jupiter, this judgement was pronounced at the inſtant preceding death, which left room for very flagrant injuſtices. Princes, who had been cruel and tyrannical, appearing before their judges in all the pomp and ſplendour of their power, and producing witneſſes to depoſe in their favour; becauſe, as they were ſtill alive, they dreaded their anger; the judges, dazzled with this vain ſhow, and deceived by ſuch falſe evidence, declared theſe princes innocent, and diſmiſſed them with permiſſion to enter into the happy abodes of the juſt. The ſame may be ſaid in regard to the rich; but for the poor and helpleſs, calumny and malice purſued them even to this laſt tribunal, and found means to have them doomed for ever as criminals.

Fable adds, that, upon reiterated complaints and warm remonſtrances made to Jupiter upon this account, he changed the form of theſe trials. The time for them was fixed to be the very moment after death. Rhadamanthus and Æacus, both ſons of Jove, were appointed judges; the firſt for the Aſiaticks, the other for the Europeans; and Minos over them to decide ſupremely in caſes of doubt and obſcurity. Their tribunal is ſituated in a place called *The Field of Truth*, becauſe neither falſehood nor calumny can approach it. The greateſt prince muſt appear there, as ſoon as he has

(g) Plat. in Gorg. p. 523—526. In Axioch. p. 371.

has reſigned his laſt breath, deprived of all his grandeur, reduced to his naked ſelf without defence or protection, ſilent and trembling for his own doom, after having made the whole world tremble for theirs. If he be found guilty of crimes, which are of a nature to be expiated, he is confined in Tartarus for a certain time only, and with aſſurance of being releaſed, as ſoon as he ſhall be ſufficiently purified. But if his crimes are unpardonable, ſuch as injuſtice, perjury, and the oppreſſion of his people, he is caſt into the ſame Tartarus, there to ſuffer eternal miſeries. The juſt, on the contrary, of whatſoever condition they are, are conducted into the bleſſed abodes of peace and joy, to partake of a felicity which ſhall have no end.

Who does not ſee that the poets, under the cover of theſe fictions, ingenious indeed, but little to the honour of the gods, intended to give us the model of an accompliſhed prince, whoſe firſt care is to render juſtice to his people; and to image the extraordinary happineſs Crete enjoyed under the wiſe government of Minos? This happineſs did not expire with him. (*b*) The laws he eſtabliſhed, ſubſiſted in all their vigour even in Plato's time; that is to ſay, more than nine hundred years after. (*i*) And they were conſidered as the effect of his long * converſations for many years with Jupiter, who had condeſcended to become his teacher, to enter into a † familiarity with him as with a friend, and to form him in the great art of reigning with a ſecret complacency, as a favourite diſciple, and a tenderly-beloved ſon. It is in this manner Plato explains theſe words of Homer: (*k*) Διὸς μεγάλω ὀαριστής; the moſt exalted praiſe, according to him, that can be given to a mortal, and which that poet aſcribes only to Minos,

Notwith-

(*b*) Plat. in Min. p. 321. (*i*) Idem, p. 319. (*k*) Odyſſ. T. ver. 179.

* Et Jovis arcanis Minos admiſſus. *Horat.*

† *This poetical fiction is perhaps taken from the holy ſcriptures, which ſay of Moſes:* And the Lord ſpake unto Moſes face to face, as a man ſpeaketh unto his friend. *Exod.* xxxiii. 11.

Notwithſtanding ſo ſhining and ſolid a merit, the theatres of Athens reſounded with nothing ſo much as imprecations againſt the memory of Minos; and Socrates, in the dialogue of Plato I have already often cited, obſerves upon, and gives the reaſon for them: But firſt he makes a reflection well worthy of being weighed. "When either the praiſe or diſpraiſe of "great men is in queſtion, it is infinitely proper," ſays he, "to treat them with circumſpection and wiſdom; "becauſe upon that depends the idea men form to "themſelves of virtue and vice, and the diſtinction "they ought to make between the good and the bad. "For," adds he, "God conceives a juſt indignation, "when a perſon is blamed who reſembles himſelf; "and on the contrary another praiſed, who is the re- "verſe of him. We muſt not believe that nothing is "ſacred but braſs and marble; (he ſpeaks of the "ſtatues that were worſhipped:) The juſt man is the "moſt ſacred, and the wicked the moſt deteſtable, of "all beings in this world."

After this reflection, Socrates obſerves, that the ſource and cauſe of the Athenians hatred of Minos was the unjuſt and cruel tribute he impoſed upon them, in obliging them to ſend him, every nine years, ſeven young men and as many maids, to be devoured by the Minotaur; and he could not avoid reproaching that prince, with having drawn upon himſelf the abhorrence of a city like Athens abounding with learned men, and of having ſharpened the tongues of the poets againſt him, a dangerous and formidable race of men, from the poiſoned ſhafts they never fail to let fly againſt their enemies.

It appears from what I have repeated, that Plato imputes to Minos the impoſition of that cruel tribute. Apollodorus, Strabo, and Plutarch ſeem to be of the ſame opinion. * Monſieur the Abbé Banier alledges and proves, that they are miſtaken, and confound the firſt Minos, of whom we ſpeak, with a ſecond his grandſon, who reigned after him in Crete, and, to avenge

* Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſcrip. Tom. III.

avenge the death of his ſon Androgeus killed in Attica, declared war againſt the Athenians, and impoſed that tribute, to which Theſeus put an end by killing the Minotaur. It would indeed be difficult to reconcile ſo inhuman and barbarous a conduct with what all antiquity relates of the goodneſs, lenity, and equity of Minos, and with the magnificent praiſes it beſtows upon the polity and inſtitutions of Crete.

It is true the Cretans degenerated very much from their ancient reputation, which at length they abſolutely loſt by an entire change of their manners, becoming avaricious, and ſelf-intereſted to a degree of thinking that no gain was baſe, enemies of labour and regularity of life, profeſſed liars and knaves; ſo that to *Cretiſe* became a proverb amongſt the Greeks, implying to lie and to deceive. Every body knows that * St. Paul cites againſt them as truth the teſtimony of one of their ancient poets, (it is believed of Epimenides) who paints them in colours much to their diſhonour; but this change of manners, in whatever time it might arrive, does not at all affect the probity of the ancient Cretans, nor the glory of Minos their king.

(*l*) The moſt certain proof of that legiſlator's wiſdom, as Plato obſerves, is the ſolid and laſting happineſs, which was the effect of the ſole imitation of his laws by Sparta. Lycurgus had regulated the government of that city upon the plan and idea of that of Crete, and it ſubſiſted in an uniform manner for many ages, without experiencing the viciſſitudes and revolutions ſo common in all the other ſtates of Greece.

ARTICLE II.

Of the government of Athens.

THE government of Athens was neither ſo permanent nor ſo uniform as that of Sparta, but ſuffered various alterations, according to the diverſity of times and conjunctures. Athens, after having long been

(*l*) Plat. p. 320.

* Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί. *The Cretans are always liars, evil beaſts, ſlow bellies.* Titus. i. 12.

been governed by kings, and afterwards by archons, aſſumed entire liberty, which gave place however for ſome years to the tyrannick power of the Piſiſtratides, but was ſoon after re-eſtabliſhed, and ſubſiſted with ſplendour till the defeat in Sicily, and the taking of the city by the Lacedæmonians. Theſe ſubjected them to the Thirty Tyrants, whoſe authority was not of long duration, and gave place again to liberty, which continued amidſt various events during a long ſeries of years, till the Roman power had ſubdued Greece and reduced it into a province.

I ſhall conſider in this place only the popular government, and ſhall examine in particular five or ſix heads: The foundation of government according to Solon's eſtabliſhment, the different parts of which the republick conſiſted, the council or ſenate of the five hundred, the aſſemblies of the people, the different tribunals for the adminiſtration of juſtice, the revenues or finances of the republick. I ſhall be obliged to be more extenſive upon what regards the government of Athens, than I have been upon that of Sparta, becauſe the latter is almoſt ſufficiently known, from what has been ſaid of it in the life of Lycurgus (*m*).

Sect. I. *Foundation of the government of Athens according to* Solon's *plan.*

(*n*) SOLON was not the firſt who eſtabliſhed the popular government at Athens. Theſeus long before him had traced out the plan, and began the execution of it. After having united the twelve towns into one city, he divided the inhabitants into three bodies; that of the nobility, to whom the ſuperintendence in religious affairs and all offices were confided; the labourers or huſbandmen; and the artiſans. He had propoſed the eſtabliſhment of a kind of equality between the three orders. For if the nobles were conſiderable by their honours and dignities, the huſbandmen had the advantage of their utility to the publick, and the neceſſity there was for their labours; and the artiſans had

(*m*) Vol. II. (*n*) Plut. in Theſ. p. 10, 11.

had the ſuperiority to both the other bodies in their number. Athens, to ſpeak properly, did not become a popular ſtate, till the eſtabliſhment of the nine Archons, whoſe authority continued only for one year, whereas before it was for ten; and it was not till many years after, that Solon, by the wiſdom of his laws, inſtituted and confirmed this form of government.

(*o*) Solon's great principle was to eſtabliſh as much as poſſible a kind of equality amongſt his citizens, which he regarded with reaſon as the foundation and eſſential point of liberty. He reſolved therefore to leave the publick employments in the hands of the rich, as they had been till then, but to give the poor alſo ſome ſhare in the government, from which they were excluded. For this reaſon he made an eſtimation of what each individual was worth. Thoſe who were found to have an annual revenue of five hundred meaſures, as well in grain as liquid things, were placed in the firſt claſs, and called the *Pentacoſiomedimni*, that is, thoſe who had a revenue of five hundred meaſures. The ſecond claſs was compoſed of ſuch as had three hundred, and could maintain a horſe for war; theſe were called *horſemen* or *knights*. Thoſe who had only two hundred, were in the third claſs, and were called * *Zugitæ*. Out of theſe three claſſes only the magiſtrates and commanders were choſen. All the other citizens, who were below theſe three claſſes, and had leſs revenues, were compriſed under the name of *Theti*, hirelings, or workmen labouring with their hands. Solon did not permit them to hold any office, and granted them only the right of giving their ſuffrages in the aſſemblies and tryals of the people, which at firſt ſeemed a very ſlight privilege, but at length was found to be a very great advantage, as will appear in the ſequel. I do not know whether Solon foreſaw it, but he uſed to ſay, (*p*) that the people were never more obedient

(*o*) Plut. in Solon. p. 87.

(*p*) Ibid. p. 110.

* *It is believed they were ſo called from their being ranked between the knights and the Theti; as in the gallies thoſe who rowed in the middle were termed Zugitæ; their place was between the Thalamitæ and Thranitæ.*

obedient and ſubmiſſive, than when they poſſeſſed neither too much nor too little liberty: Which comes very near Galba's expreſſion, (*q*) when to incline Piſo to treat the Roman people with goodneſs and lenity, he deſires him to remember, * that he was going to command men who were incapable of bearing either entire liberty, or abſolute ſubjection.

(*r*) The people of Athens, being become more haughty after their victories over the Perſians, pretended to have a right to ſhare in all the publick offices and the magiſtracy; and Ariſtides, to prevent the diſorders which too tenacious oppoſition might have occaſioned, thought proper to give way to them in this point. (*s*) It appears however from a paſſage in Xenophon, that the people contented themſelves with the offices from whence ſome profit aroſe, and left thoſe, which related more particularly to the government of the ſtate, in the hands of the rich.

(*t*) The citizens of the three firſt claſſes paid every year a certain ſum of money, to be laid up in the publick treaſury; the firſt a † talent, the knights half a talent, and the Zugitæ ten ‡ minæ.

As the proportion of revenue determined the order of the claſſes, as their revenues augmented, the people were allowed to riſe to a ſuperior claſs.

If (*u*) Plutarch may be believed, Solon formed two councils, which were a kind of double limitation to fix and temper the aſſemblies of the people. The firſt was the Areopagus: But it was much more ancient than his inſtitutions, and he only reformed it, and gave it new luſtre by augmenting its power. The ſecond was the council of the Four hundred, that is, an hundred of each tribe; for Cecrops, the firſt king of the Athenians, had divided the people into four tribes. Cliſthenes long after him changed that order, and eſtabliſhed ten. It was in this council of the Four hundred, all affairs were

(*q*) Tacit. Hiſt. l. x. c. 16.
(*s*) Xenoph. de rep. Athen. p. 691.
(*u*) In Solon. p. 88.
(*r*) Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 332.
(*t*) Pollux. l. viii. c. 10.

* Imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam ſervitutem pati poſſunt, nec totam libertatem.

† *One thouſand French crowns.*
‡ *Five hundred livres.*

were conſidered before they were propoſed to the aſſembly of the people, as we ſhall ſoon explain.

I do not mention here another diviſion of the people into three parties or factions, which till the time of Piſiſtratus were a continual ſource of troubles and ſeditions. One of theſe three parties was formed out of thoſe who inhabited the high lands, and favoured popular government; the other out of thoſe who lived in the plains, and they were for oligarchy; and the third out of the people upon the coaſt, and theſe held the mean between both.

It is neceſſary for the better underſtanding what we have now ſaid, to enter into a more particular account of the Athenian people.

SECT. II. *Of the inhabitants of Athens.*

A M. 3690. Ant. J. C. 314.

(x) THERE were three ſorts of inhabitants of Athens: Citizens, ſtrangers, and ſervants. In the account taken by Demetrius Phalereus in the cxvith Olympiad, their number amounted to twenty-one thouſand citizens, ten thouſand ſtrangers, and * forty thouſand ſervants. The number of citizens was almoſt the ſame in the time of Cecrops, and leſs under Pericles.

1. *Of the citizens.*

A citizen could only be ſuch by birth or adoption. To be a natural denizen of Athens, it was neceſſary to be born of a father and mother both free, and Athenians. (y) We have ſeen that Pericles reſtored this law to all its force, which had not been exactly obſerved, and which he himſelf ſome ſmall time after infringed. The people could confer the freedom of the city upon ſtrangers; and thoſe, whom they had ſo adopted, enjoyed almoſt the ſame rights and privileges as the natural citizens. The quality of citizen of Athens was ſometimes granted in honour and gratitude to thoſe who had rendered great ſervices to the ſtate; as

(x) Athen. l. vi. p. 272. (y) Vol. 3.

* *The text ſays,* μυριαδας τετταρακοντα, four hundred thouſand, *which is a manifeſt error.*

as to Hippocrates; and even kings have ſometimes canvaſſed that title for themſelves and their children. Evagoras, king of Cyprus, thought it much to his honour.

When the young men attained the age of twenty, they were inrolled upon the liſt of citizens, after having taken an oath; and it was only in virtue of that publick and ſolemn act, that they became members of the ſtate. The form of this oath is exceedingly remarkable, which Stobæus and (z) Pollux have preſerved in the following words: "I will never diſhonour the profeſſion of arms, nor ſave my life by a "ſhameful flight. I will fight to my laſt breath for "the religion and civil intereſts of the ſtate in concert "with the other citizens; and alone if occaſion be. "I will not bring my country into a worſe condition "than I found it, but will uſe my utmoſt endeavours "to make it more happy and flouriſhing. I will al"ways ſubmit myſelf to the laws and magiſtrates, "and to all that ſhall be ordained by the common "conſent of the people. If any one ſhall violate, "or make void the laws, I will not diſguiſe or con"ceal ſuch an attempt, but will oppoſe it either alone "or in conjunction with my fellow-citizens; and I "will conſtantly adhere to the religion of my fore"fathers. To all which I call to witneſs Agraulis, "Enyalus, Mars, and Jupiter." I leave the reader to his own reflexions upon this auguſt ceremony, well adapted to inſpire the love of their country into the hearts of the young citizens.

The whole people at firſt had been divided into four tribes, and afterwards into ten. Each tribe was ſubdivided into ſeveral parts, which were called Δῆμοι, *Pagi*. It was by theſe two titles the citizens were deſcribed in the publick acts. *Melitus, è tribu Cecropide, è pago Pitthenſi.*

2. *Of the ſtrangers.*

I call thoſe by that name, who being of a foreign country, came to ſettle at Athens, or in Attica, whether

(z) Pollux, l. viii. c. 9.

whether for the ſake of commerce, or the exerciſing any trade. They were termed μέτοικοι, *inquilini*. They had no ſhare in the government, nor votes in the aſſembly of the people, and could not be admitted into any office. They put themſelves under the protection of ſome citizen, as we find from a paſſage of * Terence, and upon that account were obliged to render him certain duties and ſervices, as the clients did at Rome to their patrons. They were held to obſerve all the laws of the republick, and to conform entirely to all its cuſtoms. They paid a yearly tribute to the ſtate of twelve † drachmas, and in default of payment were made ſlaves, and expoſed to ſale. (*a*) Xenocrates, the celebrated, but poor, philoſopher, was very near experiencing this misfortune, and was carried to priſon; but Lycurgus, the orator, having paid the tax, releaſed him from the farmers of the publick revenues; a kind of men who in all times have been very little ſenſible to merit, with the exception of an exceeding few of their number. That philoſopher, meeting ſome time after the ſons of his deliverer, told them, *I pay your father the favour he has done me with uſury, for all the world praiſes him upon my account.*

3. *Of the ſervants.*

There were two kinds of them. The one, who were free, and not able to get their bread by their work, were obliged by the bad ſtate of their affairs to go into ſervice, and their condition was eaſy, and not laborious. The ſervice of the other was forced and unavoidable; theſe were ſlaves, who had either been taken priſoners in war, or bought of ſuch as trafficked publickly in them. Part of their maſters eſtate conſiſted in them, who diſpoſed abſolutely of them, but generally treated them with great humanity. (*b*) Demoſthenes obſerves, in one of his harangues, that the condition

(*a*) Plut. in Flamin. p. 375. (*b*) Philip. 3.

* Thais patri ſe commendavit dit ſeſe. *Eunuch.* Act v. Scen. ult.

in clientelam & fidem: Nobis de-

† *Six livres.*

dition of ſervants was infinitely more gentle at Athens than any where elſe. There was in that city an aſylum and place of refuge for ſlaves, where the bones of Theſeus had been interred, and that aſylum ſubſiſted in Plutarch's time. How glorious was it for Theſeus, that his tomb ſhould do that twelve hundred years after his death, which he had done himſelf during his life, and continue the protector of the oppreſſed as he had been!

(*c*) When the ſlaves were treated with too much rigour and inhumanity, they had their action againſt their maſters, who were obliged to ſell them to others, if the fact were ſufficiently proved. (*d*) They could ranſom themſelves even againſt their maſters conſent, when they had laid up money enough for that purpoſe. For out of what they got by their labour, after having paid a certain proportion to their maſters, they kept the remainder for themſelves, and made a ſtock of it at their own diſpoſal. Private perſons, when they were ſatisfied with their ſervices, often gave theſe ſlaves their liberty; and the ſame grace was always granted them by the publick, when the neceſſity of the times obliged the ſtate to arm and liſt them for the war amongſt the citizens.

The humane and equitable uſage, with which the Athenians treated their ſervants and ſlaves, was an effect of the good temper natural to that people, and very remote from the auſtere and cruel ſeverity of the Lacedæmonians in regard to their Helots, which often brought their republick to the very brink of deſtruction. (*e*) Plutarch, with great reaſon, condemns this rigour. He thinks it proper to habituate one's ſelf always to mercy, even with regard to beaſts, were it only, ſays he, to learn by that means to treat men well, and for the ſake of habituating humanity and benevolence. He relates upon this occaſion a very ſingular fact, and very proper to explain the character of the Athenians. After having finiſhed the temple called *Hecatonpedon*, they

(*c*) Plut. de ſuperſtit. p. 166. (*d*) Plaut. in Caſin. (*e*) Plut. in Catone, p. 338, 339.

they ſet all the beaſts of burthen at liberty, that had been employed in the work, and aſſigned them fat paſturages as conſecrated animals. And it was ſaid, that one of theſe beaſts having come to offer itſelf at the work, and put itſelf at the head of thoſe that drew the carriages to the citadel, walking foremoſt as if to exhort and encourage them, the Athenians ordained by a decree, that the creature ſhould be maintained at the publick expence till its death.

SECT. VI. *Of the Council or Senate of Five Hundred.*

IN conſequence of Solon's inſtitutions, the people of Athens had a great ſhare and authority in the government. Appeals might be brought to their tribunal in all cauſes; they had a right to cancel the old laws, and eſtabliſh new ones; in a word, all important affairs, whether relating to war or peace, were decided in their aſſemblies. In order to their determinations being made with more wiſdom and maturity, Solon had inſtituted a council, compoſed of four hundred ſenators, an hundred out of each tribe, which were then four in number; they prepared and digeſted the affairs which were to be laid before the people, as we ſhall ſoon explain more at large. Cliſthenes, about an hundred years after Solon, having increaſed the number of tribes to ten, augmented alſo that of the ſenators to five hundred; each tribe ſupplying fifty. This was called the council, or ſenate, of the Five Hundred. They received their ſtipend out of the publick treaſury.

They were choſen by lot, in which they made uſe of black and white beans, which were mingled and ſhaken in an urn, and each tribe gave in the names of thoſe who aſpired to that truſt, and had the revenue aſſigned by the laws to qualify them for it. None could be admitted under the age of thirty. After enquiry made into the manners and conduct of the candidate, he was made to take an oath, whereby he engaged to give at all times the beſt counſel he could to the

the people of Athens, and never to depart in the leaſt from the tenor of the laws.

This ſenate aſſembled every day, except upon the days appointed for feſtivals. Each tribe in its turn furniſhed thoſe who were to preſide in it, called * *Prytanes*, and this rank was decided by lot. This preſidency continued thirty-five days, which being reckoned ten times, amounts to the number of days, except four, of the lunar year followed at Athens. This time of the preſidency, or prytaniſm, was divided into five weeks with regard to the five tens of the *Prytanes*, who were to preſide in them, and every week ſeven of theſe ten Prytanes drawn by lot preſided, each their day, and were denominated Προεδροι, that is to ſay, *Preſidents*. He, † who was ſo for the day, preſided in the aſſembly of the ſenators and in that of the people. He was charged with the publick ſeal, as alſo with the keys of the citadel and treaſury.

The ſenators, before they aſſembled, offered a ſacrifice to Jupiter and Minerva, under the additional appellation of *goddeſs of good counſel* ‡, to demand the prudence and underſtanding neceſſary in wiſe deliberations. The preſident propoſed the buſineſs, which was to be conſidered in the aſſembly. Every one gave his opinion in his turn, and always ſtanding. After a queſtion had been ſettled, it was drawn up in writing, and read with a loud voice. Each ſenator then gave his vote by ſcrutiny, in putting a bean into the urn. If the number of the white beans carried it, the queſtion paſſed, otherwiſe it was rejected. This ſort of decree was called Ψήφισμα, or Προβούλευμα, as much as to ſay preparatory reſolution. It was afterwards laid before the aſſembly of the people, where, if it was received and approved, it had the force of a law; if not, its authority ſubſiſted only one year. This ſhows with what wiſdom Solon eſtabliſhed this council, to inform and direct the people, to fix their inconſtancy, to prevent their temerity, and to aſſiſt their deliberations with a prudence and maturity not to be ex-

* Πρυτάνεις. † *He was called* Ἐπιστάτης. ‡ Βουλαίᾳ, βούλαια.

pected in a confuſed and tumultuous aſſembly, compoſed of a great number of citizens, moſt of them without education, capacity, or much zeal for the publick good. The reciprocal dependency, and natural intercourſe of the two bodies of the ſtate, which were obliged to lend each other their authority, and remained equally without force when without union and a good underſtanding, were beſides a method judiciouſly contrived for ſupporting a wiſe balance between the two bodies; the people not being able to inſtitute any thing without its being firſt propoſed and approved by the ſenate, nor the ſenate to paſs any decree into a law till it had been ratified by the people.

We may judge of the importance of this council by the matters which were treated in it; the ſame, without any exception, as were laid before the people; wars, taxes, maritime affairs, treaties of peace, alliances, in a word, whatever related to government; without mentioning the account which they obliged the magiſtrates to give on quitting their offices, and their frequent deciſions and judgements upon the moſt ſerious and important affairs.

Sect. IV. *Of the Areopagus.*

THIS council took its name from the place where it aſſembled, called * *the quarter*, or *hill of Mars*, becauſe, according to ſome, Mars had been cited thither in judgement for a murther committed by him. It was believed to be as ancient as the nation. Cicero and Plutarch attribute the inſtitution of it to Solon; but he only re-eſtabliſhed it, by giving it more luſtre and authority than it had had till then, and for that reaſon was looked upon as its founder. The number of the ſenators of the Areopagus was not fixed; at certain times they amounted to two or three hundred. Solon thought proper, that only thoſe who had borne the office of archon ſhould be honoured with that dignity.

This ſenate had the care of ſeeing the laws duly obſerved, of inſpecting the manners of the people, and eſpecially

* Ἄρειος πάγος.

eſpecially of judging in criminal caſes. They held their ſittings in an open place, and during the night. The former very probably to avoid being under the ſame roof with the criminals, and not to defile themſelves by ſuch a commerce with them; the latter, that they might not be ſoftened by the ſight of the guilty, and might judge according to juſtice and the laws. It was for the ſame reaſon, the orators were not permitted to uſe their exordium or peroration, nor allowed to excite the paſſions, and were obliged to confine themſelves ſolely to the ſubject matter of their cauſe. The ſeverity of their judgements was exceedingly dreaded, particularly in regard to murther, and they were highly attentive to inſpire their citizens with horrour for that crime. They * condemned a child to be put to death for making it his paſtime to put out the eyes of quails; conceiving this ſanguinary inclination, as the mark of a very wicked diſpoſition, which might one day prove fatal to many, if he were ſuffered to grow up with impunity.

The affairs of religion, as blaſphemies againſt the gods, contempt of ſacred myſteries, different ſpecies of impiety, and the introduction of new ceremonies and new divinities, were alſo brought before this tribunal. (*u*) We read in Juſtin Martyr, that Plato, who in his travels in Egypt had acquired great lights concerning the unity of God, when he returned to Athens, took great care to diſſemble and conceal his ſentiments, for fear of being obliged to appear and give an account of them before the Areopagitæ; and we know that St. Paul was traduced before them, as teaching a new doctrine (*x*), and endeavouring to introduce new gods.

Theſe judges were in great reputation for their probity, equity, and prudence, and generally reſpected. Cicero, in writing to his friend Atticus, upon the fortitude, conſtancy, and wiſe ſeverity of the Roman ſe-

(*u*) Cohort. ad Græc.

* Nec mihi videntur Areopagitæ, cùm damnaverunt puerum oculos coturnicum eruentem, aliud judicaſſe, quàm id ſignum eſſe perniciosiſſimæ mentis, multiſque malo futuræ ſi adoleviſſet. *Quintil.* l. v. c. 9.

(*x*) Acts xvii. 18—20.

nate, thinks he makes a great encomium upon it, in comparing it with the Areopagus. (y) *Senatus*, Ἀρειοπάγος, *nil conſtantius, nil ſeverius, nil fortius.* Cicero muſt have conceived a very advantageous idea of it, to ſpeak of it as he does in the firſt book of his Offices. * He compares the famous battle of Salamin, in which Themiſtocles had ſo great a part, with the eſtabliſhment of the Areopagus, that he aſcribes to Solon; and makes no ſcruple to prefer, or at leaſt to equal, the legiſlator's ſervice to that for which Athens was obliged to the general of its army. "For in reality," ſays he, "that victory was uſeful to the republick only for once, "but the Areopagus will be ſo throughout all ages; as "by the wiſdom of that tribunal, the laws and ancient "cuſtoms of the Athenian ſtate are preſerved. Themiſtocles did no ſervice to the Areopagus, but the "Areopagus abundantly contributed to the victory of "Themiſtocles; becauſe the republick was at that time "directed by the wiſe counſels of that auguſt ſenate."

It appears from this paſſage of Cicero's, that the Areopagus had a great ſhare in the government, and I do not doubt but it was conſulted upon important affairs. Cicero here perhaps may have confounded the council of the Areopagus with that of the Five Hundred. It is certain, however, that the Areopagitæ were extremely active in the publick affairs.

Pericles, who could never enter the Areopagus, becauſe chance having always been againſt him, he had not paſſed through any of the employments neceſſary to his admiſſion, attempted to weaken its authority, and attained his point: Which is a great blot in his reputation.

(y) Ad Attic. l. i. Ep. 13.

* Quamvis Themiſtocles jure laudetur, et ſit ejus nomen, quàm Solonis, illuſtrius, citeturque Salamis clariſſimæ teſtis victoriæ, quæ anteponatur conſilio Solonis ei, quo primùm conſtituit Areopagitas: non minùs præclarum hoc, quàm illud, judicandum eſt. Illud enim ſemel profuit, hoc ſemper proderit civitati: hoc conſilio leges Athenienſium, hoc majorum inſtituta ſervantur. Et Themiſtocles quidem nihil dixerit, in quo ipſe Areopagum juverit: at ille adjuvit Themiſtoclem. Eſt enim bellum geſtum conſilio Senatus ejus, qui à Solone erat conſtitutus, *Offic.* l. i. n. 75.

SECT.

Sect. V. *Of the Magiſtrates.*

OF theſe a great number were eſtabliſhed for different functions. I ſhall ſpeak only of the Archons, who are the moſt known. I have obſerved elſewhere that they ſucceeded the kings, and that their authority at firſt continued during life. It was at length limited to ten years, and reduced at laſt only to one. When Solon was commiſſioned to reform the government, he found them upon this foot, and to the number of nine. He did not aboliſh their office, but he very much diminiſhed their power.

The firſt of theſe nine magiſtrates was called THE ARCHON, by way of eminence, and the year denominated from him: * *Under ſuch an Archon ſuch a battle was fought.* The ſecond was called THE KING, which was the remains and footſteps of the authority to which they had ſucceeded. The third was THE POLEMARCH, who at firſt commanded the armies, and always retained that name, though he had not the ſame authority, of which he had ſo long preſerved ſome part. For we have ſeen, in ſpeaking of the battle of Marathon, that the polemarch had a right to vote in the council of war, as well as the ten generals then in command. The ſix other archons were called by the common name, THESMOTHETÆ, which implies that they had a particular ſuperintendance over the laws, in order to their being duely obſerved. Theſe nine archons had each of them a peculiar province, and were judges in certain affairs allotted to their cognizance. I do not think it neceſſary to enter into the particulars of their duty, nor into thoſe of many other employments and offices, eſtabliſhed for the adminiſtration of juſtice, for the levying of taxes and tributes, for the preſervation of good order in the city, for ſupplying it with proviſions, in a word, for every thing relating to commerce and civil ſociety.

* *From thence he was alſo called* Ἐπώνυμος.

SECT.

Sect. VI. *Of the aſſemblies of the people.*

THESE were of two ſorts, the one ordinary and fixed to certain days, and for theſe there was no kind of ſummons; the other extraordinary, according to the different occaſions that aroſe, and the people were informed of it by expreſs proclamation.

The place for the aſſembly was not fixed. Sometimes it was the publick market-place, ſometimes a part of the city near the citadel, called Πνὺξ, and ſometimes the theatre of Bacchus.

The Prytanes generally aſſembled the people. Some days before the aſſembly papers were fixed up, wherein the buſineſs to be conſidered was ſet down.

All the citizens, poor as well as rich, had a right to give their ſuffrages. They were liable to a penalty, who failed of being preſent at the aſſembly, or who came too late; and to induce their punctual attendance, a reward was annexed to it, at firſt of an obolus, which was the ſixth part of a drachma, then of three oboli, which made about five pence French.

The aſſembly always began with ſacrifices and prayers, in order for the obtaining from the gods the knowledge and underſtanding neceſſary to wiſe deliberations, and they never failed to add the moſt terrible imprecations againſt ſuch as ſhould wilfully adviſe any thing contrary to the publick good.

The preſident propoſed the affair upon which they were to deliberate. If it had been examined in the ſenate, and drawn up there as a queſtion, it was read; after which thoſe who would ſpeak were invited to aſcend the tribunal, that they might be the better heard by the people, and inform them in the matter propoſed. The oldeſt general ſpoke firſt, and then the reſt according to their ſeniority: When the orators had done ſpeaking, and concluded that it was neceſſary to approve or reject the decree of the ſenate, the people proceeded to vote, and the moſt common method of doing it was by holding up their hands, to denote their approbation; which was called χειροτονεῖν. The

aſſembly was ſometimes adjourned till another day, becauſe it was too late for the number of thoſe who lifted up their hands to be diſtinguiſhed, and the plurality decided. After a reſolution had been formed in this manner it was reduced to writing, and read by an officer to the people with a loud voice, who confirmed it again by holding up their hands as before; after which the decree had the force of a law. And this was called ψήφισμα, from the Greek word ψῆφος, which ſignifies *a pebble* or *ſmall ſtone*, becauſe they were ſometimes uſed in giving ſuffrages by ſcrutiny.

All the great affairs of the republick were diſcuſſed in theſe aſſemblies. It was in them new laws were propoſed and old ones amended; the religion and worſhip of the gods examined; magiſtrates, generals, and officers created; their behaviour and conduct enquired into; peace or war concluded; deputies and ambaſſadors appointed; treaties and alliances ratified; freedom of the city granted; rewards and honours decreed for thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in war, or rendered great ſervices to the republick; and puniſhments ordained for thoſe who had behaved themſelves ill, or had violated the laws of the ſtate, and were baniſhed by oſtraciſm. In fine, juſtice was adminiſtred, and judgement paſſed there, upon the moſt important affairs. We ſee from this account, which is however very imperfect, how far the people's power extended; and with what truth it may be ſaid, that the government of Athens, though qualified with ariſtocracy, and the authority of the elders, was by its conſtitution democratical and popular.

I ſhall take occaſion to obſerve in the ſequel, of what weight the talent of eloquence is in ſuch a republick; and in what manner orators ought to be conſidered in it. It is not eaſy to conceive, how they could make themſelves heard in ſo numerous an aſſembly, and where ſuch a multitude of auditors were preſent. We may judge how great that was, from what has been ſaid of it in two inſtances. The firſt relates to oſtraciſm, and the other to the adoption of a ſtranger for a citizen.

a citizen. On each of theſe occaſions, it was neceſſary that no leſs than ſix thouſand citizens ſhould be preſent in the aſſembly.

I reſerve for another place the reflexions, which naturally ariſe from what I have already related, and what it remains for me to ſay further upon the government of Athens.

SECT. VII. *Of Tryals.*

THERE were different tribunals, according to the difference of the affairs to be adjudged, but appeals might be brought to the people from all decrees of other judges, and this it was that rendered their power ſo great and conſiderable. (z) All the allies, when they had any cauſe to try, were obliged to repair to Athens; where they often remained a conſiderable time, without being able to obtain audience, from the multiplicity of affairs to be adjudged. This law had been impoſed upon them, in order to render them more dependent upon the people, and more ſubmiſſive to their authority; inſtead of which, had they ſent commiſſioners to the places, they would have been the ſole perſons, to whom the allies would have made their court and paid their homage.

The parties pleaded their cauſes either in perſon, or employed advocates to do it for them. The time allowed for the hearing was generally fixed, and a water-clock, called in Greek κλεψύδρα, regulated its duration. The decree was paſſed by plurality of voices; and when the ſuffrages were equal, the judges inclined to the ſide of mercy, and acquitted the accuſed. It is remarkable that a friend was not obliged to give evidence againſt a friend.

All the citizens, even the pooreſt, and ſuch as had no eſtates, were admitted into the number of the judges, provided they had attained the age of thirty, and were known to be perſons of good morals. Whilſt they ſat in judgement, they held in their hands a kind of

(z) Xenoph. de Rep. Athen. p. 664.

of ſcepter, which was the mark of their dignity, and laid it down when they withdrew.

The judges ſalary was different at different times. They had at firſt only an obolus a day, and afterwards three, where their fee remained fixed. It was but a ſmall matter in itſelf, but became in time a very great charge to the publick, and exhauſted the treaſury without much enriching particulars. We may judge of this from what is related in Ariſtophanes's comedy of *The Waſps*, wherein that poet ridicules the paſſion of the Athenians for trying cauſes, and their eager deſire for the gain ariſing from it, which protracted and multiplied ſuits to infinity.

In this comedy a young Athenian, who was to act the part I have mentioned of turning the judges and tryals of Athens into ridicule, from a ſtate of the revenues paid into the publick treaſury, finds their amount to be two thouſand talents *. He then examines how much of that ſum falls to the ſhare of the judges, with whom Athens was over-run, at three oboli a head *per* day. This appears to be annually, including all of them, only an hundred and fifty talents †. The calculation is eaſy. The judges were paid only ten months in the year, the other two being employed in feſtivals, when all proceedings at law were prohibited. Now three oboli a day paid to ſix thouſand men, makes fifteen talents a month, and in conſequence one hundred and fifty in ten months. According to this calculation, the moſt aſſiduous judge gained only ſeventy-five livres (about three guineas) a year. "What then be-"comes of the remainder of the two thouſand talents?" cries the young Athenian. "What," replies his father, who was one of the judges, "it goes to thoſe——but "let us not expoſe the ſhame of Athens; let us always "be for the people." The young Athenian goes on to explain that the remainder went to ſuch as robbed the publick treaſury; to the orators, who inceſſantly flattered the people; and to thoſe who were employed in the government and army. I have extracted this remark

* *About* 280,000 l. *ſterling.* † *About* 7000 l. *ſterling.*

mark from the works of Father Brumoi the Jeſuit, with which I ſhall make very free, when I come to ſpeak of publick ſhows and dramatick repreſentations.

SECT. VIII. *Of the Amphictyons.*

THE famous council of the Amphictyons is introduced here, though not particular to the Athenians, but common to all Greece, becauſe it is often mentioned in the Grecian hiſtory, and I do not know whether I ſhall have a more natural occaſion to ſpeak of it.

The aſſembly of the Amphictyons was in a manner the holding of a general aſſembly of the ſtates of Greece. The eſtabliſhment of it is attributed to Amphictyon, king of Athens and ſon of Deucalion, who gave them his name. His principal view in the inſtitution of this council, was to unite in the ſacred band of amity the ſeveral people of Greece admitted into it, and to oblige them by that union to undertake the defence of each other, and be mutually vigilant for the happineſs and tranquillity of their country. The Amphictyons were alſo created to be the protectors of the oracle of Delphos, and the guardians of the prodigious riches of that temple; and alſo to adjudge the differences which might ariſe between the Delphians, and thoſe who came to conſult the oracle. This council was held at Thermopylæ, and ſometimes at Delphos itſelf. It aſſembled regularly twice a year, in the ſpring and autumn, and more frequently when affairs required.

The number of people of cities which had a right to ſit in this aſſembly is not preciſely known, and varied, without doubt, at different times. When the Lacedæmonians, in order to paſs in it what decrees they thought fit, were for excluding the Theſſalians, Argives, and Thebans; (*a*) Themiſtocles, in the ſpeech he made to the Amphictyons to prevent that deſign from taking effect, ſeems to inſinuate, that there were only

(*a*) Plut. in Themiſt. p. 122.

only one-and-thirty cities at that time which had this right.

Each city ſent two deputies, and in conſequence had two votes in the council; and that without diſtinction, or the more powerful having any prerogative of honour or pre-eminence over inferior ſtates in regard to the ſuffrages; the liberty upon which theſe people valued themſelves, requiring that every thing ſhould be equal amongſt them.

The Amphictyons had full power to diſcuſs and determine finally in all differences which might ariſe between the Amphictyonick cities, and to fine the culpable in ſuch manner as they thought fit. They could employ not only the rigour of the laws in the execution of their decrees, but even raiſe troops, if it were neceſſary, to compel ſuch as rebelled to ſubmit to them. The three ſacred wars undertaken by their order, of which I have ſpoken elſewhere, are an evident proof of this power.

Before they were inſtalled into this body, they took a very remarkable oath, of which * Æſchines has preſerved the form; it runs to this effect: "I ſwear that "I will never deſtroy any of the cities honoured with "the right of ſitting in the Amphictyonick council, nor "turn their running waters out of their courſe either "in times of war or peace: If any people ſhall make "ſuch an attempt, I hereby engage to carry the war "into their country, to demoliſh their cities, towns, "and villages, and to treat them in all things as the "moſt cruel enemies. Moreover, if at any time, any "perſon ſhall dare to be ſo impious to ſteal and take "away any of the rich offerings, preſerved in the temple of Apollo at Delphos, or abet any others in "committing that crime, either by aiding or only "counſelling him therein, I will uſe my feet, hands, "voice, in a word, all my powers and faculties, to "avenge ſuch ſacrilege." That oath was attended with the moſt terrible imprecations and execrations. "That if any one infringes any thing contained in "the

* Æſchin. in Orat. περὶ παραπρεσβείας.

" the oath I have now taken, whether private perſon, " city, or people, may that perſon, city, or people, " be deemed accurſed; and in that acceptation, ex- " perience the whole vengeance of Apollo, Latona, " Diana, and Minerva the fore-knower. May their " country produce none of the fruits of the earth, " and their women, inſtead of generating children " reſembling their fathers, bring forth nothing but " monſters; may their animals ſhare in the ſame " curſe. May thoſe ſacrilegious men loſe all ſuits at " law; may they be conquered in war, have their " houſes demoliſhed, and be themſelves and their " children put to the ſword." I am not aſtoniſhed, that after ſuch terrible engagements, the holy war, undertaken by the order of the Amphictyons, ſhould be carried on with ſo much ardour and fury. The religion of an oath was of great force with the ancients; and how much more regard ought to be had to it in the Chriſtian world, which profeſſes to believe, that the violation of it ſhall be puniſhed with eternal torments; and yet how many are there amongſt us, who make a trifle of breaking through the moſt ſolemn oaths?

The authority of the Amphictyons had always been of great weight in Greece, but it began to decline exceedingly from the moment they condeſcended to admit Philip of Macedon into their body. For that prince, enjoying by this means all their rights and privileges, ſoon knew how to ſet himſelf above all law, and to abuſe his power ſo far, as to preſide by proxy both in this illuſtrious aſſembly, and in the Pythian games; of which games the Amphictyons were judges and Agonothetæ in virtue of their office. This Demoſthenes reproaches him with in his third Philippick; *When he does not deign*, ſays he, *to honour us with his preſence, he ſends* HIS SLAVES *to preſide over us.* An odious, but emphatical term, and in the ſpirit of the Grecian liberty, by which the Athenian orator images the baſe and abject ſubjection of the greateſt lords in Philip's court.

If

If the reader desires a further knowledge of what relates to the Amphictyons, the dissertations of Monsieur Valois (*a*) may be consulted, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Belles Lettres, wherein this subject is treated with great extent and erudition.

Sect. IX. *Of the revenues of Athens.*

THE revenues *, according to the passage of Aristophanes which I have cited above, and in consequence as they stood in the time of the Peloponnesian war, amounted to two thousand talents, that is to say, to six millions of livres. They were generally reduced to four species.

1. The first relates to the revenues arising from agriculture, the sale of woods, the produce of mines, and other funds of a like nature, appertaining to the publick. Amongst these may be included the duties upon the import and export of merchandise, and the taxes levied upon the inhabitants of the city, as well natives as strangers.

The history of Athens often mentions the silver mines of Laurium, which was a mountain situate between the Piræum and Cape Sunium; and those of Thrace, from whence many persons extracted immense riches. † Xenophon, in a treatise wherein he states this matter at large, demonstrates, how much the publick might gain by industriously working these mines, from the example of the many persons they had enriched. (*b*) Hipponicus lett his mines and six hundred slaves to an undertaker, who paid him an ‡ obolus a day for each slave, clear of all charges, which amounted in the whole to a mina, about two pounds five shillings. Nicias, who was killed in Sicily, farmed out his mines and a thousand slaves in the same manner, and with the same profit in proportion to that number.

2. The second species of revenue were the contributions paid the Athenians by the allies for the com-

(*a*) Vol. III.

(*b*) Pag. 925.

* Τέλη.

† De ration. redituum.

‡ *Six oboli made a drachma, one hundred drachmas a mina, and sixty minæ a talent.*

mon expences of the war. At firſt, under Ariſtides, they amounted to only four hundred and ſixty talents *. Pericles augmented them almoſt a third, and raiſed them to ſix hundred, and ſome time after they were run up to thirteen hundred. Taxes, which, in the beginning were moderate and neceſſary, became thus in a little time exceſſive and exorbitant, notwithſtanding all the proteſtations made the allies, and the moſt ſolemn engagements to the contrary.

3. A third ſort of revenue were the extraordinary capitation taxes, levied upon the inhabitants of the country, as well natives as ſtrangers, in preſſing occaſions and emergencies of the ſtate.

4. The fines laid upon perſons by the judges for different miſdemeanours, were applied to the uſes of the publick, and laid up in the treaſury; except the tenth part of them, which was conſecrated to Minerva, and a fiftieth to the other divinities.

The moſt natural and legal application of theſe different revenues of the republick, was in paying the troops both by ſea and land, building and fitting out fleets, keeping up and repairing the publick buildings, temples, walls, ports, and citadels. But the greateſt part of them, eſpecially after Pericles's time, was miſapplied to unneceſſary uſes, and often conſumed in frivolous expences; games, feaſts, and ſhows, which coſt immenſe ſums, and were of no manner of utility to the ſtate.

SECT. X. *Of the education of the youth.*

I Place this article under the head of government, becauſe all celebrated legiſlators have with reaſon believed, that the education of youth was an eſſential part of it.

The exerciſes that ſerved for the forming of either the bodies or minds of the young Athenians (and as much may be ſaid of almoſt all the people of Greece) were dancing, muſick, hunting, fencing, riding, polite learning, and philoſophy. It may be obſerved that I ſpeak

* *A talent was worth a thouſand crowns.*

ſpeak generally, and treat very ſlightly theſe ſeveral articles.

1. *Dancing. Muſick.*

Dancing is one of the exerciſes of the body, cultivated by the Greeks with great attention. It made a part of what the ancients called *the Gymnaſtick*, divided, according to * Plato, into two kinds, *the Orcheſtrick*, which takes its name from the dance, and *the Palæſtrick* †, ſo called from a Greek word which ſignifies *wreſtling*. The exerciſes of the latter kind principally conduced to form the body for the fatigues of war, navigation, agriculture, and the other uſes of ſociety.

Dancing had another end, and taught ſuch rules of motion as were moſt proper to render the ſhape free and eaſy; to give the body a juſt proportion, and the whole perſon an unconſtrained, noble, and graceful air; in a word, an external politeneſs, if we may be allowed to uſe that expreſſion, which never fails to prejudice people in favour of thoſe who have been formed to it early.

Muſick was cultivated with no leſs application and ſucceſs. The ancients aſcribed wonderful effects to it. They believed it very proper to calm the paſſions, ſoften the manners, and even humaniſe people naturally ſavage and barbarous. (*c*) Polybius, a grave and ſerious hiſtorian, and who is certainly worthy of belief, attributes the extreme difference between two people of Arcadia, the one infinitely beloved and eſteemed for the elegance of their manners, their benevolent inclinations, humanity to ſtrangers, and piety to the gods; the other, on the contrary, generally reproached and hated for their malignity, brutality, and irreligion: Polybius, I ſay, aſcribes this difference to the ſtudy of muſick (I mean, ſays he, the true and noble muſick) induſtriouſly cultivated by the one, and abſolutely neglected by the other people.

After this it is not ſurpriſing, that the Greeks conſidered

(*c*) Polyb. p. 288—291.

* Ὀρχεῖσθαι. Saltare. † Πάλη.

ſidered muſick as an eſſential part in the education of youth. * Socrates himſelf, in a very advanced age, was not aſhamed to learn to play upon muſical inſtruments. Themiſtocles, however otherwiſe eſteemed, † was thought to be wanting in point of merit, becauſe at an entertainment he could not touch the lyre like the reſt of the company. ‡ An ignorance in this reſpect was deemed a defect of education; on the contrary, a capacity in it did honour to the greateſt men. § Epaminondas was praiſed for dancing, and playing well upon the flute. We may obſerve in this place the different taſtes and genius of nations. The Romans were far from having the ſame opinion with the Greeks in regard to muſick and dancing, and ſet no value upon them. It is very likely, the wiſeſt and moſt knowing amongſt the latter, did not apply to them with any great induſtry; and Philip's expreſſion to his ſon Alexander, who had ſhown too much ſkill in muſick at a feaſt, induces me to be of this opinion: *Are you not aſhamed*, ſaid he, *to ſing ſo well?*

For the reſt this eſteem for dancing and muſick had its foundation. Both the one and the other were employed in the moſt auguſt feaſts and ceremonies of religion, to expreſs their acknowledgement to the gods with the greater force and dignity, for the favours they had vouchſafed to confer upon them. They had generally the greateſt ſhare in their feaſts and entertainments, which ſeldom or ever began or ended, without ſome odes being ſung in honour of the victors in the Olympick games, and on other the like occaſions. They had a part alſo in war; and we know, that the Lacedæmonians marched to battle dancing, and to the ſound

* Socrates, jam ſenex inſtitui lyra non erubeſcebat. *Quintil.* l. i. c. 10.

† Themiſtocles, cum in epulis recuſaſſet lyram, habitus eſt indoctior. *Cic. Tuſc. Quæſt.* l. i. n. 4.

‡ Summam eruditionem Græci ſuam cenſebant in nervorum vocumque cantibus — diſcebantque id omnes; nec qui neſciebat, ſatis excultus doctrina putabatur. *Ibid.*

§ In Epaminondæ virtutibus commemoratum eſt ſaltaſſe eum commode, ſcienterque tibiis cantaſſe Scilicet non eadem omnibus honeſta ſunt atque turpia, ſed omnia majorum inſtitutis judicantur. *Corn. Nep. in præfat. vit. Epam.*

ſound of flutes. (*d*) Plato, the moſt grave philoſopher of antiquity, conſidered both theſe arts, not as ſimple amuſements, but as they had a great ſhare in the ceremonies of religion, and military exerciſes. Hence we ſee him very intent, in his books of laws, to preſcribe rules upon dancing and muſick, and to keep them within the bounds of utility and decorum.

They did not continue long within theſe reſtrictions. The licence of the Grecian ſtage, on which dancing was in the higheſt vogue, and in a manner proſtituted to buffoons and the moſt contemptible people, who made no other uſe ef it, than to ſuggeſt or ſupport the moſt vicious paſſions; this licence, I ſay, ſoon corrupted an art, which might have been of ſome advantage, had it been regulated by Plato's opinion. Muſick had a like deſtiny; and perhaps the corruption of this did not a little contribute to the depraving and perverting of dancing. Voluptuouſneſs and ſenſual pleaſure were the ſole arbiters conſulted in the uſes made of both, and the theatre became a ſchool of every kind of vice.

(*e*) Plutarch, in lamenting that the art of dancing was ſo much fallen from the merit which rendered it eſtimable to the great men of antiquity, does not omit to obſerve, that it was corrupted by a vicious kind of poetry, and a ſoft effeminate muſick, with which it was ill united, and which had taken place of the ancient poetry and muſick, that had ſomething noble, majeſtick, and even religious and heavenly in them. He adds, that being made ſubſervient to low taſte and ſenſuality, by their aid, it exerciſed a kind of tyrannical power in the theatres, which were become the publick ſchools of criminal paſſions and groſs vices, wherein no regard was had to reaſon.

The reader, without my obſerving upon it to him, will make the application of this paſſage of Plutarch to the ſort of muſick which engroſſes our theatres at this day, and which, by its effeminate and wanton airs, has given the laſt wound to the little manly force and

(*d*) De leg. l. vii. (*e*) Sympoſ. l. ix. qu. 15. p. 748.

virtue that remained among us. Quintilian deſcribes the muſick of his times in theſe terms, (*f*) *Quæ nunc in ſcenis effeminata, & impudicis modis fracta, non ex parte minima, ſi quid in nobis virilis roboris manebat, excidit.*

2. *Of the other Exerciſes of the Body.*

The young Athenians, and in general all the Greeks, were very intent upon forming themſelves to all the exerciſes of the body, and to go through their leſſons regularly with the maſters of the Palæſtræ. They called the places allotted for theſe exerciſes, Palæſtra or Gymnaſia; which anſwers very near to our academies. Plato, in his books of laws, after having ſhown of what importance it was in war to cultivate the hands and feet, adds, (*g*) that far from baniſhing from a well-regulated republick the profeſſion of the Athletæ, on the contrary, prizes ought to be propoſed for all exerciſes, that conduce to the improvement of military virtue; ſuch are thoſe which render the body more active, and fitter for the race; more hard, robuſt, and ſupple, more capable of ſupporting great fatigues, and effecting great enterpriſes. We muſt remember, that there was no Athenian, who ought not to have been capable of handling the oar in the largeſt gallies. The citizens themſelves did this office, which was not left to ſlaves and criminals as in theſe days. They were all deſtined to the trade of war, and often obliged to wear arms of iron from head to foot of a great weight. For this reaſon Plato, and all the ancients, looked upon the exerciſes of the body as highly uſeful, and even abſolutely neceſſary to the good of the publick, and therefore this philoſopher excludes only thoſe from them, which were incapable of ſervice in war.

(*h*) There were alſo maſters, who taught the youth to ride, and to handle their arms or fence; and others whoſe buſineſs it was to inſtruct them in all that was neceſſary to be known, in order to excel in the art military,

(*f*) Quintil. l. i. c. 1. (*g*) Lib. viii. de leg. p. 832, 833.
(*h*) Plut. in Lachete, p. 181.

litary, and become good commanders. The whole ſcience of the latter conſiſted in what the ancients called the Tactick, that is to ſay, the art of drawing up troops in battle, and of making military evolutions. That ſcience was uſeful, but did not ſuffice. (*i*) Xenophon ſhows its defect, in producing a young man lately come from ſuch a ſchool, in which he imagined he had learnt every thing, though in reality he had only acquired a fooliſh eſteem for himſelf, attended with perfect ignorance. He gives him, by the mouth of Socrates, admirable precepts upon the buſineſs of a ſoldier, and very proper to form an excellent officer.

Hunting was alſo conſidered by the ancients as a fit exerciſe for forming youth to the ſtratagems and fatigues of war. It is for this reaſon Xenophon, who was no leſs a great general than a great philoſopher, (*k*) did not think it below him to write a treatiſe expreſsly upon hunting, in which he deſcends to the loweſt particular; and obſerves upon the conſiderable advantages conſequential of it, from being inured to ſuffer hunger, thirſt, heat, cold, without being diſcouraged either by the length of the courſe, the difficulty of the clifts and thickets, through which it is often neceſſary to preſs, or the ſmall ſucceſs of the long and painful fatigues, which they often undergo to no purpoſe. He adds, that this innocent pleaſure removes others equally ſhameful and criminal; and that a wiſe and moderate man would not however abandon himſelf ſo much to it as to neglect the care of his domeſtick affairs. (*l*) The ſame author, in the Cyropædia, frequently praiſes hunting, which he looks upon as a real exerciſe of war, and ſhows, in the example of his young hero, the good uſe that may be made of it.

3. *Of the Exerciſe of the Mind.*

Athens, to ſpeak properly, was the ſchool and abode of polite learning, arts, and ſciences. The ſtudy of poeſy, eloquence, philoſophy, and mathematicks, were

(*i*) Memorab. l. iii. p. 761, &c. (*k*) De venatione.
(*l*) Cyrop. l. i. p. 5, 6. & l. ii. p. 59, 60.

in great vogue there, and much cultivated by the youth.

The young people were ſent firſt to learn grammar under maſters, who taught them regularly, and upon proper principles, their own language; by which they attained a knowledge of its whole beauty, energy, number, and cadence. (*m*) Hence proceeded the univerſal fine taſte of Athens, where, as hiſtory informs us, a ſimple herb-woman diſtinguiſhed Theophraſtus to be a ſtranger, from the affectation of a ſingle word in expreſſing himſelf. And from the ſame cauſe the orators were greatly apprehenſive of letting fall the leaſt injudicious expreſſion, for fear of offending ſo refined and delicate an audience. It was very common for the young people to get the tragedies repreſented upon the ſtage by heart. We have ſeen, that after the defeat of the Athenians, before Syracuſe, many of them, who had been taken priſoners and made ſlaves, ſoftened their ſlavery by reciting the works of Euripides to their maſters, who, extremely delighted with hearing ſuch ſublime verſes, treated them from thenceforth with kindneſs and humanity. The compoſitions of the other poets had no doubt the ſame effect, and Plutarch tells us, that Alcibiades, when very young, having entered a ſchool in which there was not an Homer, gave the maſter a box on the ear as an ignorant fellow, (*n*) and one who diſhonoured his profeſſion.

As for eloquence, it is no wonder that it was particularly ſtudied at Athens. It was that opened the way to the higheſt offices, reigned abſolute in the aſſemblies, decided the moſt important affairs of the ſtate, and gave an almoſt unlimited power to thoſe who had the talent of ſpeaking in an eminent degree.

This therefore was the great employment of the young citizens of Athens, eſpecially of thoſe who aſpired to the higheſt employments. To the ſtudy of rhetorick they annexed that of philoſophy: I compriſe under the latter, all the ſciences, which are either parts of,

(*m*) Cic. in Brut. n. 172. Quintil. l. viii. c. 1. Plut in Peric. p. 156.
(*n*) In Alcib. p. 194.

of, or relate to it. The perſons, known to antiquity under the name of ſophiſt, had acquired a great reputation at Athens, eſpecially in the time of Socrates. Theſe teachers, who were as preſumptuous as avaricious, ſet themſelves up for univerſal ſcholars. Their whole art lay in philoſophy and eloquence, both of which they corrupted by the falſe taſte and wrong principles they inſtilled into their diſciples. I have obſerved in the life of Socrates, that philoſopher's endeavours and ſucceſs in diſcrediting them.

CHAP. II.

Of WAR.

SECT. I. *People of Greece in all times very warlike, eſpecially the Lacedæmonians and Athenians.*

NO people of antiquity (I except the Romans) could diſpute the glory of arms and military virtue with the Greeks. During the Trojan war Greece ſignaliſed her valour in battle, and acquired immortal fame by the bravery of the captains ſhe ſent thither. This expedition was however, properly ſpeaking, no more than the cradle of her infant glory; and the great exploits, by which ſhe diſtinguiſhed herſelf there, were only her firſt eſſays, and apprenticeſhip in the art of war.

There were in Greece at that time ſeveral ſmall republicks, neighbours to one another by their ſituation, but extremely remote in their cuſtoms, laws, characters, and particularly in their intereſts. This difference of manners and intereſts was a continual ſource and occaſion of diviſions amongſt them. Every city, little ſatisfied with its own dominion, was ſtudious to aggrandiſe itſelf at the expence of its next neighbours, according as they lay moſt commodious for it. Hence all theſe little ſtates, either out of ambition, and to extend their conqueſts, or the neceſſity of a juſt defence, were always under arms, and, by that continual exerciſe of war, formed in the univerſal people a martial

tial ſpirit, and an intrepidity of courage which made them invincible in the field; as appeared in the ſequel, when the whole united forces of the Eaſt came to invade Greece, and made her ſenſible what ſhe was, and of what capable.

Two cities diſtinguiſhed themſelves above the reſt, and held indiſputably the firſt rank; theſe were Sparta and Athens: In conſequence of which thoſe cities, either ſucceſſively or together, had the empire of Greece, and maintained themſelves through a long ſeries of time in a power, which the ſole ſuperiority of merit, univerſally acknowledged by all the other ſtates, had acquired them. This merit conſiſted principally in their military knowledge and martial virtue; of which they had given the moſt glorious proofs in the war againſt the Perſians. Thebes diſputed this honour with them for ſome years, by ſurpriſing actions of valour, which had ſomething of prodigy in them; but this was but a ſhort-lived blaze, which, after having ſhone out with exceeding ſplendour, ſoon diſappeared, and left that city in its original obſcurity. Sparta and Athens will therefore be the only objects of our reflexions as to what relates to war, and we ſhall join them together in order to be the better able to diſtinguiſh their characters, as well in what they reſemble, as in what they differ from, each other.

SECT. II. *Origin and cauſe of the valour and military virtue by which the Lacedæmonians and Athenians always diſtinguiſhed themſelves.*

ALL the laws of Sparta, and inſtitutions of Lycurgus, ſeem to have no other object than war, and tended ſolely to the making the ſubjects of that republick a body of ſoldiers. All other employments, all other exerciſes, were prohibited amongſt them. Arts, polite learning, ſciences, trades, even huſbandry itſelf, had no ſhare in their applications, and ſeemed in their eyes unworthy of them. From their earlieſt infancy no other taſte was inſtilled into them but for arms; and indeed the Spartan education was wonderfully well

adapted to that end. To go barefoot, to lie hard, to ſhift with little meat and drink, to ſuffer heat and cold, to exerciſe continually hunting, wreſtling, running on foot and horſeback, to be inured to blows and wounds ſo as to vent neither complaint nor groan; theſe were the rudiments of the Spartan youth with regard to war, and enabled them one day to ſupport all its fatigues, and to confront all its dangers.

The habit of obeying, contracted from the moſt early years, reſpect for the magiſtrates and elders, a perfect ſubmiſſion to the laws, from which no age nor condition was exempt, prepared them amazingly for military diſcipline, which is in a manner the ſoul of war, and the principle of ſucceſs in all great enterpriſes.

Now one of theſe laws was to conquer or die, and never to ſurrender to the enemy. Leonidas with his three hundred Spartans was an illuſtrious example of this, and his intrepid valour, extolled in all ages with the higheſt applauſes, and propoſed as a model to all poſterity, had given the ſame ſpirit to the nation, and traced them out the plan they were to follow. The diſgrace and infamy annexed to the violation of this law, and to ſuch as quitted their arms in battle, confirmed the obſervance of it, and rendered it in a manner inviolable. The mothers recommended to their ſons, when they ſet out for the field, to return either with, or upon their bucklers. They did not weep for thoſe who died with their arms in their hands, but for thoſe who preſerved themſelves by flight. Can we be ſurpriſed, after this, that a ſmall body of ſuch ſoldiers, with ſuch principles, ſhould put an innumerable army of Barbarians to a ſtand?

The Athenians were not bred up ſo roughly as the people of Sparta, but had no leſs valour. The taſte of the two people was quite different in regard to education and employment; but they attained the ſame end, though by different means. The Spartans knew only how to uſe their arms, and were no more than ſoldiers: But amongſt the Athenians (and we muſt ſay as much of the other people of Greece) arts, trades, huſbandry,

huſbandry, commerce, and navigation, were held in honour, and thought no diſgrace to any one. Theſe occupations were no obſtacles to the valour and knowledge neceſſary in war; they diſqualified none for riſing to the greateſt commands and the firſt dignities of the republick. Plutarch obſerves, that Solon, ſeeing the territory of Attica was barren, applied himſelf to turning the induſtry of his citizens upon arts, trades, and commerce, in order to ſupply his country thereby with what it wanted on the ſide of fertility. This taſte became one of the maxims of the government and fundamental laws of the ſtate, and perpetuated itſelf amongſt the people, but without leſſening in the leaſt their ardour for war.

The ancient glory of the nation, which had always diſtinguiſhed itſelf by military bravery, was a powerful motive for not degenerating from the reputation of their anceſtors. The famous battle of Marathon, wherein they had ſuſtained alone the ſhock of the Barbarians, and gained a ſignal victory over them, infinitely heightened their courage; and the battle of Salamin, in the ſucceſs of which they had the greateſt ſhare, raiſed them to the higheſt pitch of glory, and rendered them capable of the greateſt enterpriſes.

A noble emulation not to give place in point of merit to Sparta, the rival of Athens, and a lively jealouſy of their glory, which during the war with the Perſians contained itſelf within due bounds, were another ſtrong incentive to the Athenians, who every day made new efforts to excel themſelves, and ſuſtain their reputation.

The rewards and honours granted to thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in battle; the monuments erected in memory of the citizens who had died in the defence of their country, the funeral orations publickly pronounced in the midſt of the moſt auguſt religious ceremonies, to render their names immortal; all conſpired infinitely to eternize the valour of both nations, and particularly of the Athenians, and to make fortitude a kind of law and indiſpenſable neceſſity to them.

Athens

(*n*) Athens had a law by which it was ordained, that thoſe who had been maimed in the war, ſhould be maintained at the expence of the publick. The ſame grace was granted to the fathers and mothers, as well as the children of ſuch as had fallen in battle and left their families poor and not in a condition to ſubſiſt themſelves. The republick, like a good mother, generouſly took them into her care, and with great regard to them ſupplied all the duties, and procured all the relief, they could have expected from thoſe whoſe loſs they deplored.

This exalted the courage of the Athenians, and rendered their troops invincible, though not very numerous. In the battle of Platæa, where the army of the Barbarians, commanded by Mardonius, conſiſted of no leſs than three hundred thouſand men, and the united forces of the Greeks of only one hundred and eight thouſand two hundred men, there were in the latter only ten thouſand Lacedæmonians, of which one half were Spartans, that is to ſay, inhabitants of Sparta, and eight thouſand Athenians. It is true, each Spartan brought with him ſeven Helots, which made in all thirty-five thouſand men; but they were ſcarce ever reckoned as ſoldiers.

This ſhining merit in point of martial valour, generally acknowledged by the other ſtates and people, did not ſuppreſs in their minds all ſentiments of envy and jealouſy; as appeared once in relation to the Lacedæmonians. The allies, who were very much ſuperior to them in number, were in pain to ſee themſelves ſubjected to their order, and murmured againſt it in ſecret. Ageſilaus, king of Sparta, without ſeeming to have any knowledge of their diſguſt, aſſembled the whole army, and after having made all the allies ſit down on one ſide, and the Lacedæmonians by themſelves on the other, he cauſed proclamation to be made by an herald, that all ſmiths, maſons, carpenters, and ſo on, through the other trades, ſhould riſe up. Almoſt

(*n*) Plut. in Solon. p. 96. Ibid. in Menex. p. 248, 249. Diog. Laert. in Solon. p. 37.

Almoſt all the allies did ſo, and not one of the Lacedæmonians, to whom all trades were prohibited. Ageſilaus then ſmiling, "You ſee," ſaid he, "how many "more ſoldiers Sparta furniſhes than all the reſt of the "allies together;" thereby intimating, that to be a good ſoldier, it was neceſſary to be only a ſoldier; that trades diverted the artiſan from applying himſelf wholly to the profeſſion of arms and the ſcience of war, and prevented his ſucceeding ſo well in it, as thoſe who made it their ſole buſineſs and exerciſe. But Ageſilaus ſpoke and acted in that manner from the prejudice of his opinion in favour of the Lacedæmonian education; for indeed thoſe, whom he was for having conſidered only as ſimple artiſans, had well demonſtrated in the glorious victories they had obtained over the Perſians, and even Sparta itſelf, that they were by no means inferior to the Lacedæmonians, entirely ſoldiers as they were, either in valour or military knowledge.

SECT. III. *Different kinds of troops of which the armies of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians were compoſed.*

THE armies both of Sparta and Athens were compoſed of four ſorts of troops: Citizens, allies, mercenaries, and ſlaves. The ſoldiers were ſometimes marked in the hand, to diſtinguiſh them from the ſlaves, who had that character impreſſed upon their forehead. Interpreters believe, that in alluſion to this double manner of marking, it is ſaid in the Revelations, that all were obliged (*o*) *to receive the mark of the beaſt in their right hand, or in their foreheads*; and that St. *Paul* ſays of himſelf, (*p*) *I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jeſus.*

The citizens of Lacedæmonia were of two ſorts, either thoſe who inhabited Sparta itſelf, and who for that reaſon were called Spartans, or thoſe who lived in the country. In Lycurgus's time the Spartans amounted to nine thouſand, and the others to thirty thouſand. This number ſeems to have been ſomewhat diminiſhed

(*o*) Rev. xiii. 16. (*p*) Gal. vi. 17.

diminiſhed in the time of Xerxes, as Demaratus, ſpeaking to him of the Lacedæmonian troops, computes only eight thouſand Spartans. The latter were the flower of the nation, and we may judge of the value they ſet upon them, by the anxiety the republick expreſſed for three or four hundred, beſieged by the Athenians in the ſmall iſland of Sphacteria, where they were taken priſoners. The Lacedæmonians generally ſpared the troops of their country very much, and ſent only a few of them into the armies. When a Lacedæmonian general was aſked, how many Spartans there was in the army; he anſwered, *as many as are neceſſary to repulſe the enemy.* They ſerved the ſtate at their own expence, and it was not till after a length of time that they received pay from the publick.

The greateſt number of the troops in the two republicks were compoſed of the *Allies*, who were paid by the cities which ſent them.

The foreign troops in the pay of the republick, to the aid of which they were called in, were ſtiled *Mercenaries.*

The Spartans never marched without Helots, and we have ſeen that in the battle of Platæa every citizen had ſeven. I do not believe this number was fixed, nor do I well comprehend for what ſervice they were deſigned. It would have been very ill policy to have put arms into the hands of ſo great a number of ſlaves, generally much diſcontented with their maſters harſh treatment of them, and who in conſequence had every thing to fear from them in a battle. Herodotus, however, in the paſſage I have cited from him, repreſents them carrying arms in the field as light-armed ſoldiers.

The infantry conſiſted of two kinds of ſoldiers. The one were heavy-armed, and carried great bucklers, lances, half-pikes, and ſcymitars. The other were light-armed, that is to ſay, with bows and ſlings. They were commonly placed in the front of the battle, or upon the wings as a firſt line to ſhoot their arrows, and fling their javelins and ſtones at the enemy; and

and when they had diſcharged, they retired through the intervals behind the battalions as a ſecond line, and continued their volleys.

(*q*) Thucydides, in deſcribing the battle of Mantinæa, divides the Lacedæmonian troops in this manner. There were ſeven regiments of four companies each, without including the Squirites, to the number of ſix hundred; theſe were horſemen, of whom I ſhall ſoon ſpeak further. The company conſiſted, according to the Greek interpreter, of an hundred and twenty-eight men, and was ſubdivided into four platoons, each of thirty-two men. So that a regiment amounted to five hundred and twelve men, and the ſeven made together three thouſand five hundred fourſcore and four. Each platoon had four men in front and eight in depth, for that was the uſual depth of the files, which the officers might change according to occaſion.

The Lacedæmonians did not actually begin to uſe cavalry till after the war with Meſſene, where they perceived their want of it. (*r*) They raiſed their horſe principally in a ſmall city not far from Lacedæmon, called *Sciros*, from whence theſe troops were denominated *Scirites*, or *Squirites*. They were always on the extremity of the left wing, and this was their poſt by right.

Cavalry was ſtill more rare amongſt the Athenians; the ſituation of Attica, broken with abundance of mountains, was the cauſe of this. It did not amount, after the war with the Perſians, which was the time when the proſperity of Greece was at the higheſt, to more than three hundred horſe; but encreaſed afterwards to twelve hundred; a ſmall body for ſo powerful a republick.

I have already obſerved, that amongſt the ancients, as well Greeks as Romans, no mention is made of the ſtirrup, which is very ſurpriſing. They threw themſelves nimbly on horſeback.

—*Corpora*

(*r*) Thucyd. l. v. p. 390.

——*Corpora ſaltu*
Subjiciunt in equos.—— Æn. l. xi. ver. 287.
And with a leap ſit ſteady on the horſe.

Sometimes the horſe, broke early to that kind of manage, would ſtoop down before, to give his maſter the opportunity of mounting with more eaſe;

Inde inclinatus collum, ſubmiſſus et armos
De more, inflexis præbebat ſcandere terga
Cruribus. Sil. Ital. de equo Cœlii Equ. Rom.

Thoſe, whom age or weakneſs rendered heavy, made uſe of a ſervant in mounting on horſeback; in which they imitated the Perſians, with whom it was the common cuſtom. Gracchus cauſed fine ſtones to be placed on each ſide of the great roads of Italy at certain diſtances from one another, to help travellers to get on horſeback without the aſſiſtance of any body *.

I am ſurpriſed that the Athenians, expert as they were in the art of war, did not diſtinguiſh, that the cavalry was the moſt eſſential part of an army, eſpecially in battles; and that ſome of their generals did not turn their attention that way, as Themiſtocles did in regard to maritime affairs. Xenophon was well capable of rendering them a like ſervice in reſpect to the cavalry, of the importance of which he was perfectly appriſed. He wrote two treatiſes upon this ſubject; one of which regards the care it is neceſſary to take of horſes, and how to underſtand and break them; to which he adds the exerciſe of the ſquadron; both well worth the reading of all who profeſs arms. In the latter he ſtates the means of placing the cavalry in honour, and lays down rules upon the art military in general, which might be of very great uſe to all thoſe who are deſigned for the trade of war.

I have wondered, in running over this ſecond treatiſe, to ſee with what care Xenophon, a ſoldier and a pagan,

* Ἀναξολέως μὴ διομένοις. *This word* ἀναξολεὺς, *ſignifies a ſervant, who helped his maſter to mount on horſeback.*

pagan, recommends the practice of religion, a veneration for the gods, and the neceſſity of imploring their aid upon all occaſions. He repeats this maxim in thirteen different places; of a tract in other reſpects brief enough; and rightly judging that theſe religious inſinuations might give ſome people offence, he makes a kind of apology for them, and concludes the piece with a reflection, which I ſhall repeat entire in this place. "If any one," ſays he, "wonders that I inſiſt "ſo much here upon the neceſſity of not forming any "enterpriſe, without firſt endeavouring to render the "divinity favourable and propitious, let him reflect, "that there are in war a thouſand unforeſeen and ob-"ſcure conjunctures, wherein the generals, vigilant to "take advantages, and lay ambuſcades for each other, "from the uncertainty of an enemy's motions, can "take no other counſel than that of the gods. No-"thing is doubtful or obſcure with them. They un-"fold the future to whomſoever they pleaſe, on the "inſpection of the entrails of beaſts, by the ſinging of "birds, by viſions, or in dreams. Now we may "preſume that the gods are more inclined to illuminate "the minds of ſuch as conſult them not only in ur-"gent neceſſities, but who at all times, and when no "dangers threaten them, render them all the homage "and adoration of which they are capable."

It became this great man to give the moſt important of inſtructions to his ſon Gryllus, to whom he addreſſes the treatiſe we mention, and who, according to the common opinion, was appointed to diſcipline the Athenian cavalry.

SECT. IV. *Of maritime affairs, fleets, and naval forces.*

IF the Athenians were inferior to the Lacedæmonians in reſpect to cavalry, they carried it infinitely againſt them in naval affairs, and we have ſeen their abilities that way make them maſters at ſea, and give them a great ſuperiority to all the other ſtates of Greece. As this ſubject is very neceſſary to the underſtanding many paſſages in this hiſtory, I ſhall treat it more extenſively

tenſively than other matters, and ſhall make great uſe of what the learned father Don Bernard de Montfaucon has ſaid of it in his books upon antiquity.

The principal parts of a ſhip were the prow or head, the poop or ſtern, and the middle, called in Latin *carina*, the hulk or waiſt.

The Prow was the part in the front of the waiſt or belly of the ſhip; it was generally adorned with paintings and different ſculptures of gods, men, or animals. The beak, called *roſtrum*, lay lower, and level with the water: It was a piece of timber which projected from the prow, covered at the point with braſs, and ſometimes with iron. The Greeks termed it ἔμβολον.

The other end of the ſhip, oppoſite to the prow, was called the Poop. There the pilot ſat and held the helm, which was a longer and larger oar than the reſt.

The Waist was the hollow of the veſſel, or the hold.

The ſhips were of two kinds. The one was rowed with oars, which were ſhips of war, the other carried ſails, and were veſſels of burthen, intended for commerce and tranſports. Both of them ſometimes made uſe of oars and ſails together, but that very rarely. The ſhips of war are alſo very often called long ſhips by authors, and by that name diſtinguiſhed from veſſels of burthen.

The long ſhips were further divided into two ſpecies: Thoſe which were called *actuariæ naves*, and were very light veſſels, like our brigantines; and thoſe called only long ſhips. The firſt were uſually termed *open ſhips*, becauſe they had no decks. Of theſe light veſſels there were ſome larger than ordinary, of which ſome had twenty, ſome thirty, and others forty oars, half on one ſide and half on the other, all on the ſame line.

The long ſhips, which were uſed in war, were of two ſorts. Some had only one rank of oars on each ſide; the others two, three, four, five, or a greater

number, to forty; but theſe laſt were rather for ſhow than uſe.

The long ſhips of one rank of oars were called *aphracti*; that is to ſay, uncovered, and had no decks: This diſtinguiſhed them from the *cataphracti*, which had decks. They had only ſmall places to ſtand on, at the head and ſtern, in the time of action.

The ſhips moſt commonly uſed in the battles of the ancients, were thoſe which carried from three to five ranks or benches of oars, and were called *triremes* and *quinqueremes*.

It is a great queſtion, and has given occaſion for abundance of learned diſſertations, how theſe benches of oars were diſpoſed. Some will have it, that they were placed at length, like the ranks of oars in the modern gallies. Others maintain, that the ranges of the biremes, triremes, quinqueremes, and ſo on to the number of forty in ſome veſſels, were one above another. To ſupport this laſt opinion, innumerable paſſages are cited from ancient authors, which ſeem to leave no manner of doubt in it, and are conſiderably corroborated by the column of Trajan, which repreſents theſe ranks one above another. Father Montfaucon however avers, that all the perſons of greateſt ſkill in naval affairs, whom he had conſulted, declared, that the thing conceived in that manner, ſeemed to them utterly impoſſible. But ſuch a way of reaſoning is a weak proof againſt the experience of ſo many ages, confirmed by ſo many authors. It is true, that in admitting theſe ranks of oars to be diſpoſed perpendicularly one above another, it is not eaſy to comprehend how they could be worked; but in the biremes and triremes of the column of Trajan, the lower ranks are placed obliquely, and as it were riſing by degrees.

In ancient times the ſhips with ſeveral ranks of oars were not known: They made uſe of long ſhips, in which the rowers, of whatever number they were, worked all upon the ſame line. (*a*) Such was the fleet which the Greeks ſent againſt Troy. It was compoſed

(*a*) Thucyd. l. i. p. 3.

poſed of twelve hundred ſail, of which the gallies of Bœotia had each an hundred and twenty men, and thoſe of Philoctetes fifty; and this no doubt intends the greateſt and ſmalleſt veſſels. Their gallies had no decks, but were built like common boats; which is ſtill practiſed, ſays Thucydides, by the pirates, to prevent their being ſo ſoon diſcovered at a diſtance.

(*b*) The Corinthians are ſaid to have been the firſt who changed the form of ſhips, and, inſtead of ſimple gallies, made veſſels with three ranks, in order to add by the multiplicity of oars to the ſwiftneſs and impetuoſity of their motion. Their city, advantageouſly ſituated between two ſeas, lay well for commerce, and ſerved as a ſtaple for merchandiſe. From their example the inhabitants of Corcyra, and the tyrants of Sicily, equipped alſo many gallies of three benches, a little before the war againſt the Perſians. It was about the ſame time the Athenians, at the warm inſtances of Themiſtocles, who foreſaw the war which ſoon broke out, built ſhips of the ſame form, the whole deck not being yet in uſe; and from thenceforth they applied themſelves to naval affairs with incredible ardour and ſucceſs.

The beak of the prow (*roſtrum*) was that part of the veſſel of which moſt uſe was made in ſea-fights. (*c*) Ariſton of Corinth perſuaded the Syracuſans, when their city was beſieged by the Athenians, to make their prows lower and ſhorter; which advice gained them the victory. For the prows of the Athenian veſſels being very high and very weak, their beaks ſtruck only the parts above water, and for that reaſon did little damage to the enemy's ſhips; whereas the Syracuſans, whoſe prows were ſtrong and low, and their beaks level with the water, at a ſingle blow often ſunk the triremes of the Athenians.

Two ſorts of people ſerved on board theſe gallies. The one were employed in ſteering and working the ſhip, who were the rowers, *remiges*, and the mariners, *nautæ*. The reſt were ſoldiers intended for the fight, and

(*b*) Thucyd. l. i. p. 10. (*c*) Diod. l. xiii. p. 141.

and are meant in Greek by the word ἐπιβάται. This diſtinction was not underſtood in the early times, when the ſame perſons rowed, fought, and did all the neceſſary work of the ſhip; which was alſo not wholly diſuſed in later days. For (*d*) Thucydides, in deſcribing the arrival of the Athenian fleet at the ſmall iſland of Sphacteria obſerves, that only the rowers of the loweſt bench remained in the ſhips, and that the reſt went on ſhore with their arms.

1. The condition of the rowers was very hard and laborious. I have already ſaid, that the rowers, as well as mariners, were all citizens and freemen, and not ſlaves or ſtrangers, as in theſe days. The rowers were diſtinguiſhed by their ſeveral ſtages. The lower rank were called *Thalamitæ*, the middle *Zugitæ*, and the higheſt *Thranitæ*. Thucydides remarks, that the latter had greater pay than the reſt, becauſe they worked with longer and heavier oars than thoſe of the lower benches. * It ſeems that the crew, in order to act in concert, and with better effect, were ſometimes guided by the ſinging of a man, and ſometimes by the ſound of an inſtrument; and this grateful harmony ſerved not only to regulate the motion of their oars, but to diminiſh and ſooth the pains of their labour.

It is a queſtion amongſt the learned, whether there was a man to every oar in theſe great ſhips, or ſeveral, as in the gallies of theſe days. What Thucydides obſerves on the pay of the Thranitæ, ſeems to imply that they worked ſingle. For if others had ſhared the work with them, wherefore had they greater pay given them than thoſe who managed an oar alone, as the latter had as much, and perhaps more of the labour than them? Father Montfaucon believes, that in the veſſels of five ranks there might be ſeveral men to one oar.

He

(*d*) Thucyd. l. iv. p. 275.

* Muſicam natura ipſa divetur ad tolerandos facilius labores velut muneri nobis dediſſe. Siquidem et remiges cantus hortatur; nec ſolum in iis operibus, in quibus plurimum conatus præeunte aliqua jucunda vôce conſpirat, ſed etiam ſingulorum fatigatio quamlibet ſe rudi modulatione ſolatur. *Quintil.* l. i. c. 10.

He who took care of the whole crew, and commanded the veſſel, was called *nauclerus*, and was the principal officer. The ſecond was the pilot, *gubernator*; his place was in the poop, where he held the helm in his hand, and ſteered the veſſel. His ſkill conſiſted in knowing the coaſts, ports, rocks, ſhoals, and eſpecially the winds and ſtars; for before the invention of the compaſs, the pilot had nothing to direct him during the night but the ſtars.

2. The ſoldiers, who fought in the ſhips, were armed almoſt in the ſame manner with the land-forces. (*e*) The Athenians, at the battle of Salamin, had an hundred and fourſcore veſſels, and in each of them eighteen fighting men, four of whom were archers, and the reſt heavy-armed troops. The officer who commanded theſe ſoldiers was called τριήραρχος, and the commander of the whole fleet, ναύαρχος, or στρατηγός.

We cannot exactly ſay the number of ſoldiers, mariners, and rowers, that ſerved on board each ſhip; but it generally amounted to two hundred, more or leſs, as appears from Herodotus's eſtimate of the Perſian fleet in the time of Xerxes, and in other places where he mentions that of the Greeeks. I mean here the great veſſels, the triremes, which were the ſpecies moſt in uſe.

The pay of thoſe who ſerved in theſe ſhips varied very much at different times. When young Cyrus arrived in Aſia (*f*), it was only three oboli, which was half a drachma, or five-pence; and the * treaty between the Perſians and Lacedæmonians was concluded upon this foot; which gives reaſon to believe, that the uſual pay was three oboli. Cyrus, at Lyſander's requeſt, added a fourth, which made ſix-pence half-penny a day. (*g*) It was often raiſed to a whole drachma, about ten-pence French. In the fleet fitted out againſt Sicily the Athenians gave a drachma a day to the troops.

(*e*) Plut. in Themiſt. p. 119. (*f*) Xenoph. hiſt. l. i. p. 441. (*g*) Thucyd. l. vi. p. 431.

* *This treaty ſtipulated, that the Perſians ſhould pay thirty minæ a month for each ſhip, which was half a talent; the whole amounted to three oboli a day for every man that ſerved on board.*

The ſum of ſixty talents (*b*) *, which the people of Egeſta advanced the Athenians monthly for the maintaining of ſixty ſhips, ſhows that the pay of each veſſel for a month amounted to a talent, that is to ſay, to three thouſand livres; which ſuppoſes, that each ſhip's company conſiſted of two hundred men, each of whom received a drachma or ten-pence a day. As the officers pay was higher, the republick perhaps either furniſhed the overplus, or it was deducted out of the total of the ſum advanced for a veſſel, by abating ſomething in the pay of the private men.

The ſame may by ſaid of the land troops as has been ſaid of the ſeamen, except that the horſe had double their pay. It appears that the ordinary pay of the foot was three oboli a day, and that it was augmented according to times and occaſions. (*i*) Thimbron the Lacedæmonian, when he marched againſt Tiſſaphernes, promiſed a darick a month to each ſoldier, two to a captain, and four to the colonels. Now a darick a month is four oboli a day. Young Cyrus, to animate his troops, whom a too long march had diſcouraged, inſtead of one darick, promiſed one and a half to each ſoldier, which amounted to a drachma, or ten-pence French a day.

It may be aſked how the Lacedæmonians, whoſe iron coin, the only ſpecies current amongſt them, would go no where elſe, could maintain armies by ſea and land, and where they found money for their ſubſiſtance. It is not to be doubted, but they raiſed it, as the Athenians did, by contributions from their allies, and ſtill more from the cities to which they gave liberty and protection, or from thoſe they had conquered from their enemies. Their ſecond fund for paying their fleet and armies was the aids they drew from the king of Perſia, as we have ſeen on ſeveral occaſions.

(*b*) Thucyd. l. vi. p. 415. (*i*) Xenoph. exped. Cyr. l. vii.

* *About* 8400l. *ſterling*.

SECT.

SECT. V. *Peculiar Character of the Athenians.*

PLUTARCH furniſhes us with almoſt all the matter upon this head. Every body knows how well he ſucceeeds in copying nature in his portraits, and how proper a perſon he was to trace the character of a people, whoſe genius and manners he had ſtudied with ſo profound an attention.

(*k*) "I. * The people of Athens," ſays Plutarch, "were eaſily provoked to anger, and as eaſily induced to reſume their ſentiments of benevolence and compaſſion," Hiſtory ſupplies us with an infinity of examples of this kind. The ſentence of death paſſed againſt the inhabitants of Mitylene, and revoked the next day: the condemnation of the ten generals, and that of Socrates, both followed with an immediate repentance and the moſt lively grief.

"II. † They were better pleaſed with penetrating, "and almoſt gueſſing an affair of themſelves, than to "give themſelves leiſure to be informed in it thoroughly, and in all its extent."

Nothing is more ſurpriſing than this circumſtance in their character, which is very hard to conceive, and ſeems almoſt incredible. Artificers, huſbandmen, ſoldiers, mariners, are generally a dull, heavy kind of people, and very groſs in their conceptions; but the people of Athens were of a quite different turn. They had naturally an amazing penetration, vivacity, and even delicacy of wit. I have already mentioned what happened to Theophraſtus. ‡ He was cheapening ſomething of an old woman at Athens that ſold herbs: *No, Mr. Stranger*, ſaid ſhe, *you ſhall have it for no leſs.* He was ſtrangely ſurpriſed to ſee himſelf treated as a ſtranger, who had paſſed almoſt his whole life at Athens,

(*k*) Plut. in præcept. reip. ger. p. 793.

* Ὁ δῆμος Ἀθηναίων εὐκίνητός ἐστι πρὸς ὀργήν, εὐμείλικτος πρὸς ἔλεον.

† Μᾶλλον ὀξέως ὑπονοεῖν, ἢ διδάσκεσθαι καθ' ἡσυχίαν βουλόμενος.

‡ Cum Theophraſtus percontaretur ex anicula quadam, quanti aliquid venderet, et reſpondiſſet illa, atque addidiſſet: Hoſpes, non pote minoris; tulit moleſtè, ſe non effugere hoſpitis ſpeciem, cum ætatem ageret Athenis, optimeque loqueretur. *Cic. de Clar. Ornat.* n. 17.

Athens, and who piqued himſelf npon excelling all others in the elegance of his language. It was however from that ſhe knew he was not of her country. We have ſaid, that the Athenian ſoldiers knew the fine paſſages of Euripides by heart. Theſe artificers and ſoldiers, from aſſiſting at the publick deliberations, were beſides verſed in affairs of ſtate, and underſtood every thing at half a word. We may judge of this from the orations of Demoſthenes, whoſe ſtyle we know is ardent, brief, and conciſe.

" III. * As they naturally inclined to relieve per-
" ſons of a low condition and mean circumſtances, ſo
" were they fond of converſations ſeaſoned with plea-
" ſantry, and proper to make people laugh."

(*l*) They aſſiſted perſons of a mean condition, becauſe from ſuch they had nothing to apprehend in regard to their liberty, and ſaw in them the characters of equality and reſemblance with themſelves. They loved pleaſantry, and ſhowed in that they were men; but men abounding with humanity and indulgence, who underſtood raillery, who were not prone to take offence, nor over delicate in point of the reſpect to be paid them. One day when the aſſembly was fully formed, and the people had already taken their places and ſat down, Cleon, after having made them wait his coming a great while, appeared at laſt with a wreath of flowers upon his head, and deſired the people to adjourn their deliberations to the next day. " For to-
" day," ſaid he, " I have buſineſs. I have been ſacri-
" ficing to the gods, and am to entertain ſome ſtran-
" gers, my friends, at ſupper." The Athenians, ſetting up a laugh, roſe and broke up the aſſembly. At Carthage, ſuch a pleaſantry would have coſt any man his life, that had preſumed to vent it, and to take ſuch a liberty with a † proud, haughty, jealous, moroſe people, of a genius averſe to complacency, and leſs inclined to humour. Upon another occaſion the orator

(*l*) Xenoph. de Athen. Rep. p. 691.

* Ὥσπερ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῖς ἀδόξοις καὶ ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ βοηθεῖν προθυμότερον, ὕτως καὶ τοῖς παιγνιώδεσι καὶ γελοίοις χαρίεν ἀνήδυτον καὶ σκληρόν.

† Πικρὸν, σκυθρωπὸν, πρὸς παιδιὰν καὶ λόγων τρυφὴν ἀπαράγωγον.

tor Stratocles, having informed the people of a victory, and in conſequence cauſed ſacrifices to be offered, three days after news came of the defeat of the army. As the people expreſſed their diſcontent and reſentment upon the falſe information, he aſked them, "of what "they had to complain, and what harm he had done "them, in making them paſs three days more agree-"ably than they would elſe have done?"

"IV. * They were pleaſed with hearing themſelves "praiſed, and could not bear to be railed at, or criti-"ciſed." The leaſt acquaintance with Ariſtophanes and Demoſthenes will ſhew, with what addreſs and effect they employed praiſes and criticiſm with regard to the people of Athens.

(*m*) When the republick enjoyed peace and tranquillity, ſays the ſame Plutarch in another place, the Athenian people diverted themſelves with the orators who flattered them: But in important affairs, and emergencies of the ſtate, they became ſerious, and gave the preference to thoſe, whoſe cuſtom it had been to oppoſe their unjuſt deſires; ſuch as Pericles, Phocion, and Demoſthenes.

"V. † They kept thoſe who governed them in "awe, and ſhewed their humanity even to their ene-"mies."

The people of Athens made good uſe of the talents of thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their eloquence and prudence; but they were full of ſuſpicion, and kept themſelves always on their guard againſt their ſuperiority of genius and ability: They took pleaſure in reſtraining their courage, and leſſening their glory and reputation. This may be judged from the oſtraciſm, which was inſtituted only as a curb on thoſe, whoſe merit and popularity ran too high, and which ſpared neither the greateſt nor the moſt worthy perſons. The hatred of tyranny and tyrants, which was in a manner innate in the Athenians, made them extremely jealous

(*m*) Plut. in Phocian p. 756.

* Τοῖς μὲν ἐπαινοῦσιν αὐτὸν μάλιστα χαίρει, τοῖς δὲ σκώπτουσιν ἥκιστα δυσχεραίνει.

† φόβερός ἐστιν ἄχρι τῶν ἀρχόντων, εἶτα φιλάνθρωπος ἄχρι τῶν πολεμίων.

jealous and apprehenſive for their liberty, with regard to thoſe who governed.

As to what relates to their enemies, they did not treat them with rigour; they did not make an inſolent uſe of victory, nor exerciſe any cruelty towards the vanquiſhed. The amneſty decreed after the tyranny of the Thirty, ſhows that they could forget the injuries which had been done them.

To theſe different characteriſticks, which Plutarch unites in the ſame paſſage of his works, ſome others may be added, extracted principally from the ſame author.

VI. It was from this * fund of humanity and benevolence, of which I have now ſpoken, and which was natural to the Athenians, that they were ſo attentive to the rules of politeneſs, and ſo delicate in point of juſt behaviour; qualities one would not expect to find among the common people. (*n*) In the war againſt Philip of Macedon, having intercepted one of his couriers, they read all the letters he carried, except that of Olympias his wife, which they returned ſealed up and unopened, out of regard to conjugal love and ſecrecy, the rights of which are ſacred, and ought to be reſpected even amongſt enemies. The ſame Athenians having decreed, that a ſtrict ſearch ſhould be made after the preſents diſtributed by Harpalus amongſt the orators, would not ſuffer the houſe of Callicles, who was lately married, to be viſited, out of reſpect for his bride, not long brought home. Such behaviour is not very common, and upon like occaſions people do not ſtand much upon forms and politeneſs.

VII. The taſte of the Athenians for all arts and ſciences is too well known to require dwelling long upon it in this place. Beſides which, I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of it with ſome extent elſewhere. But we cannot ſee without admiration a people compoſed for the moſt part, as I have ſaid before, of artiſans, huſbandmen, ſoldiers, and mariners, carry delicacy of taſte

(*n*) Plut. in Demetr. p. 898.

* Πάτριον αὐτοῖς ἦν σύμφυτον τὸ φιλάνθρωπον. In Pelop. p. 280.

taſte in every kind to ſo high a degree of perfection, which ſeems the peculiar attribute of a more exalted condition and a noble education.

VIII. It is no leſs wonderful, that this people * ſhould have ſuch great views, and roſe ſo high in their pretenſions. In the war Alcibiades made them undertake, filled with vaſt projects and unbounded hopes, they did not confine themſelves to the taking of Syracuſe, or the conqueſt of Sicily, but had already added Italy, Peloponneſus, Libya, the Carthaginian gates, and the empire of the ſea to the Pillars of Hercules. Their enterpriſe failed, but they had formed it; and the taking of Syracuſe, which ſeemed no great difficulty, might have enabled them to put it in execution.

IX. The ſame people, ſo great, and, one may ſay, ſo haughty in their projects, had nothing of that character in other reſpects. In what regarded the expence of the table, dreſs, furniture, private buildings, and, in a word, private life, they were frugal, ſimple, modeſt, and poor; but ſumptuous and magnificent in all things publick, and capable of doing honour to the ſtate. Their victories, conqueſts, wealth, and continual communication with the people of Aſia Minor, introduced neither luxury, gluttony, pomp, nor vain profuſion amongſt them. (*o*) Xenophon obſerves, that a citizen could not be diſtinguiſhed from a ſlave by his dreſs. The richeſt inhabitants, and the moſt famous generals, were not aſhamed to go to market themſelves.

It was very glorious for Athens to have produced and formed ſo many excellent perſons in the arts of war and government; in philoſophy, eloquence, poeſy, painting, ſculpture, and architecture: Of having furniſhed alone more great men in every kind than any other city of the world; if perhaps we except Rome, which † had imbibed learning and arts from her, and knew

(*o*) De Rep. Athen. p. 693.

* Μέγα φρονεῖ μεγάλων ὀρεγέσθαι. Plut.

† Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit, & artes
Intulit agreſti Latio. *Horat. Epiſt.* i. l. 2.

Greece taken, took her ſavage victors hearts,
And poliſh'd ruſtick Latium with her arts.

knew how to apply her leſſons to the beſt advantage; of having been in ſome ſort the ſchool, and tutor of almoſt the whole univerſe; of having ſerved, and ſtill continuing to ſerve, as the model for nations, which pique themſelves moſt upon the excellency of taſte; in a word, of having taught the language, and preſcribed the laws of all that regards the talents and productions of the mind. The part of this hiſtory, wherein I ſhall treat the ſciences and learned men, that rendered Greece illuſtrious, with the arts alſo, and thoſe who excelled in them, will ſet this in a clear light.

X. I ſhall conclude this deſcription of the Athenians with one more attribute, which cannot be denied them, and appears evidently in all their actions and enterpriſes; and that is, their ardent love of liberty. This was their darling paſſion and great principle of policy. We ſee them, from the commencement of the war with the Perſians, ſacrifice every thing to the liberty of Greece. They abandoned, without the leaſt regret, their lands, eſtates, city, and houſes, and removed to their ſhips in order to fight the common enemy, whoſe view was to enſlave them. What could be more glorious for Athens, than, when all the allies were trembling at the vaſt offers made her by the king of Perſia, to anſwer his ambaſſador by the mouth of (*p*) Ariſtides, that all the gold and ſilver in the world was not capable of tempting them to ſell their own, or the liberty of Greece? It was from ſuch generous ſentiments that the Athenians not only became the bulwark of Greece, but preſerved the reſt of Europe, and all the weſtern world, from the invaſion of the Perſians.

Theſe great qualities were mingled with great defects, often the very reverſe of them, ſuch as we may imagine in a fluctating, light, inconſtant, capricious people, as the Athenians.

(*p*) Plut. in Ariſtid. p. 324.

SECT.

SECT. VI. *Common Character of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians.*

I Cannot refuſe giving a place here to what Mr. Boſſuet ſays upon the character of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians. The paſſage is long, but will not appear ſo, and includes all that is wanting to a perfect knowledge of the genius of both thoſe people.

Amongſt all the republicks of which Greece was compoſed, Athens and Lacedæmon were undoubtedly the principal. No people could have more wit than the Athenians, nor more ſolid ſenſe than the Lacedæmonians. Athens affected pleaſure; the Lacedæmonian way of life was hard and laborious. Both loved glory and liberty; but the liberty of Athens tended to licence; and controlled by ſevere laws at Lacedæmon, the more reſtrained it was at home, the more ardent it was to extend itſelf in rule abroad. Athens was alſo for reigning, but upon another principle, in which intereſt had a ſhare with glory. Her citizens excelled in the art of navigation, and the ſovereignty at ſea had enriched her. To continue in the ſole poſſeſſion of all commerce, there was nothing ſhe would not have ſubjected to her power; and her riches, which inſpired this paſſion, ſupplied her with the means of gratifying it. On the contrary, at Lacedæmon money was in contempt. As all the laws tended to make the latter a military republick, the glory of arms was the ſole object that engroſſed her citizens. From thence ſhe naturally affected dominion; and the more ſhe was above intereſt, the more ſhe abandoned herſelf to ambition.

Lacedæmon, from her regular life, was ſteady and determinate in her maxims and meaſures. Athens was more lively and active, and the people too much maſters. Their laws and philoſophy had indeed the moſt happy effects upon ſuch exquiſite natural parts as theirs, but reaſon alone was not capable of keeping them within due bounds. (*q*) A wiſe Athenian, who knew

(*q*) Plat. l. iii. de Leg.

knew admirably the genius of his country, informs us, that fear was neceſſary to thoſe too ardent and free ſpirits; and that it was impoſſible to govern them, after the victory at Salamin had removed their fears of the Perſians.

Two things then ruined them, the glory of their great actions, and the ſuppoſed ſecurity of their preſent condition. The magiſtrates were no longer heard, and as Perſia was afflicted with exceſſive ſlavery, ſo Athens, ſays Plato, experienced all the evils of exceſſive liberty.

Thoſe two great republicks, ſo contrary in their manners and conduct, interfered with each other in the deſign they had each formed of ſubjecting all Greece; ſo that they were always enemies, more from the contrariety of their intereſts, than the incompatibility of their humours.

The Grecian cities were againſt ſubmitting to the dominion of either the one or the other; for, beſides the deſire of preſerving their liberty, they found the empire of thoſe two republicks too grievous to bear. That of the Lacedæmonians was ſevere. That people were obſerved to have ſomething almoſt brutal in their character. (*r*) A government too rigid, and a life too laborious, rendered their tempers too haughty, auſtere, and imperious in power: Beſides which they could never expect to live in peace under the influence of a city, which being formed for war, could not ſupport itſelf, but by continuing perpetually in arms. (*s*) So that the Lacedæmonians were capable of attaining to command, and all the world were afraid they ſhould do ſo.

(*t*) The Athenians were naturally obliging and agreeable. Nothing was more delightful to behold than their city, in which feaſts and games were perpetual, where wit, liberty, and the various paſſions of men, daily exhibited new objects: But the inequality of their conduct diſguſted their allies, and was ſtill more inſupportable to their own ſubjects. It was impoſſible for

(*r*) Ariſtot. Polit. l. i. p. 4. (*s*) Xenoph. de Rep. Lacon.
(*t*) Plat. de Rep. l. viii.

for them not to experience the extravagance and caprice of a flattered people, that is to ſay, according to Plato, ſomething more dangerous than the ſame exceſſes in a prince vitiated by flattery.

Theſe two cities did not permit Greece to continue in repoſe. We have ſeen the Peloponneſian and other wars, which were always occaſioned, or fomented, by the jealouſy of Lacedæmon and Athens. But the ſame jealouſies which involved Greece in troubles, ſupported it in ſome meaſure, and prevented its falling into the dependence of either the one or the other of thoſe republicks.

The Perſians ſoon perceived this condition of Greece, and accordingly the whole myſtery of their politicks conſiſted in keeping up thoſe jealouſies, and fomenting thoſe diviſions. Lacedæmon, which was the moſt ambitious, was the firſt that gave them occaſion to enter into the quarrels of the Greeks. They engaged in them from the ſole view of making themſelves maſters of the whole nation; and induſtrious to weaken the Greeks by their own arms, they waited only the opportunity to cruſh them all together. (*u*) The ſtates of Greece in their wars already regarded only the king of Perſia, whom they called the Great King, or *the king*, by way of eminence, as if they had already been of the number of his ſubjects. But it was impoſſible that the ancient ſpirit of Greece ſhould not revive, when they were upon the point of falling into ſlavery, and the hands of the Barbarians.

The petty kings of Greece undertook to oppoſe this great king, and to ruin his empire. (*x*) With a ſmall army, but bred in the diſcipline we have related, Ageſilaus, king of Sparta, made the Perſians tremble in Aſia Minor, and ſhowed it was not impoſſible to ſubvert their power. The diviſions of Greece alone put a ſtop to his conqueſts. The famous retreat of the ten thouſand, who, after the death of young Cyrus, made their way in a hoſtile manner through the whole Perſian empire, and returned into their own

(*u*) Plut. l. iii. de leg. Iſocrat Panegyr. (*x*) Polyb. l. iii.

country; that action, I ſay, demonſtrated to Greece more than ever, that their ſoldiery was invincible, and ſuperior to all oppoſers; and that only their domeſtick diviſions could ſubject them to an enemy too weak to reſiſt their united force.

We ſhall ſee, in the ſeries of this hiſtory, by what methods Philip king of Macedon, taking advantage of theſe diviſions, came at length, between addreſs and force, to make himſelf little leſs than the ſovereign of Greece, and to oblige the whole nation to march under his colours againſt the common enemy. What he had only planned, his ſon Alexander brought to perfection; and ſhowed the wondering world, how much ability and valour avail againſt the moſt numerous armies and the moſt formidable preparations.

END OF VOL. III.



Plate V.

A MAP
to explain the History of the
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES, and PERSIANS.
Made by Mr. D'ANVILLE,
Geographer to the French King
for ROLLIN'S antient History.
1739.

Parsenga, 25 to a Degree
20 40 60 80 100
Stades, 30 to a Parseng.
10000 20000 30000
Parsenga, 22 to a Degree
20 40 60 80 100
Lieque of 3000 Paces, or 2500 Toise
20 40 60 80 100

Iobi Sedes Sabea. · Uz Terra, Huz vel Ausidis.

Longitude from Ferro.

E. Bowen Sculp.

Plate VI.

GREECE

DESIGNED FOR ROLLIN's HISTORY

By Mr. Danville,

1740.

Olympic Stades of 608 Foot English.

100 200 400 600 800

Stades one fifth shorter.

100 200 400 600 800 1000

Roman Miles of 4835 Foot English.

10 25 50 75 100

Lieues of 3000 Geometric Paces.

5 10 15 20 25 30

The Author owns himself obliged to the Abbe Fourmont for his Improvements in the Morea.

T. Kitchin sculp.

Plate VII.

GRÆCIA MAGNA
including
SICILY;

Shewing the Settlements of the Greeks in Italy, with Pyrrhus's Expedition there, and the Carthaginians in Sicily.

Made by Mr D'ANVILLE
for
Mr ROLLIN's Antient History.
1738.

TYRRHENIAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
IONIAN SEA
LYBIAN SEA
GULF OF TARENTUM

CORSICA
SARDINIA
AFRICA

LATIUM
CAMPANIA
SAMNIUM
DAUNIA
APULIA
PEUCECIA
MESSAPIA or CALABRIA
HIRPINI
PICENTINI
LUCANIA
BRUTIUM
SICILY

Roma
Ostia
Ardea
Antium
Mt Circe
Terracina
Fundi
Formiæ
Teanum Sidicinum
Venafrum
Æsernia
Bovianum
Allifæ
Sepinum
Telesia
Caiatia
Calenum
Calles
Capua
Casilinum
Vulturnus Fl.
Sinuessa
Minturnæ
Cumæ
Puteoli
Neapolis
Nola
Abellinum
Avellinum
Nuceria
Compsa
Venusia
Beneventum
Equus Tuticus
Trivicum
Taurasium
Aeculum Aquilum
Herdonea
Eca
Luceria
Sipontum
Arpi
Cerbalus Fl.
Aufidus Fl.
Bardulitum
Turenum
Vescellæ
Natiolum
Canusium
Cannæ
Butuntos
Barium
Egnatia
Brundisium, or Brindes
Lupia
Aletium
Hydruntum, or Otranto
Castle of Minerva
Leuca
Japygum Prom.
Apollonia
Acus Fl.
Celadnus Fl.
I. Sason
Aulon
Chimera
Acroceraunii M.
Tarentum
Mandurium
Carmarianum
Prt Sasinæ
Sasinæ
Neretum
Gallipolis
Uxentum
Genusium
Casuentum Fl.
Bradanus Fl.
Galesus
Metapontum
Heraclea
Siris
Acalandrum Fl.
Anxia
Opinum
Potentia
Venusia
Silvium
Acherontia
Vultur M.
Apennin
M.
Ocinum
Vitalensis
Atinum
Gruomentum
Abellin.
Marsicum
Acris Fl.
Siris Fl.
Nerulum
Lacus
Muranum
Blanda
Prom. Palinure
Helia
Pixus or Buxentum
Medma Fl.
Syrenses
Caprea I.
Surventum
Minerva Prom.
Salernum
Silarus Fl.
Mt Albur nus
Tanager Fl.
Paestum or Posidonia
Thurii
Sybaris, or Thurii
Acheron Fl.
Cerilli
Pandosia
Esaris Fl.
Caparisa
Ras Lacinium
Crimisa Prom.
Chone
Petilia
Crathis Fl.
Consentia
Tracis Fl.
Hylia Fl.
Næthus Fl.
Croton
Sibaris
Lacinium Prom.
I. Dioscures
I. Calypso or Ogygia
the 3 Proms of Japyges
Clampetia
Sabatus Fl.
Temsa
Terina
Tagrinus Fl.
Cratalus Fl.
Scylacium
Hipponium
Medma
Nicotera
Mesma Fl.
Cocinum
Cocinus Fl.
Cocintum Prom
Taulon
Brutia Silva
Ad Fretum Brutium
Strongyla
Salina or Dydime
Hicesia
Lipari
Lipari Isls
Hephestian or Eolian, Vulcanian, now
Ericodes
Phœnicodes
Vulcan I.
Pelorum Prom.
Ustica
Hiccara
Agathyrnum
Miles
Drepanum
Maritimo
Panormus
Soluntum
Baths of Himera
Cephaledis
Alontium
Tyndaris
Mt Pelorus
Lapide Messina
Scyllæum
Columna
Rhegium
Fagra Fl
Locri Epizephirii
Lepsyrium Prom.
Hercules Prom.
Petra Prom. east of the Apennin
Halex Fl
Mt Gallas
Himera
Halesa
Mytistratum
Herbita
Mt Nebrodes
Onobala Fl
Taurominium
Naxus
Mt ETNA
Egesta or Segeste
Molyca
Lilybæum
Segestella
Selinuntum Hypsa
Mazarum
Baths of Selinuntum
Heraclea Minoa
Agrigentum
Mt Ecnomus
Hiuera Fl
Gelas Fl
Gela
Phintia
Tricala
Petra
Camicus
Erbessus Fl
Himera Fl
Erineus Fl
Erbessus
Tyracena
Adranum
Acis Fl.
Symæthus
Agyrium
Centuripæ
Hybla
Catania
Symæthus Fl
Erna
Assorus
Perusa
Palica
Phacus
Menæ
Leonta
Xiphonia
Megara, Little Hybla
SYRACUSA
Eubœa
Achates
Hephessus
Pachynus Prom.
now Passaro
Camarina or Hyperia
Acræ
Neetum
Asinarus Fl
Elorum
Elorus Fl
Caucana Fl
Cassyra
Gaulos or Gozi
MALTA
Odyssea
Charbi
Hippo Diarrhytus
Hermæum Prom.
now C. Bona
Ægimures
Apollo Prom.
Beau Prom.
Clypea or Aspis
Utica
Bagradas Fl
CARTHAGE
Carpis
Missua
Mt Aspis
Pertuse
Tunis
Hot Bath
Cubrubis
Tuburba Parva
Vina
Neapolis
Membresa
Putput
Valli
Tuburba Magna
Canada Fl
(Horrea Cœlia)
Hadrumet
Cæsar Susa
Ruspina
Leptis Parva

Roman Miles, 760 Toise each.
10 25 50 75 100
Greek Stades, 8 to a Mile.
100 200 400 600 800
French Lieues, 3000 Paces each.
5 10 15 20 25 30

R.W. Seale sculp

Plate VIII.

A CHART of the EXPEDITION of CYRUS the Younger, and the Return of the 10000 GREEKS, according to XENOPHON:

Made for ROLLIN's ANTIENT HISTORY by the SIEUR D'ANVILLE, the French King's Geographer 1739.

Xenophon makes his Persian Liegue 30 Stades, being a fourth shorter than the common Stade; 8 of which make the Roman Mile, and 24 the Parseng.

Persian Liegues

5 10 20 30 40 50

French Liegues of 2500 Toise

5 10 20 30 40 50

E. Bowen Sculp.

EUXINE

THRACIA

Salmydessus

Delta

Byzantium

Bosporus of Thrace

Byzantium

Sacer Mts

Ganos

Selybria

Chalcedon

Bosporus

PROPONTIS

BITHYNIA

Chersonesus

Lampsacus

Abydus

Hellespontus

Cyzicus

Calpe

Acherusia Chersonesus

Heraclea

Mariandini

Parthenius R.

Billæus R.

PAPHLAGONIA

Harmene

Sinope

Halys R.

Jasonium Pr.

Cotyora

Trapezus

Cerasus

Drilæ

Mossynœci

Macrones

Tibareni

Chaldæi

Chalybes

Moschi

Tiochi

Harpasus R.

Phasiani

Phasis R.

Thermodon R.

Iris R.

Themiscyra

Amazones

Lycastus R.

Thybe

Adramyttium

Antandrus

Adramyttium

Apollonia

Pergamus

Caicus R.

Lesbos

Pitane

Parthenium

MYSIA

LYDIA

Sardis

Cerami

Caystri Campus

Thymbrium

Pelta

Colossæ

PHRYGIA

Celænæ

Tyriæum

Iconium

Ephesus

Samos I.

Meander R.

Miletus

CARIA

PISIDYA

LYCAONIA

Dana or Tyane

PAMPHYLIA

Aspendus

LYCIA

CILICIA

Tarsus

Sarus R.

Cydnus R.

Rhodus

MEDITERRANEAN

CYPRUS

PHENICIA

Tyrus

Damascus

Myriandrus

Pylæ

Amanus M.

Euphrates R.

SYRIA

Halepa

Chalus R.

Daradax R.

Bolsena Regia

Arsices R.

Thapsacus

Palmyra

ARABIA

Transeuphratica

Euphrates R.

Cirrote

Marsia R.

Fossa

Median Camp

Pylæ

Walls of Nineveh

Wall

Ælíopolis

Anaxa

ARMENIA

Euphrates

Mygdonius R.

Regia

Head of the Tigris

Tigris R.

Centrites

Vicus et Regia

CARDUCHI

Regia

Mespila

Lycus R.

Larissa

Tigris R.

Gerre

Caprus R.

Physcus R.

Opis

Sitace

Baghdat

Seleucia

Nepolis

Masrice

Vologesia

Babylon

MEDIA

Persarum Pagi

Longitude from Ferro

45 50 55 60

35 40

Plate IX.

GREECE with the NORTHERN PROVINCES near the DANUBE,

Made for Rollin's History
By Mr. DANVILLE.
1740.

Olympic Stades of 608 Foot English.
300 600 900 1200

Roman Miles of 4835 Foot English.
50 100 150

Lieues of 3000 Geometric Paces.
10 20 30 40

T. Kitchin sculp.